



AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXIV, 1

WHOLE No. 253

CORAX AND THE *PROLEGOMENA*.

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The beginnings of rhetoric are documented with unusual fullness, but the reliability of some accounts has been questioned. Most ancient historians of rhetoric attribute the first technical writings on oratory to the Syracusans Corax and Tisias and date their activity shortly after the fall of the tyrants in Sicily.¹ But the tradition which is plausibly derived from Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* and is best preserved in Cicero, *Brutus*, 46,² declares that the overthrow of the Sicilian tyrants occasioned many property-trials, which in turn caused the technical development of rhetoric. Consequently scholars have agreed that Corax' precepts were intended for the law-court and did not prepare speakers for the assembly.³ That statement has discredited the fuller accounts of Corax which are preserved in the Introductions to rhetoric and the prefaces to commentaries on Hermogenes, which were written after the third century A. D. These *Prolegomena*, already published in Walz' *Rhetores Graeci*, were reëdited by Rabe in the *Prolegomenon Sylloge*. This second tradition confirms the Aristotelian account in most respects and adds more details about the life and accomplishments of Corax. But most of the bearers of this tradition disagree with Cicero's testimony on an important point. Cicero quotes Aristotle's statement that pri-

¹ The most pertinent passages are reprinted in *Prolegomenon Sylloge, Rhetores Graeci*, XIV, p. viii, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, Teubner, 1931).

² How much Quintilian, Cicero, and Sopater owe to Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* is discussed on pp. 11-14, *infra*.

³ A convenient statement of the accepted opinions about Corax appears in D. A. G. Hinks, "Tisias and Corax and the Invention of Rhetoric," *C. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), pp. 61-69.

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1.002 vate law-suits gave rise to the earliest rhetorical theory, whereas the *Prolegomena* on uncertain authority declare that Corax wished to influence the people of Syracuse. Their words imply that the first teachings were deliberative rather than dicanic and contradict Aristotle as preserved in Cicero. With the *Prolegomena* thus discredited, scholars have been able to agree only about the meager reports from Aristotle. Nevertheless almost every modern account of Corax includes with varying degrees of confidence all or some of the details that are preserved only in these late and questionable sources. Even the fact that Tisias was the pupil of Corax rests on the testimony of the *Prolegomena* and similar late accounts.

If it can be proved that early oratorical theory was not confined to teaching for the law-court, the accounts in the *Rhetores Graeci* will appear more credible and the modern concept of early rhetoric will need some alteration. This problem will be investigated in a future paper. At present it seems advisable to determine the relationships of the similar accounts in the *Prolegomena* and to consider the possible sources of their information. The conclusion appears probable that two different traditions are represented in these late histories of rhetoric, one tradition being best preserved in Sopater and the other in an anonymous writer, number four in Rabe's collection; furthermore that Sopater's history is worthless and not derived from Aristotle, whereas the anonymous account in Rabe seems to draw upon Timaeus, although the value of his testimony is uncertain.

The rise of rhetoric is discussed in the following Introductions: 1) Sopater, Walz, V, pp. 5-8; 2) Walz, VI, pp. 4-30 = Rabe, 4; 3) Troilus, W VI, pp. 52-54 = R 5; 4) W II, pp. 682-683 = R 6A; 5) Maximus Planudes, W V, pp. 212-221 = R 7; 6) Ioannis Doxapater, W II, pp. 81-144 = R 9; 7) W VII, pp. 1-20 = R 13; 8) <Marcellinus?>, W IV, pp. 1-38 = R 17. These eight accounts have many things in common and also some important points of difference, especially concerning the question: which parts of an oration did Corax invent.⁴

⁴ The similarities are not surprising, for all these early school-books of rhetoric are alike in many respects and come from common sources. Usually their authors made no claim to originality; cf. Nicolaus in Rabe's article, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), p. 558, 2-3. The introductions were used by generations of school-teachers who altered the text freely

American
Journal of
Philology

vol. 64

no. 1-4

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The immediate sources from which the *Prolegomena* excerpts of *prolegomena* are drawn seem to have material usually in one of three ways.⁵ The arrangement is by the four Aristotelian questions (89 b 23) or by variations of them.⁶ Two *prolegomena* are organized by a decade of topics.⁷ The third plan, W V, pp. 5-8, and R 13 preserves traces of a mo-

to suit the needs of their pupils instead of trying to introduce; cf. W. Kroll, *R.-H.*, s. v. "Rhetorik" (Stuttgart, 1937), col. 98, 40-65. Rabe, Preface, p. x teacher's edition.

⁵ This applies only to the general Introductions to Introductions to specific rhetorical treatises are arranged but the general and the specific Introductions are often

R 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, and 21. The organization of the general *prolegomena* is discussed by H. Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften," *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), pp. 539-589, and *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, pp. iii-vi.

⁶ *el êsti, ti êsti, poiôn êsti, dià ti êsti.* The four questions seem intended to refute critics like the Sceptics who questioned the existence of rhetoric, for Plato's attacks on rhetoric were revived in the second century B. C.; cf. Wilamowitz, "Asianismus und Atticismus," *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), p. 17; H. M. Hubbell, "The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIII (1920), pp. 364-382, and Kroll, *R.-H.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," cols. 18, 9; 41, 60; and 44, 54.

⁷ The ten topics in R 4 are: 1) *πρῶτον εἰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἐν θεοῖς ἡ ῥητορικὴ*; 2) *δεύτερον εἰ καὶ ἐν ἥρωσιν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*; 3) *τρίτον πῶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἦλθεν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*; 4) *τέταρτον πῶς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἤκμασεν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*; 5) *πέμπτον τίς ὁρὸς ἐστὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ τί τὸ ἔργον τῆς ῥητορικῆς*; 6) *ἕκτον πόσα εἶδη τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ εἰ εἶδη ἀλλὰ μὴ μέρη, καὶ ἐκ πόλων μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς προελήλυθεν ἕκαστον, καὶ πόλους χρόνους διενείμαντο, καὶ πόλους τόπους ἐκλήρωσαντο*; 7) *ἑβδομον πόσαι ῥητορικαὶ καὶ οἶαι, καὶ πόλαι σὺν θεῷ μετερχόμεθα*; 8) *ὕγδοον πόσοι τρόποι ῥητορικῶν ἀναγνώσεων*; 9) *ἐνατον πόσαι πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἐν πόλει σὺν θεῷ πολιτευόμεθα*; 10) *πρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δέκατον κεφάλαιον, κατὰ πόσους τρόπους ὁ ῥήτωρ ὀφείλει ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ῥητορικὰ μαθήματα*. In the Preface to his *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, Rabe, p. iv, tries to derive the decade from the four Aristotelian questions. This seems incorrect, for his correlation is imperfect. The *telos* and *erga* of rhetoric (part of the fifth point in the decade of R 4) are not discussed elsewhere under the heading *τί ἐστι* (cf. R 9, p. 125), although they sometimes follow that section. The kinds of rhetoric (seventh question in R 4) are not found anywhere under the heading *ποιόν ἐστι* (see page 5, note 8, *infra* for their original context). If the decade is not derived from the four questions, this removes the main support for Rabe's (p. v) placing the origin of the decade in the fifth century or late fourth. It could be slightly earlier.

organization by λόγος, ῥήτωρ, ῥητορική, and Rabe suggests that this principle was derived ultimately from Porphyrius but that the other two plans are not found before the fourth century A. D. The history of rhetoric appears in introductions organized by each of these three principles. Only Planudes (R 7) has no explicit plan: his treatise consists of excerpts, as the use of ὅτι shows. When the decade of topics is used (R 4 and 6A), the history answers the first four or five questions. When the material is arranged by the Aristotelian questions (R 5, 6A, 9, and 17), the history is the partial or complete answer to the question: εἰ ἔστιν ἡ ῥητορική. And in the three-fold plan of Sopater and R 13, the history is discussed under the heading ῥητορική. Rabe, in the preface to his edition, pp. xii-xiii, states that these histories derive ultimately from Porphyrius and that Sopater and R 13, which follow his plan, preserve an account that is more nearly true to the original.

Before examining the histories themselves, let us see more precisely how they are fitted into the larger organization of their contexts. This will help to show with which of the three plans the history should be associated. R 6A, p. 59, proposes three of the four Aristotelian questions and rejects them for the decade:

ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου δεῖ ζητεῖν δέκα·

I. εἰ ἐκ θεοῦ ἡ ῥητορική,

II. εἰ ἐν θεοῖς,

III. εἰ ἐν ἥρωσι,

IV. πῶς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν ἡ ῥητορική,

V. πῶς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἤκμασεν ἡ ῥητορική,

VI. κτλ.

The first five elements, clearly distinguished, are present in most of the *prolegomena* that tell the history, although sometimes the first point is omitted. R 4, also organized by the decade, has ten similar questions but combines the first and second points. Troilus (R 5), after answering the first Aristotelian question, εἰ ἔστιν, by argumentation, omits the first point of the history but gives the next four in the same order; similarly R 13, Sopater, and Planudes (R 7). Doxapater (R 9), after beginning like Troilus, states the first point fully and then summarizes the other four. Marcellinus (R 17), like R 6A, offers the five points

instead of Aristotle's first question. Thus four accounts omit the first question and four give the whole series.

Since these eight *prolegomena* all have similar points, order, language, and contents, it seems fair to assume that they come ultimately from a common source, at least in part. These similarities will be investigated shortly, but two things are already clear. First, this fourfold or fivefold arrangement is most at home in the decade of topics. When the series appears elsewhere it intrudes upon the context and apologies are offered. In R 6A, p. 59, 17 and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 267, 16, it is given instead of the answer to *εἰ ἔστι*. In Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 1, and Doxapater (R 9), p. 90, 16, it is added as something extra to the proofs that rhetoric exists. R 13, p. 188, 14, indicates the break in the continuity by the phrase *ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων ἐπωμεν*. Although Sopater provides for the history in one *prothesis*, W V, p. 3, 23-26, he omits it in a repetition of the *prothesis*, p. 9, 8-10. Planudes (R 7) has no obvious plan; this is simply another excerpt. But in R 4 the series naturally occupies the first four questions in the decade. So the history with its fivefold organization fits best in the decade and seems an intruder in Porphyrius' plan or in the Aristotelian questions. On the other hand, the question *τί ἔστι* belongs to the four Aristotelian questions and is promised in the *protheseis* of the *prolegomena*. So there seems to be no reason to agree with Rabe, p. lxi, that *ab iis, quae praecedunt de historia artis, ea (the answers to τί ἔστι) seiungi non possunt, delata sunt ad nostros si summam spectas per Porphyrium*. Of course the material under the two headings (history and *τί ἔστι*) antedates the rubrics.⁸ Nevertheless, the history

⁸ A good instance of the violence done to earlier materials in order to fit them into these late frameworks appears in the discussions of the kinds and uses of rhetoric and of the difference between *empeiria*, *techne*, and *episteme*. It can be shown that they originally belonged to a much larger unit. Indeed this unit seems more primary than Rabe's principles of organization. The unit refutes the definitions that rhetoric is an *episteme* or an *empeiria* and accepts the definition that it is a *techne*. The unit is clearly marked in R 9, pp. 110, 3-121, 16, a *prolegomenon* from the eleventh century which has good sources. A similar framework appears in R 13, pp. 192, 3-199, 24, R 17, pp. 260, 1-285, 3 (irrelevant: pp. 267, 9-278, 23), and Sopater, W V, pp. 4, 27-17, 26 (irrelevant: pp. 5, 28-15, 10). All three passages at the beginning promise to refute other definitions and at the end accept Dionysius' definition, although they are not derived from each other. Material from this unit, often garbled, is

appears to be an addition by the practical rhetoricians to the more philosophic organization with Aristotle's four questions, for the treatment of the history suggests that the fivefold version first appeared in the decade and that practical teachers later inserted it into the Aristotelian plan.⁹

Secondly, the similarity of these eight accounts throws new light on other *prolegomena* which refer to some of the five points but not to the last two, the periods in Syracuse and Athens. References to this material occur in four places, the last three being collections of excerpts: R 11, 3, 19, and 23. In each case the phrasing or content shows a connection with corresponding

found in fourteen *prolegomena*. The passages are: Sopater, W V, pp. 3, 19-5, 28 and pp. 15, 10-17, 26; R 4, pp. 37, 4-38, 9; R 5, pp. 55, 8-57, 21; R 7, pp. 65, 4-66, 15 and pp. 70, 23-71, 27; R 9, pp. 110, 3-121, 16; R 12, pp. 173, 24-175, 15 and pp. 179, 25-181, 6; R 13, pp. 191, 26-199, 24; R 13, append., pp. 216, 6-217, 2; R 15, pp. 242, 18-243, 18; R 17, pp. 260, 1-267, 8 and pp. 278, 24-285, 3; R 19, pp. 300, 15-301, 22; R 23, III, pp. 339, 15-343, 8; R 24, p. 351, 4-7.

The essential elements of this unit and their ideal order are as follows: 1) Some wrongly define rhetoric as an *episteme* or an *empeiria* instead of as a *techne*. 2) Distinction of these three kinds of knowledge. 3) Refutation, beginning with the Stoic *ἐπιστήμη τοῦ εὖ λέγειν* and ending with Plato's *πολιτικῆς μορφὸν εἶδωλον* (*Gorg.* 463 D). 4) Summary of Plato's division of political wisdom (Prodicus' *Hercules at the Cross-roads* is mentioned here). 5) Plato's motives in attacking rhetoric unfairly. 6) His guilt of the same crimes. 7) The distinction of the three kinds of rhetoric shows that he was not attacking our rhetoric (the number is five in some later passages). 8) Aristotle's four uses for our *μέση ῥητορική*. 9) The true definition is that rhetoric is a *techne*, as Dionysius said. Rabe did not notice this unit; cf. p. iv, where he classifies the kinds of rhetoric under *ποιόν ἐστι*. This complex of ideas appears more primitive than Rabe's classifications, for it occurs in representatives of each organization and becomes so garbled that it seems old. Some versions are more philosophical. Most of the framework already appears in Quintilian, II, 15, 2 and 23-30; Philodemus, *passim*, simply discusses the nature of rhetoric (*episteme, empeiria, techne*), but Aristides, *Or.* 45, has a similar attack on Plato; cf. especially pp. 42, 46, 115, 150, 152 Dindorf.

⁹ It was added to entertain as well as to instruct, as Rabe seems to have implied in an earlier article, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), p. 563. Extreme examples of philosophic and practical introductions are R 1, which omits the history, and R 4, which has the decade, although both are comparatively early; cf. Rabe, pp. xxxviii and xxiv. Quality is no proof of antiquity. For an indication that R 4 may be slightly earlier than Rabe's date, see page 3, note 7 *supra*.

parts in the full series. R 3, p. 17, 1-7, quotes and interprets Homer, *Iliad*, IV, 1. In complete accounts this passage proves the existence of rhetoric among the gods. In R 3, however, the hasty medical epitomizer uses the quotation to answer *ei ēsti*. R 11, pp. 162, 21-163, 18, gives a hostile summary of the first two points and reworks the fourth point. Compare p. 163, 26 and R 17, especially p. 268, 3. R 19, pp. 301, 23-302, 4, gives the usual heading (*παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν*) and cites as evidence the trial between Ares and Poseidon. This trial is mentioned in the same context by R 9, p. 92, 24-25. But the excerptor of R 19 next jumps ahead to the *peristatica* (the important points in a story), which organize the story of Corax in Troilus (R 5), p. 52, 21-27 and R 17, p. 269, 4-7. In R 19, however, the excerptor uses better known examples for the terms, perhaps because he wished to omit the rest of the history. In R 23, III, p. 343, 23-28, the contents are word for word the same as Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 2-5, although the rubric is altered. There is no satisfactory evidence that these four epitomizers used existing *prolegomena*, but they seem farther removed from the version in Sopater and R 13. This is another indication that the fivefold version of the history of rhetoric was a commonplace in *prolegomena* and that many derivatives of this version have been lost.

It is time to examine the eight fuller accounts and to determine whether they are independent of each other. The best criterion is the use of unique details which cannot easily be derived from other accounts. All eight have the second through the fifth points (in gods, in heroes, in Syracuse, in Athens). In addition to the two representatives of the decade (R 4, p. 18, 6, and R 6A, p. 59, 9), Doxapater (R 9), p. 92, 5, and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 268, 3, have the first point, that rhetoric is from God.

In the discussion of the first three points most accounts cannot be derived from each other. R 4, pp. 19, 7-24, 4, preserves the most details. The brief epitome 6A, also organized by the decade, does not derive from R 4 for it alters the syllogism that rhetoric is from God. 6A, p. 59, 21-22, has a hypothetical, not a categorical syllogism as R 4, p. 19, 11-13, has, and the history that follows also differs from R 4. Doxapater's account (R 9), though close, is not from R 4 since it states on p. 91 that Peleus sent Phoenix and that Meles was Homer's father, details which R 4, pp. 23-24, leaves unmentioned. It also has a fuller list of mythi-

cal trials on p. 92, 23-25. Marcellinus (R 17), who likewise has the first point, has not borrowed from the others because only he uses Priam, p. 268, 11, to prove the existence of epideictic oratory among the heroes.

Four accounts omit the first point. Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 14, differs from the rest by making Nestor represent the epideictic genus. R 13, p. 189, 4, mentions Telephus, whereas Sopater, W V, p. 6, 10, includes Thersites among the heroic orators. Only Planudes (R 7) lacks any distinguishing characteristics and can be derived from R 4 despite a change in order. This impression is confirmed by a study of the later points, which are identical with different parts of R 13 and Troilus (R 5) (cf. page 15 *infra*), although it is hard to understand why Planudes compiled from three different accounts for this one short unit of history. In short, though the material in all is very similar, each account except Planudes' compilation has distinguishing characteristics. The discussion of divine and heroic rhetoric seems to have originated with Plato and the early sophists.¹⁰

When the scholiasts come to the later points, important divergences appear. Although Rabe, Preface, p. xii, says, *sex¹¹ illae recensiones ex uno fonte multis rivulis intercedentibus haustae sunt*, the histories seem to fall naturally into two different and distinct groups. One group discusses only the invention of rhetoric in Sicily and its spread to Athens. The other group starts the history of human rhetoric before Corax and continues it up through Roman times. Again, there are basic differences in the points of view and the facts used by the two groups.

The longer history appears in Sopater, R 13, which has the

¹⁰ Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 398D, *Phaedrus* 261B, *Protagoras* 361D; Isocrates, XIII, 2; G. Thiele, "Ionisch-attische Studien," *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), pp. 240-241 and W. Kroll, "Randbemerkungen," *Rh. Mus.*, LXVI (1911), p. 166, n. 2 and *R.-E.*, s.v. "Rhetorik," col. 45, 50-53. G. Kowalski, *De artis rhetoricae originibus quaestiones selectae* (Lwow, Soc. Litt., 1933), p. 7, n. 2, simply suggests Telephus. The *Prolegomena* seem to have derived their information about the Homeric heroes more immediately from some treatise on the three kinds of style, for they mention or imply which genus each hero represents and Quintilian, XII, 10, 64, names Menelaus, Nestor, and Odysseus while discussing the three genera. Likewise, Cicero, *Brutus*, 40, and Quintilian, X, 1, 46, begin histories with Homer, Cicero emphasizing the three genera and Quintilian noting Homer's excellence in every respect.

¹¹ Rabe disregards R 7 and 9.

same general organization as Sopater, and R 6A, which thus mixes three different traditions: the Aristotelian questions, the decade, and the fuller history. Sopater, W V, p. 6, 12-20, starts with the first instance of judicial oratory among men: Theseus' accusation of Hippolytus at Athens, and the first instance of deliberative oratory: Phalaris' deception of the people in Sicily. R 6A, although extremely brief, also mentions Phalaris before Corax. R 13, p. 189, 7-11, selects a different instance of judicial oratory to glorify Athens: Menestheus' accusation of Theseus. Each of these accounts notes Corax and Gorgias briefly, blames the decline of oratory on the Macedonian Antipater, and discusses the revival under the Roman Empire (Lollian is named in each). They start earlier and end later than the other accounts.

The shorter history is preserved in R 4, 5, 7, 9, and 17. Doxapater (R 9) is extremely brief, mentioning only that rhetoric began at Syracuse and that Gorgias went to Athens and taught there. All the others glorify Sicily rather than Athens not only by saying that rhetoric began in Sicily but also by discussing the change from tyranny to democracy at Syracuse and Corax' wish to influence the people. Sopater omits those points. Again, they dwell on Gorgias' embassy to Athens, each noting that the Athenians called his speeches torches and declared a holiday when Gorgias declaimed, details unmentioned in the other tradition. Their histories conclude at that point without any suggestion that there might be more to tell.

The author of the longer history was primarily interested in the history of technical theory and treatises, especially the doctrine of *stasis*. Sopater denies that Corax had any theory, W V, p. 6, 23-24, notes that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens and composed one of his own, p. 7, 11-12, states that these deliberative hand-books lacked any doctrine about the *stasis* and that the judicial *technai* have been lost, and finally enumerates the number of *staseis* recognized by Lollian, Hermagoras, and Minucian. Similarly, the epitomizer of 6A simply lists the first authors of *technai* and enumerates the number of *staseis*. R 13 seems less interested in the theoretical aspects and omits these details while obviously borrowing from the tradition in general (cf. Rabe, pp. xii-xiii) although amplifying his story of Corax with information from the shorter histories (cf. pp. 14-15 *infra*).

The composer of the short history wished simply to describe

the origin and spread of rhetoric. He wrote at length about the politics of Syracuse and depicted Gorgias' success at Athens in detail. These elements would not be equally at home in a history of rhetorical theory.

Sopater's account shows clearly that the longer history is a late reconstruction. The interest in *stasis* indicates lateness, but clearer proof appears in several passages that preserve the process by which Sopater's facts were inferred. He decides, W V, p. 7, 18-24, that the ancients knew the doctrine of *stasis* because similar points are treated similarly in their speeches. He infers from Isocrates, XIII, 19, that dicanic treatises were written but says, pp. 7, 24-8, 1, that only the deliberative *technae* remain (whose?). He cites, p. 8, 16-18, Cicero's knowledge of rhetorical technique to prove that the ancient tradition survived the decline of rhetoric after Demosthenes. So apparently this history does not go back to old sources (cf. pp. 11-12 *infra*), and it seems to be based on some brief history of rhetoric like that in R 20 p. 310, 8-18. Inferences have helped to increase its size, but it lacks ancient authority and reveals a pro-Athenian bias, for it attacks the account that rhetoric began in Sicily by recalling legendary trials at Athens.

When the other tradition is examined, however, no trace of learned reconstruction appears. Instead it preserves details which seem to go back to fairly respectable sources. Nor does it appear likely that the shorter history was simply excerpted from the longer account, because although shorter in scope it is fuller in details. Moreover there is no indication that Sopater's source treated Corax and Gorgias any more fully than Sopater did: neither ancient rhetorician is important for the doctrine of *stasis*, which is the special interest of the author, but both are important for the origin and spread of rhetoric, which are the points under investigation in the shorter tradition. Concerning Corax Sopater flatly contradicts the other tradition and denies that Corax had any theory whatever, although they credit him with inventing the parts of an oration. Sopater's history sounds like the product of a learned philosopher writing on rhetoric, whereas the shorter history has the practical ring of the rhetorical schools. So it seems clear that two different traditions must be recognized. There is no reason why all accounts of rhetoric should come from the same source. Histories also appear in Aristotle, *Soph. Elenchi*,

34; Cicero, *Brutus*, 46-52; Quintilian, III, 1, 8-21; R 20, p. 310, 8-18; *Proleg.*, Aristides, III, p. 737 Dindorf, nor can they all be reduced to one original. Rabe, p. xiii, may be right in deriving Sopater's account from Porphyrius' commentary on Minucian's *staseis*, but Sopater seems of no importance for the history of early rhetoric.

This rejection of Sopater raises the more general question of how much influence Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* exerted on later histories of rhetoric. Ever since Spengel tried to reconstruct this lost collection of early *technae*, which is described in Cicero's *De Inventione*, II, 2, 6, and Gercke ("Die alte *Techne rhetorice* und ihre Gegner," *Hermes* XXXII [1897], pp. 340-381) announced the discovery that parts of Sopater derived from it, there has been a tendency to lend the authority of Aristotle's name to all desirable features in later histories of rhetoric.¹² This culminated in Hamberger's attempt (*Die rednerische Disposition* . . . [Paderborn, 1914]) to find similarities between Troilus, Sopater, and Cicero, an attempt rightly attacked by Hinks (*C. Q.*, XXXIV [1940], p. 68) and others. The discrepancies between the accounts even in Sopater, Quintilian, and Cicero are so great and so many that nothing seems certainly referable to the *Synagoge Technon* except the facts which have the explicit authority of Aristotle and seem suited to a collection of earlier treatises.

Cicero, *Brutus*, 46-48, Quintilian, III, 1, 8-13, and Sopater, W V, pp. 6-7 cover the same period in the history of rhetoric. These three accounts are all said to derive from the *Synagoge*, yet the three accounts do not agree on a single point! The only detail which they might be said to have in common is a mention of Homeric rhetoric for which few scholars will hold Aristotle responsible (*Brutus*, 40, Quintilian, 8, Sopater, p. 6). Sopater starts the history of human oratory in Athens, a fact which Gercke, p. 344, ignores completely, whereas Cicero and Quintilian stress the priority of Sicily. Again, Sopater emphatically asserts that Corax only gave instruction (*διδασκαλίαν*) and wrote no *technē* (*οὐ μετὰ . . . τέχνης τυτός*), a point curiously misstated by Gercke, pp. 344, 345, but corrected by Hamberger, p. 7. The real basis for Gercke's derivation of Sopater from Aristotle is

¹² Aristotle's influence on later rhetoric has recently been stressed by F. Solmsen, "The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 35-50 and 169-190.

the statement that follows the discussion of Corax in both Sopater and Cicero, that even before this time men had prepared their speeches with care. But Sopater, unlike Cicero, follows this brief sentence with an account of Tisias' famous quarrel with his teacher, which almost certainly does not come from Aristotle. So Gercke seems wrong in ascribing to Aristotle Sopater's next remark that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens. Rather, this sounds like a clumsy and late attempt to explain how Sicilian rhetoric reached Athens; for other explanations cf. page 17, note 23, *infra*. Thus it appears improbable that Sopater got anything from Aristotle. Indeed he states that the early *technai* known to him were deliberative, not *dicanic*!¹³

Even when Quintilian and Cicero are examined by themselves it is hard to see what value there is in assuming a common source.¹⁴ They contradict each other and differ in so many respects that, even granted one point comes from the *Synagoge*, the authority for adjacent details still remains uncertain. Quintilian tells us that Empedocles made the first advance in rhetoric. To judge from the *De Inventione*, which says that Tisias was the first technician and the first man discussed by Aristotle, Empedocles did not appear in the *Synagoge*. Aristotle's mention of the philosopher, Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 57 informs us, appeared in his dialogue, the *Sophistes*. This fact alone suggests that Quintilian was not using the *Synagoge*, whereas the *Brutus* begins appropriately with Corax and Tisias.

Quintilian's plan is rather vague. Sections 8-11 list the innovators in oratory, *technai*, and written speeches, and pay some attention to chronology, fellow-rhetoricians, later composers of *technai*, and pupils. These sections disregard doctrines but note speeches and allusions by Plato. In short, the primary interest

¹³ Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 66, n. 1, cites Sopater to prove that the first *technai* were judicial. But Sopater, basing his inference on Isocrates, simply conjectures that there were judicial *technai* but says that they have all been lost. The *technai* that still survived (Tisias, Gorgias, Antiphon, Isocrates!), Sopater asserts, were all deliberative. This testimony is strange, but it certainly does not prove that the first *technai* were intended for the law-courts.

¹⁴ Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 43 and *De arte rhetorica*, I (Lwow, Gubrynowicz, 1937), p. 89, insists that the *Synagoge* is Quintilian's primary source, although he notes the unsuitability of Quintilian's details.

here is not technical. Even section 12 simply classifies the rhetoricians by technical contributions: *communes loci* and *affectus*. This terminates the first unit of Quintilian's history, and the author turns to personal consideration of Cicero's remarks about Pericles (*Brutus*, 27). Certainly Quintilian is not using the same source as Cicero at this point. Then follows one sentence which might still be from the *Synagoge*, that Aristotle considered Gorgias the teacher of Isocrates, but the preceding interruption of the sequence, as well as Cicero's silence about Isocrates' teachers, makes even this attribution uncertain. The rest of Quintilian's account deals with later rhetoric and cannot come from Aristotle, except the controversial statement that Isocrates wrote a *technē*. Only the unit in sections 8-12 is likely to derive from the *Synagoge*, and its emphasis on anything but the contents of *technae* suggests how little here is suited to Aristotle's collection. It must have at least other sources.

Nor are contradictions between Quintilian and Cicero lacking. Aristotle in *Brutus*, 46, ascribes only one *technē* to Corax and Tisias jointly, which may explain why Tisias alone is mentioned in the *De Inventione*; Quintilian seems to credit each with a separate *technē*. Again, Cicero states that Antiphon wrote pieces like the *communes loci* of Gorgias, whereas Quintilian says that he wrote a *technē* and fails to link him with Gorgias. Isocrates is credited with one *technē* in Quintilian, and with several *technae* late in life in the *Brutus*. The most striking similarity between Cicero and Quintilian is the praise of Antiphon's speech in his own defense, and it is precisely this detail that was introduced into the history by Cicero according to Gercke, p. 344. Cicero's next remarks about Lysias, Theodorus, and Isocrates are unparalleled in Quintilian and probably are not from Aristotle because of the interruption (the mention of Antiphon's speech) and because of the emphasis on orations and on the late question whether rhetoric is an art.¹⁵ The first part of the account in the *Brutus*, while unavoidably naming some of the same men as Quintilian, is far more technical and records different details. Quintilian seems interested in biography, not *technae*.

¹⁵ That rhetoric was not a science (or art) according to Isocrates, Gorgias, and Lysias was also maintained by opponents of rhetoric (and therefore probably not by Aristotle) who are quoted in Philodemus,

Because of the conflicts and the differences between these two accounts, it seems safe to claim for the *Synagoge* only the first part of Cicero's account and only those parts of Quintilian which agree with Cicero. He agrees with Cicero on the priority of Corax and Tisias' work, on the composition of *loci communes* by Gorgias and Protagoras, and on the technical activity (and oratorical success) of Antiphon. Even Cicero should be handled cautiously, e. g. when he ascribes sophistic disputes to Antiphon and treatises to Isocrates. In conclusion, Sopater seems worthless and the Latin writers did not draw immediately from Aristotle; whatever details omitted by Cicero Quintilian may derive from the *Synagoge* have become too altered and diluted with other sources to be recognized and distinguished with certainty. For early rhetoric contemporary writings give the reliable facts; later accounts with uncertain sources only confirm and interpret earlier statements.

To return to the discussion of the *Prolegomena*, although it appears that Sopater's reconstructed history of rhetoric can be disregarded (Sopater, R 6A, and 13), an investigation of the shorter account may reveal some material from good sources. First, however, one detail in the reconstructed history requires attention. Both R 6A and R 13 ascribe the writing of a *techne* to Corax. This contradicts Sopater, p. 6, 23-24, who says that he had no theory. In the epitome 6A this looks more like an inaccuracy than a positive statement, for 6A, p. 60, 3-5, lumps together six names in one sentence which credits all six men with *technae*. It does not attribute one to Corax individually. But in R 13, p. 189, 12-17, some other factor seems to be at work. The writer states that Corax saw that guiding the people differed from managing for a tyrant, "and so went and wrote a *techne*." The statement probably did not appear in his main source, for Sopater contradicts this point explicitly and the last part of it is a curious *non-sequitur*: Corax' intuition does not explain his writing a *techne*. The absurdity seems to come from consulting another source and abbreviating it carelessly. The author perhaps wished to emphasize Corax more than his main source had done. He consulted an account like that of R 4, pp. 25, 6-26, 6. After

II, 123, frag. IV Sudhaus. For the question whether rhetoric was all art, cf. page 3, note 6 *supra*.

reading at length that Corax invented the parts, he briefly said that Corax wrote a *techne* about the parts. That the author of R 13 may have borrowed his two sentences directly from the other tradition is perhaps indicated by the same two sentences in the compiler Planudes (R 7, p. 67, 1-7). In Planudes the sentences about Corax are followed by material that corresponds exactly with Troilus (R 5, pp. 52, 27-53, 17) and perhaps Planudes or his sources originated the *non-sequitur*. Certainly somebody made a mistake. And in any case, it appears probable that Sopater's source did not attribute technical achievements to Corax and thus contradicts the tradition in the *Prolegomena*.

Now that the longer history of Sopater, R 6A, and R 13 has been set to one side, it is time to examine the relationships among the representatives of the shorter history: R 4, 5, 7, 9, and 17. Each is again found to have distinguishing characteristics, with the exception of Planudes (R 7). R 4 and Marcellinus (R 17) alone end the Athenian era with a list of the ten Attic Orators, pp. 28 and 273, but Marcellinus, p. 269, 8-21, gives an unusually full account of the tyrants in Sicily; only R 4 refers to *Zeus Eleutherius*, p. 25, 5.¹⁶ Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) organize the story of Corax by the *peristatice*, but Troilus alone, p. 52, 8-20, adds the *catastasis*, etc. to the parts invented by Corax. Planudes (R 7) starts the account of Corax with exactly the same words as R 13: p. 67, 1-7 = p. 189, 11-17, although the context differs. After this introduction R 13 disposes of Tisias and Gorgias with a sentence each. Planudes no longer follows R 13 and instead he copies Troilus (R 5) literally: p. 67, 8-26 = pp. 52, 27-53, 17. The next sections of both, however, are entirely different. Although his manner of compilation is peculiar, Planudes, it seems, can be disregarded since he wrote in the thirteenth century (cf. Rabe, p. xlv) and does not preserve an independent account. Because of their individual characteristics all the other histories of the shorter tradition appear to be immediately independent of each other for the whole unit.

Two facts have been established which help in appraising the worth of these accounts. First, the introduction organized by

¹⁶ The same expressions appear in R 4 and 17: pp. 269, 25-270, 4 = pp. 24, 16-25, 3; p. 270, 4-6 = p. 25, 8-10; p. 270, 9-21 = pp. 25, 12-26, 4. Note that the order is reversed for the first two passages.

the decade, R 4, deserves special attention because it gives the fivefold series of the history in the context for which it seems first to have been designed, the ten topics.¹⁷ Secondly, each account is independent,¹⁸ except that of Planudes. R 4 gives a very sensible and coherent narrative once gods and heroes have been left behind. Its only weakness is the reported (λέγεται) tale, pp. 24, 16-25, 3, about the origin of the dance, but this precedes the discussion of Corax. The salient points of the excellent account are as follows. Corax developed the three parts (*prooimion*, *agon*, *epilogos*) to help him to persuade the people. No mention is made of his actually writing a *techne* or of his earlier influence at court; the fee that he charged pupils remains unspecified. Corax defined rhetoric as *πειθοῦς δημιουργός*. Tisias' attempt to deceive his kindly teacher does not appear to take place in a court but simply before an audience (*οἱ παρεστηκότες*, p. 27, 7). This version might be more credible and therefore more nearly primary than the court-setting found in other *prolegomena*.¹⁹ In that case the metaphorical phrase in R 4, *δικάζομαι σοι περὶ τῶν μισθῶν*, might have occasioned the more precise and colorful developments of the story in the *Prolegomena*.²⁰ R 4's account of Gorgias' embassy is also well written and summarizes the situation at Leontini intelligently. So it is especially significant that this version is closer to Diodorus Siculus, XII, 53, 2, than any other existing account, and that the other histories in this tradition say almost nothing about Corax and Gorgias that could not have been derived from R 4.

Troilus (R 5) adds to R 4 the information that Corax had been influential at court, specifies the pay that he charged, and names seven parts of an oration instead of three as R 4 did. The critical point in his account has been those seven parts. Hamberger²¹ has

¹⁷ To argue that the decade came after the fivefold account seems unwarranted because Rabe, p. xxxviii, considers R 4 to be among the earliest *prolegomena*, and because the five stages in the account are most easily explained as part of a decade—whether comprising the first four or the first five points matters little.

¹⁸ This differs from Hinks' view, *O. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), p. 67.

¹⁹ That teachers had trouble collecting from their pupils is attested by Isocrates, XIII, 5-6.

²⁰ Sextus Empiricus, II, 96, and Sopater, W V, pp. 6-7, mention the law-court, but R 4's sources for the story might be earlier.

²¹ P. Hamberger, *Die rednerische Disposition in der alten Techne rhetorike* (Paderborn, 1914), p. 35.

decided that Troilus' account is the nearest correct and preserves the tradition in its purest form. But certainly all the other representatives of the tradition disagree with Troilus and it seems *a priori* implausible to argue that the first technician invented such a complex *dispositio*.²² That subtlety belongs to the later development at Athens which Plato ridiculed in the *Phaedrus*, 266D-267E. So, however plausible on other grounds, Troilus' seven parts lack the authority of the tradition in the *Prolegomena*.²³ His source remains a mystery.

²² O. Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique Grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), p. 16, makes this point. Hinks, *C. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), p. 68, points out that Troilus' parts are avowedly judicial and so come from a source that did not consider the first rhetoric deliberative.

²³ Equally lacking in the authority of the tradition is the statement in R 17, p. 273, 1-2, that Tisias taught Gorgias. This seems an awkward but laudable attempt to link more closely the sections on Corax and Gorgias that are separate elsewhere.

Two scholars have recently maintained that Gorgias studied under Tisias: Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 33 (repeated in his *De arte rhetorica*, p. 93, n. 2) and Stegemann, *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Tisias," col. 147, 12-58. Kowalski explicitly contradicts Blass, I², p. 49, and as evidence refers to Philostratus, *V. S.*, 192 Kayser (1838). This reference, however, is not to the text of Philostratus but to the note of Kayser, who denies the relationship between Tisias and Gorgias. It seems that Kowalski misinterpreted Blass' note on p. 49 and failed to check the reference. Stegemann, on the other hand, cites Radermacher (*Rh. Mus.*, LII [1897], p. 413) as his evidence, but Radermacher at that point is merely summarizing Marcellinus (R 17; W IV, pp. 1 f.) and does not assert the complete reliability of this account.

It seems true that Gorgias was influenced by his countrymen, as Stegemann maintains, but this fact is not enough to prove that Gorgias actually studied under Tisias. Indeed the ancient rhetoricians have shown more restraint than the moderns in this respect, and the vast majority (Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, all the pertinent *prolegomena* except R 17) have refrained from taking the easy and plausible step of connecting Gorgias, who brought rhetoric to Athens, with Corax and Tisias, who invented rhetoric. Those few writers who disagree with the majority and connect Gorgias with Tisias do not agree with each other in their details and thus betray their lack of a common source and the late, conjectural status of their testimony. Sopater, W V, p. 7, 10-12, simply says that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens; Pausanias, VI, 17, 5, that Tisias accompanied Gorgias on his embassy; and R 17, p. 273, 1-2, states rather awkwardly that Gorgias studied under Tisias (in Syracuse) and returned home. Thus, almost unanimously the ancient writers refrained from saying that Tisias taught Gorgias: it seems advisable to resist modern conjectures.

The explicit ascription of a *technē* to Corax in Planudes (R 7) was discussed on page 15 *supra*. It seems to have resulted from carelessly epitomizing a fuller account and no other history in this tradition definitely says that Corax, Tisias, or Gorgias wrote a *technē*. A minor divergence from R 4 occurs in R 7, 13, and 17. Planudes (R 7) and R 13 say that Corax invented four parts and add the *diegesis* to the list in R 4. The occasion for this error perhaps appears in R 4, p. 26, 1: λέγειν ὡς ἐν διηγῆσει. This phrase was intended to describe the *agon*, or part of it, but the later writers easily derived a fourth part from its ambiguity.²⁴ Marcellinus (R 17), on the other hand, gives five parts. These parts lack authority for he quotes R 4's description of Corax' *partitio*, a description that calls for only three divisions. The cause of the confusion is obvious: only Marcellinus (R 17) explains the meaning of the terms again. Apparently he found his material somewhere else and injected it into the story of Corax.²⁵

Everything else except 'Troilus' seven parts can be explained as having developed from R 4 or its source: the ascription of a *technē* to Corax, the court-trial with Tisias, and the fourfold or fivefold *dispositio*. One point remains to be discussed, Corax' influence at court, mentioned only in Troilus (R 5), p. 52, 4-6 and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 269, 21-23. Even this statement can be derived from R 4 if Doxapater (R 7) and R 13 are taken as representing the intermediate stage. The words in R 4, p. 25, 11-14, that occasioned the fiction would be: Κόραξ δὲ τις ὄνομα, Συρακούσιος τὸ γένος, σκοπήσας, ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἀστάθμητον καὶ ἀτακτον πέφυκε πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἐννοήσας, ὅτι λόγος ἐστίν, ᾧ ῥυθμίζεται ἀνθρώπου τρόπος, devised the parts. Since in the preceding sentences R 4 had discussed the cruelty of the tyrants and the rise of the democracy, R 13 (or R 7), which abbreviates this section,

²⁴ Hamberger, *Die rednerische Disposition* . . . , p. 29, uses the opposite explanation. For a similar "improvement" see page 17, note 23 *supra*. In a different context R 9, p. 126, 5-15, alludes to Corax, ascribing four parts and explaining their function. This looks like the same error. The mention of *pathos* in the *epilogos* sounds Thrasymachean and lacks the authority of the tradition for it is not mentioned in the histories. Hinks' assertion, p. 67, that four parts fit R 4 better than three seems wrong.

²⁵ Hamberger, p. 28, agrees that R 17 is composite here.

could derive the following summary, p. 189, 13-16, from R 4: Κόραξ οὖν τις συνετὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρῆσθαι πράγμασιν ἰκανός, συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐχ ὅμοιον τυράννῳ διακονεῖσθαι καὶ δήμῳ γνῶμην χειρώσασθαι, wrote a *technē* about parts. Strictly taken, R 13 says no more than R 4, namely that Corax had a remarkable understanding of mob-psychology. To make his point clearer, and influenced by the discussion in R 4 of the tyranny, R 13 adds to R 4 that there is a difference between managing a crowd and managing for a tyrant. Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) carry this to the logical conclusion. They assume that Corax had been influential at court. Troilus, p. 52, 5-6, even says ἐποίει τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς (the tyrants). It appears possible that R 13's phrase τυράννῳ διακονεῖσθαι prompted Troilus. The story of Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) is basically implausible. The new democracy at Syracuse would not trust a creature of the tyrants. So it seems probable that this notion arose from a misunderstanding of R 4 and therefore Corax was not active at the court of the tyrants.²⁶ Of course all this development occurred in the sources of our *Prolegomena*, which, irrespective of their date, happen to have derived their accounts from three stages of the development.

It appears, therefore, that R 4 may preserve the purest account of Corax. Some source once said that, after Syracuse became a democracy, Corax developed a threefold plan of speaking to help him influence the citizens in the *ecclesia*. Among his many pupils was Tisias, who before some gathering of people²⁷ tried

²⁶ One of the difficulties in the story that Corax was influential-at court has been that it made Corax older than Empedocles. But Aristotle said that Empedocles was the first to make some advance in oratory; cf. Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 57; Sextus Empiricus, VII, 6; Quintilian, III, 1, 8. If the above explanation of this mistake is correct, the source of the *Prolegomena* did not contradict Aristotle and thus appears more trustworthy than before. Philodemus, *Hyp.*, II, 201, frag. XV, synchronizes Corax with Themistocles and Aristides, but surely this is too early.

²⁷ For a similar story about Protagoras and his pupil Evathlus, see Rabe, pp. x-xi, who rightly maintains that the story in Diogenes Laertius, IX, 56, should not be credited to Aristotle. Thus this version has no better authority than the story about Corax. Protagoras' legal difficulties may have caused the story to become attached to him. Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 43, thinks that the whole history of rhetoric in the *Prolegomena* developed from the application of the proverb to Corax.

to avoid payment for instruction by a dilemma based on Corax' definition of rhetoric. His master defended himself ably, and the bystanders uttered the famous proverb, from a bad crow (*κόραξ*) comes a bad egg. It would be impossible to determine when all the details of this story originated.²⁸

For the history of oratory preserved in the *Prolegomena*, four sources have been proposed, two immediate and two ultimate. Rabe, p. xiii, gives Porphyrius as the source. Radermacher²⁹ considers the Stoics immediately responsible and derives the information indirectly from Timaeus. Hamberger, pp. 7 and 37, thinks that the account came ultimately from Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon*. His argument rests on certain inconclusive similarities between Sopater, W V, p. 6, and Cicero, *Brut.*, 46, and on the assumption that Sopater and Troilus used a common source.³⁰ Sopater and the *Prolegomena*, however, agree that Corax was primarily concerned with deliberative oratory; cf. R 9, pp. 149-151, which defends the priority of deliberative oratory. This statement seems irreconcilable with Aristotle, but the question must be left for discussion at some other time. Both Rabe's and Radermacher's arguments are based on the belief that the context in which the history is found determines its more immediate source, but it has been suggested above, especially on page 5, that the history does not seem to belong to its usual context (the four Aristotelian questions). So the evidence for immediate sources seems inconclusive, although the longer and shorter histories may come from Porphyrius or the Stoics.

That Timaeus is the ultimate source of the shorter account is another possibility. Radermacher's arguments are summarized and the pertinent passages quoted in Rabe, p. ix. Diodorus Siculus, XII, 53, 2, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, I, 11, 3, Usener, both describe the effect of Gorgias' embassy on

²⁸ Kowalski, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 84, considers Timaeus the source of the whole story since he liked aetiological explanations of proverbs. On p. 87, however, Kowalski is uncertain whether the dialectical explanation of the trial comes from Timaeus. Likewise on p. 63 he says that the definition of rhetoric was added by late rhetoricians.

²⁹ "Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Rhetorik," *Rh. Mus.*, LII (1897), pp. 417 and 419.

³⁰ See page 11 *supra* and Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

the Athenians, and Dionysius says that Timaeus is his source. Radermacher therefore thinks that Timaeus was used not only by Diodorus but also by the source of the similar *prolegomena* (R 4 is the closest to Diodorus!); since the Corax-episode is associated with Gorgias in the *Prolegomena*, both episodes come from the historian of Sicily, who thus glorified his fatherland. This view is not capable of exact demonstration, but it appears more plausible than any other and Rabe's objections to it seem answerable. First, Rabe says that Diodorus and Dionysius do not state that Gorgias brought the art of rhetoric to Athens as the *Prolegomena* assert. But Diodorus does say, οὗτος καὶ τέχνας ῥητορικὰς πρῶτος ἐξέειρε. It is natural to suppose that Diodorus' inventor of rhetoric brought it with him to Athens. The context shows why Dionysius does not mention the importation of rhetoric. He is here interested only in deciding when poetical diction was first introduced to Athens, and perhaps he criticizes Timaeus unfairly. Timaeus probably did not assert that the Athenians never admired poetic diction before but simply that Gorgias introduced a vogue. And therefore, despite Rabe's objections, Timaeus may have said that Gorgias brought rhetoric, or part of it, to Athens.

Diodorus' statement that Gorgias invented rhetoric is curious. It has no authority and probably arose from Diodorus' abridgment of his sources.⁸¹ But did Timaeus discuss Aristotle's inventors of rhetoric, Corax and Tisias? In Book XI there is some evidence that a source mentioned Corax. Here are the passages that mention Sicily after the overthrow of the tyrants. Diodorus, XI, 67-68, tells of the overthrow of Thrasybulus, a cruel tyrant (compare the fable in R 4 about the first dancing). After discussing events in other parts of the world, he returns to Sicily, XI, 72-73, and describes the reconstruction at Syracuse and the introduction of democracy (463 B. C.). In celebration of the victory, he says that the Syracusans ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν

⁸¹ Kowalski, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 56, n. 1, calls the phrase *male expressa . . . ex Timaeo*, compares Pausanias, VI, 17, 5 (that Gorgias revived oratory) and Sopater, W V, pp. 6, 20-8, 5 (that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens), and therefore suggests that Gorgias reëdited Tisias' *technē*. But Sopater's account is a late reconstruction and there is no reliable evidence for a connection between Gorgias and Tisias; cf. page 17, note 23 *supra*.

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ἐλευθέρια . . . κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἡλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα. . . . Compare R 4, p. 25, 3-8: . . . τῶν Συρακουσίων . . . προσευχομένων Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης δουλείας, Ζεὺς σωτὴρ ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθέριος προσώλεις τοὺς τυράννους πεποικῶς ἡλευθέρωσε τῆς τυραννίδος τοὺς Συρακουσσίους. In chapter 76 Diodorus reverts to Sicily, telling of the continued war with the foreigners and the return of exiles (461). In 78 he alludes briefly to the activity of Ducetius, king of the Sicels. After a prolonged discussion of affairs elsewhere, a lengthy passage about Sicily begins in chapter 86. A sentence occurs there that suggests Aristotle's property-trials: μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτογραφίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένην καὶ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς χώρας . . . ἐνόσουν αἱ πόλεις . . . In chapter 87, also for the year 454, Diodorus continues telling of the strife at Syracuse: the introduction of the *petalismus* ends the power of the aristocrats; demagogues rise to power from the lower classes and more factional strife ensues. He says, ἐπεπόλαξε γὰρ δημαγωγῶν πλῆθος καὶ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ λόγου δεινότης ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἡσκέετο, καὶ καθόλου πολλοὶ τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς ἡλλάττοντο. As far as Sicily is concerned, this passage follows closely after the change in government and the period of reconstruction at Syracuse. These passages would be close together and fuller in his purely Sicilian source, and this is precisely the time that Corax would participate in affairs, especially if he had not been influential at court (cf. page 19 *supra*), for the *Prolegomena* (and Aristotle) place Corax' activity in the new democracy. If the young men of Syracuse were receiving a more modern education and were practising the art of deliberative speech at this time, they probably had teachers. The *Prolegomena* say that Corax excelled in deliberative speech and taught many pupils. Diodorus, unfortunately, wished to condense his source and omitted discussion of Corax by name. But his allusion to instruction for the assembly at this time, especially when combined with the reference to *Zeus Eleutherius*, which appears only in R 4 and Diodorus, makes it seem that the source of Diodorus and the source of R 4 for this information about Sicily were one and the same, Timaeus.³²

³² R. Laqueur, *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Timaeus," col. 1093, 58-63, ascribes chapters 86 and 87 to Timaeus rather than to Ephorus. Whether Timaeus said that the cruelty of the Syracusan tyrants caused the

Our conclusion is that Radermacher was justified in considering Timaeus the source for the late histories of rhetoric in the *Prolegomena* but that two different traditions should be distinguished, first the version which Sopater represents and which is a late reconstruction and not derived from Aristotle (Quintilian's authority is also doubtful), and secondly the better tradition which does come from Timaeus and which is best preserved in the comparatively early and anonymous account of R 4. This material from history seems to have been introduced into the hand-books of rhetoric by practical teachers who organized their treatises by the less philosophic plan of ten topics; later the history was adopted in *prolegomena* arranged by the four Aristotelian questions. According to the tradition from Timaeus the first rhetorical theory was for the assemblies rather than the law-courts and developed in Sicily. No technical writings are explicitly ascribed to Corax, Tisias, or Gorgias; likewise no attempt to connect Gorgias with Corax and Tisias seems to have been made. Timaeus apparently said that Corax, the inventor of rhetoric, divided his deliberative speeches into three parts, was a popular teacher in Syracuse, and exerted no influence at the court of the tyrants. Thus Timaeus glorified not only his father-land Sicily but also the deliberative oratory of his Athenian teacher Isocrates.

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invention of the dance (R 4, pp. 24, 16-25, 3) it is impossible to decide, although the tale suits his sympathies and manner.

ONCE MORE THE 'ΕΚΤΗΜΟΡΟΙ.

In a recent number of this Journal Dr. N. Lewis published an excellent article on Solon's Agrarian Legislation¹ in which he amplified and in many respects corrected the conclusions which W. J. Woodhouse had reached in his stimulating book, *Solon the Liberator*.² I fully agree with the great majority of his results, especially his lucid explanation of the legal interrelation between the hektemors and their creditors.³ But, since he several times refers to my article on the 'Εκτῆμοροι in *A. J. P.* of 1940,⁴ I may perhaps be allowed to take up once more a point which, though of secondary importance in itself, has not only very far-reaching historical implications but may also give rise to some more general considerations concerning the method of this kind of historical investigation.

On p. 150 of his article Dr. Lewis says that I have argued *cogently* in favor of the point of view that the hektemors had to pay one-sixth of the produce of their farms, not five-sixths as some other scholars had contended. Yet on the same page he says that universal agreement concerning this question will probably never be reached on the basis of available sources and then goes on to point out that the principal argument of those who reject my conclusion is an "appeal to 'common sense'," with the argument that if the rent to be paid was only one-sixth of the produce it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.

It is not quite clear from the context whether Dr. Lewis thinks that there will always be some people (not including himself) who consider the "appeal to common sense" a stronger argument than any conclusion based on a careful interpretation and evaluation of the sources or whether he personally is inclined to give this argument some credit. But this is a purely personal question. It is the problem of the "appeal to common sense"

¹ *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 142 ff.

² W. J. Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1938).

³ Since it would require too much space to explain all the main points of the situation and of the controversy again, I must presuppose that the reader of this article is familiar with Dr. Lewis' paper (see note 1 *supra*) and with the main results of Professor Woodhouse's book.

⁴ *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 54 ff.

itself which is extremely interesting. There can be hardly any doubt that this "appeal to common sense" will always play an important part in historical criticism and that even the best authorities must sometimes be rejected if what they say is plainly contrary to common sense. Yet unlimited and uncritical application of this principle may lead, and often has led, to serious errors so that it may be worth while to inquire a little into its nature and validity, both in general and in its application to the problem under consideration.

If we say that an assumption is contrary to common sense we mean that it conflicts with certain general laws, natural, economic, psychological, or otherwise, which we consider more or less universally valid. Some of these laws may be absolutely rigid and may not admit of any exception, but most of them are not of this kind and apply only *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν*, as Aristotle would say. This is certainly true of laws concerning the oppressiveness or non-oppressiveness of rents, since everybody agrees that in this case there are wide fluctuations and that what in one period or one country may have been a very light burden can become a very heavy burden under different economic conditions. It is therefore obvious that in an "appeal to common sense" a law of this kind can be used only when we approach the upper and lower limits. But, if this is so, we should not proceed to the appeal to common sense without having inquired very carefully whether there may not have prevailed certain special economic conditions which reduced the margin on either side or made the general law altogether inapplicable.

Let us, then, turn to the special question under consideration. There can be no doubt whatever that Aristotle and the best ancient authorities held that the hektemors paid a rent of one-sixth and not of five-sixths of the produce of their farms, and Dr. Lewis⁵ admits that the linguistic arguments, based on the form of the word *ἐκτῆμορος*, by which some scholars have tried to defend the opposite view, break down completely. On the other hand, there remains the difficulty that a rent of one-sixth seems reasonable and not at all oppressive. One may even try to increase the weight of this argument by pointing out that, if, as all of us agree,⁶ the loan given by the creditor was actually the price of

⁵ See note 1 *supra*.

⁶ See note 3 *supra*.

the farm in a fictitious sale with option of redemption, the value of the loan should have been much higher than the value of the annual produce of the farm and that hence a rent or interest of one-sixth of the produce (not of the much higher amount of the loan) was very reasonable indeed.⁷ Thus we have, on the face of it, a clear case of *common sense versus tradition*. But actually the problem is much more complicated.

The alternative to the assumption that the hektemors paid one-sixth of the produce of their farms is the assumption that they paid five-sixths. But while a rent of one-sixth may seem very reasonable or even low, a rent of five-sixths, if it is to be paid by people who lived on their farms all the year round and had no other source of income, seems almost impossible. Plain common sense would obviously say that a rent between one-third and one-half or, let us say, even two-thirds, would be oppressive but within the limits of economic possibility, while rents of one-sixth and five-sixths are below the margin of oppressiveness and above the margin of economic possibility respectively. It is an interesting reflection upon the nature of the appeal to common sense that, as far as I am aware, no scholar has yet dared to dispense altogether with the evidence provided by ancient tradition and to accept without restriction the verdict of undiluted common sense that the rent must have been between one-third and two-thirds of the produce. They all agree that the word *ἐκτῆμορος* in itself is sufficient evidence to prove beyond doubt that the hektemors either paid or retained one-sixth of the produce. But, if this view is accepted, we have no longer a simple case of *common sense versus tradition* but also of *common sense versus common sense*. If, consequently, we find tradition plus common sense on one side arrayed against common sense without further support on the other, the presumption, it seems, should be that the view supported by both tradition and an argument from common sense is more likely to be correct.

But general considerations of this kind, however valid in them-

⁷ There is, of course, some flaw in this argument. For, if the farm which was sold with option of redemption could not be sold in a free market, it had no marketable value, and the ordinary ratio between the price of a farm and its average annual return probably did not obtain. Still it is quite possible that the amount of the loans was ordinarily somewhat higher than the value of the annual produce.

selves, may mean little to the historian who is primarily interested in facts, unless these considerations can be supported by a further analysis which shows under what conditions a rent of one-sixth becomes oppressive or a rent of five-sixths possible and whether conditions of either kind are likely to have prevailed in seventh and sixth century Athens. Since the ancient sources do not provide us with a direct answer to these questions, we shall have to follow a somewhat indirect route in order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

All ancient authorities agree that a very large portion of the peasants became hektemors, which, as Dr. Lewis has shown conclusively,⁸ means that they were reduced to bondage. That really a very large number of people was involved is proved by the violence of the reaction which preceded Solon's reforms. On the other hand there is no indication whatever that the oppression of the hektemors was the result of conquest or any other act of violence, as was, for instance, the case with the helots in Sparta. Nobody has ever doubted that the peasants became hektemors by the more or less voluntary act of contracting debts with the wealthy.⁹ How, then, we may ask, could such a large number of people be induced to take an action which had such grievous consequences for themselves and for their whole families?

Though Dr. Lewis does not deal directly with this question, he has implicitly made some contributions towards its solution. In regard to the big land-owners and creditors he points out¹⁰ that changing economic conditions and especially the development of overseas trade must have made the landed aristocracy eager for the acquisition of additional land on which to grow olives and grapes for export purposes. In regard to the debtors he showed¹¹ that the agreements which reduced them to bondage may at first have appeared not quite so grievous since the indebted peasants, not being able to conceive of any other way of life, would have stayed on their farms anyway since the creditors, at least in the beginning, probably very seldom made use of the clause which allowed them to sell their debtors into slavery

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

⁹ Cf. Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff. and 60 f., and N. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

when they proved unable to meet their obligations in full.¹² For it must have been much more profitable for them to have a safe annual return from the farms than to receive a single lump sum for the sale of the slave,¹³ especially since, as Dr. Lewis has proved,¹⁴ through the latter procedure the creditor lost his claim on the farm.

These considerations, however, have two interesting and, at first sight, seemingly contradictory implications. If they are to explain the readiness of the peasants to contract debts with the wealthy, we assume that the conditions were not particularly grievous, which plainly implies that, at least in the beginning, the rent or interest was not excessive, and hence that it was certainly rather one-sixth than five-sixths of the produce, if we have to choose between these two figures. But, if this assumption is made, we face once more the question: how could conditions which at first were not very grievous in the course of time become so grievous that they almost led to a revolution?

Woodhouse¹⁵ had tried to answer this question by the theory that at first the debtors had to pay only one-sixth, that when the arrears piled up more and more they had to pay higher and higher rents, finally a rent of five-sixths, and that only when this latter stage was reached did the debtors become hektemors in

¹² I am still not quite sure whether Dr. Lewis is right when (p. 150) he contends that the creditor acquired the right to sell the debtor into slavery from the very moment when the debt had been contracted, unless, of course, the debtor could pay back the principal, but even in case (and in spite of the fact) that he always paid the rent or interest promptly when it was due. The ancient sources are not sufficiently clear on this point to permit a definite conclusion. But general considerations might lead to the opposite result. In ordinary circumstances the creditor cannot foreclose except after a certain lapse of time, the term being either established by law or, as in most cases, subject to an agreement between creditor and debtor. But, where the loan, as in our case, is at the same time the price of the farm in a fictitious sale with option of redemption, there seems to be no room for such a law or private agreement, since the creditor has been satisfied from the very beginning by obtaining possession, though not free ownership, of the farm in question. For the same reason, however, it appears logical that execution against the body of the debtor was possible only if he failed to meet the further obligation which he had taken upon himself when he sold the farm with option of redemption.

¹³ Cf., however, *infra*, p. 35. ¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 150. ¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

the proper sense of the word and were reduced to a state of bondage. But Dr. Lewis has proved conclusively¹⁶ that this assumption not only has no foundation whatever in ancient tradition but also leads to impossible conclusions if it is followed out into all its implications. There can be no doubt that the rent, whether it was one-sixth or five-sixths, remained the same throughout the whole period and that the debtors came under bondage, that is: could no longer leave the farms, from the moment when the first loan had been contracted.

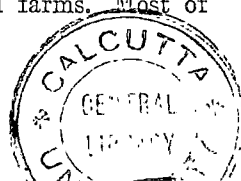
This clarifies the issue but leaves us still face to face with the same double problem. If the rent was five-sixths we must explain how so many people could be induced to contract loans under such grievous conditions. If it was one-sixth, we must explain how the situation could become so aggravated while there was no change in the (seemingly reasonable) conditions.

In order to solve this double problem we must inquire into the motives which are likely to have prompted the peasants when they took up loans, and this question in its turn must be viewed in the light of what we know about the general development of economic conditions.

Generally speaking there are two kinds of motives by which a farmer may be prompted to take up loans. Either his farm is going well and he wishes to use the loan for investments because he thinks that by buying additional land or introducing new methods of agriculture or going over to a different kind of farming he can increase his returns or profits beyond the amount of interest which he will have to pay; or he is compelled to contract loans in order to keep his farm going, because he is no longer able to live on it in existing circumstances.¹⁷ History provides us with many examples which show that debts which have been contracted for the sake of improvements and better profits may quite unexpectedly become a very grievous burden. One of the most recent examples may perhaps be found in a development in Germany in the period from 1920 to 1929. Immediately after the first World War the German government made much propaganda for improved methods of farming, and many land-owners took up large loans in order to create model farms. Most of

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁷ As to other possible reasons see *infra*, p. 31.



these farms prospered so that the owners had no difficulty in paying the interest and even amortizing part of the debts until the time of the depression when prices suddenly went down and the creditor banks, which themselves had got into difficulties, tried to withdraw the loans. At this point the situation was suddenly reversed. Most of the owners of model farms lost their estates to the banks while those farmers and land-owners who had stuck to the more primitive methods and somehow had managed to get along without money profits but also without contracting great debts were mostly able to keep their farms.¹⁸

There are, however, several factors which make it impossible to assume that anything similar happened in seventh century Athens. If the peasants had taken up loans exclusively or primarily in order to improve their farms and for the sake of better profits, we would expect that a large proportion of the peasantry stuck to the old methods and hence were spared the fate of their more enterprising brothers. It would then be difficult to understand how the evil could become so universal. But this argument alone is not decisive, since our ancient authorities may have exaggerated the number of persons involved. Much more important is the fact that there is no indication whatever of an economic depression affecting trade in seventh and sixth century Athens and that, on the contrary, Athenian trade seems to have expanded steadily over the whole period. We should therefore expect that a good many of those who contracted debts in order to improve their farms succeeded and prospered so that they were able to pay back the loans. This would again have reduced the number of those who found themselves in a state of bondage in the beginning of the sixth century. Most decisive, however, is a third consideration. The wealthy who gave the loans were not bankers or professional money lenders but were themselves land-owners and exporters of agricultural products. How, then, is it conceivable that these creditors should ever have been willing to part with the farms of their debtors¹⁹ for the meagre profit

¹⁸ If this latter group of farmers was also gradually reduced to a state of distress in which they became willing to listen to revolutionary agitators, it was due to the rapidly increasing tax burdens which were a result of the general economic chaos. But this factor cannot have played any part in seventh and sixth century Athens.

¹⁹ See *supra*, p. 28 and note 13.

which they might draw from selling them into slavery as long as they could get a safe annual return of one-sixth or even less of the products which they could profitably sell abroad? And why should the debtors not have been able to turn over a satisfactory proportion of their products to the creditors if their farms had been going well before they took up the loans and if they took this action mostly in order to make their farms more profitable? Yet ancient tradition leaves no doubt²⁰ that the practice of selling hektemors into slavery became more and more frequent in the second half of the seventh and in the sixth century, that is just at the time when the export of olive oil from Athens experienced its greatest expansion.

Let us, then, consider the other possibility, namely that many peasants were compelled to contract debts because they were no longer able to live on their farms in existing circumstances. How could such a situation have been brought about? This question can certainly not be answered by reference to modern analogies since these were conditioned by an all-pervading money economy the like of which did not exist in the period under consideration. However important the rapid development of overseas trade may have been for the history of social and economic conditions in Athens it cannot have affected the ability of the peasants to live on the produce of their farms just as well as they had lived on it during previous decades and centuries. They may not have been able to buy the luxuries brought to Athens from abroad or the products of a new specialized and refined craftsmanship, and some of them may have contracted debts in order to enjoy these modern refinements. But certainly only the most thoughtless and irresponsible would have been willing to reduce themselves and their families to bondage for such reasons, not to mention the assumption that they took upon themselves the obligation to pay five-sixths of the whole produce of their farms annually.

We must therefore look for somewhat more compelling reasons for the general development. The main causes by which a hitherto

²⁰ See Solon, frag. 25 (*Anth. Lyr.*, ed. Diehl), where Solon says that he brought back to Athens many citizens who had been sold abroad on account of debts and who had been scattered all over the world so that some of them had even forgotten their native tongue, which shows that the process must have started a very long time before the Solonian reforms.

more or less prosperous farm population can be reduced to distress or outright misery are natural catastrophes, changes in the climate, deterioration or exhaustion of the soil, and an excessive increase in the farm population itself with its natural consequence that the farms either are split into units which are too small or have to support too many people if they remain undivided and the common property of the clan. The last two causes are often to some extent interrelated, since overcrowding naturally leads to excessive exploitation of the soil which in its turn, unless very advanced methods of refertilization can be used, gradually leads to soil exhaustion. We know of no natural catastrophes beyond the occasional droughts which happened in all regions of Greece from time to time without usually having any lasting social or economic consequences, and there is no indication whatever of a change in the climate. But there is plenty of evidence for the assumption that Attica became overpopulated at a rather early period. Thucydides tells us ²¹ that a very long time before the Persian Wars the population of Attica had increased in proportion to its area far beyond that of any other part of Greece. There is no need to prove again what is a very well known fact: that in the fifth century Attica was entirely dependent on grain imports from abroad for the subsistence of its population and by the middle of the fourth century two-thirds of the grain consumed had to be imported.²² This was, of course, partly due to the large increase in the metic and slave population. But that the development started long before is proved not only by the enormous disproportion between consumption and production in these later periods and by the notorious unfertility of the Attic soil ²³ but also by the Solonian law which forbade all export of grain.²⁴ We have therefore no reason whatever to doubt the express statement of Plutarch ²⁵ that at the time of Solon the land gave a bare subsistence to those who actually tilled it, a statement which after all may ultimately go back to one of the lost poems of Solon.

This makes it possible for us to gain a somewhat clearer idea

²¹ Thucydides, I, 2, 5-6.

²² See Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 89 and 91.

²³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24, 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22, 3.

of the general development. For it then seems reasonable to assume not only that the rapid increase in Athenian overseas trade in the seventh century was due to the improvement of the arts of shipbuilding and navigation, to the natural spirit of enterprise characteristic of the Athenians, and to the situation of Athens near a good natural harbor, but that the spirit of enterprise which the Athenians certainly possessed was at least partly prompted by internal economic pressure caused by an increasing population.

It is, of course, quite impossible for us to arrive at definite conclusions concerning the details of the interrelation between creditors and debtors in the early stages of the development, since direct information is completely lacking. But some speculation concerning this problem is nevertheless not quite useless, even if it serves only to prevent us from using false analogies. As pointed out above,²⁶ Dr. Lewis is quite right if from our general knowledge of Athenian trade in the seventh century and of later conditions in Attica he draws the conclusion that the wealthy land-owners must have been especially eager to produce more olives and grapes for export purposes. In relation to their debtors they can have achieved this aim in two different ways. Either they could encourage them to use a greater proportion of their land than hitherto for the production of olives and grapes and to pay the major part of their debts in these products so that they could be directly used for export; or they could require the debtors to retain their old methods and then draw the major part of the subsistence for themselves and for their dependents from the farms of the debtors, which would have enabled them to concentrate almost entirely on the production of export products on their own estates.²⁷ What we know of later conditions in Attica suggests perhaps that both methods were followed to some extent. But, whatever the actual procedure may have been, a rent of one-sixth of the produce must have been quite satis-

²⁶ See *supra*, p. 27.

²⁷ There were, of course, many other factors also which entered into the economic situation. One of the most important factors, for instance, was the acquisition of large estates of all kinds outside of Attica by some of the noblest and wealthiest families in Attica. But, as far as the interrelation between the land-owner creditors and their debtors is concerned, the point made by Dr. Lewis is really decisive.

factory if, as all ancient sources agree, the number of creditors was comparatively very small and the number of debtors very great, so that one creditor had a great many debtors. On the other hand it is quite incredible that the debtors who were already hardly able to support themselves on their farms when they contracted the debts should have taken upon themselves the obligation to pay a rent of five-sixths of the produce. Nor is it easy to see what benefit the creditors could have expected from insisting upon a contract which under the prevailing conditions could not have been upheld for one year.

Let us, then, consider the same situation from the point of view of the debtors. If, as we have inferred, in consequence of the natural increase of the population²⁸ on a limited area, a point was reached at which the majority of the farms produced a bare subsistence for the number of people who had to live on them,²⁹ any year of bad crops must have reduced a large proportion of the peasantry to a state of distress in which they had to contract debts in order to keep themselves from starving. The conditions of the loan may then at first not have seemed too grievous. For the peasants may have hoped that in years of better crops they would at least be able to pay the rent or interest. And there may have been the additional allurements of the hope that by turning part of their farms to the production of more profitable products they might even be able later to pay back the principal. But everybody knows how creditors in such circumstances are always able to manipulate things in such a way as to keep a firm hold on their debtors. This would have been especially easy when through a fictitious sale of the farms with option of redemption the creditors had acquired a right to tell the debtor-tenants what to grow and what not to grow. The disappointment of original hopes caused by such manipulations may have been one of the causes of the aggravation of the situation. But there are many other factors which must have contributed to the same end.

²⁸ Thucydides, *loc. cit.* (see note 21 *supra*), seems to indicate that in his opinion the overpopulation of Attica in this early period was caused partly by immigration from abroad but largely also by the fact that the natural increase of the population was not, as in other parts of Greece, checked by the losses suffered in continuous military conflicts with neighboring tribes and nations.

²⁹ See *supra*, p. 32 and note 25.

On the economic side it is quite clear that, on those farms which in proportion to their size had to support the largest number of people, any year of even slightly-reduced crops must have made a rent which was otherwise quite reasonable almost unbearable. The overexploitation and ensuing exhaustion of the soil, which were inevitable under such conditions, must have made the situation still worse. At this point the right of the creditor to sell the debtor into slavery comes in again and appears now in a somewhat different light. Dr. Lewis was quite right when he pointed out that by execution against the body of the debtor the creditor would lose the farm since the body of the debtor was the security for the principal and that hence in the majority of cases the creditor would not be willing to take such action. But, if some years had passed in which the tenants had not been able to pay the rent without being reduced to such a state of starvation that they were no longer able to work properly, the creditor may have changed his mind. There is still another consideration. W. J. Woodhouse³⁰ and Dr. Lewis have proved that the farms did not belong to one man and his family but to the clan, though legally and for the purpose of contracts one man must have acted as the owner. Since, furthermore, the land was inalienable, the rest of the family or of the clan must have stayed on the farm when the "owner" was sold into slavery. But this would ordinarily not occur unless there had been arrears in the rent. Is it not likely, then, that those people who stayed on the farm were still held responsible for the arrears? And how do we know that this did not make it possible for the creditor to keep his hold on the farm by some new arrangement or legal device even after the "owner" had been sold?³¹

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

³¹ One might perhaps contend that this suggestion invalidates the argument used above (p. 30) that it was not in the interest of the creditor to sell the debtor-owner into slavery as long as he could get a safe annual return of one-sixth of the produce. But this objection has no weight. For we must remember that there was absolutely no way in which the creditor could obtain free ownership of the farm. If by the loan contract the debtor was reduced to bondage and could not leave the farm unless he was sold abroad, the creditor was bound also in so far as he could not get any revenue from the farm except through the work of members of the clan to whom the farm inalienably belonged. We must also keep in mind the fact that the creditors could not profitably

But it is not at all necessary to assume that the position of the majority of the debtors had been quite so desperate as we have pictured it, though the provisions which Solon made for the redemption of those who had been sold abroad ³² seem to indicate that such conditions had become not altogether uncommon. Let us assume that only a comparatively small minority met with this fate and that the vast majority of the debtors were still able to pay their rents more or less regularly. We must then again consider Aristotle's statement ³³ that it was the state of bondage in which the debtors were kept, even more than the amount of the rent, which caused the grievance and almost led to a revolution. How could this be true if, as we have agreed, ³⁴ this bondage caused hardly any change in the actual situation of the farmers so long as they were not sold into slavery?

I think that Dr. Lewis is perfectly right when, in criticism of one of the arguments in my earlier article, ³⁵ he points out ³⁶ that in the seventh century Athenian farmers in all likelihood took very slowly to the new non-agricultural trades and therefore would not be likely to run away to foreign countries in order to escape serfdom as long as they could stay on their farms, even under very oppressive conditions. But one may perhaps have some doubts as to whether the situation was still quite the same in the beginning of the sixth century. Considering the precarious position of aliens in all Greek states in the period in question Dr. Lewis may still be right in his belief that few if any of the peasants would have thought of escaping to foreign countries.

introduce on these farms an "extensive" type of farming, by which, in different circumstances, the profit of the owner may be increased while production is decreased, because less labor is required. Since the rent consisted in a fixed proportion of the produce of the farm, whatever this proportion may have been, any decrease in production must invariably have meant a loss of revenue to the creditor. It was therefore not in the interest of the creditors to decrease the number of people living on a farm by selling some of them into slavery, unless their number exceeded the number necessary for its most intensive cultivation. In a period in which all work was done with rather primitive tools the latter situation is identical with overcrowding.

³² See *supra*, note 20.

³³ *Const. Ath.*, II, 3. See also the comment on this passage by Dr. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁴ See *supra*, pp. 27-28. ³⁵ See note 4 *supra*.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

But trades and crafts of all kinds had developed to a very considerable extent before the time of Solon, and this development had been going on over a considerable length of time. It would then be natural to assume that even the more backward peasants in Attica had become sufficiently familiar with the existence of other ways of life for an increasing number of them to envisage the possibility of finding relief from the very great economic hardships of their life by taking up easier and perhaps more profitable professions. It is then that the legal provision of the debt contracts which forbade the indebted farmers to leave their farms without permission of their creditors must have begun to be felt as very grievous. History after all provides us with many examples to show that groups and classes which have accepted without resistance and even without visible resentment the legal and political restrictions under which they have to live, as long as there was no visible alternative, become at once restive and unruly when they become aware of the possibility of a different way of life, even though there may have been no appreciable change in the actual conditions in which they personally had to live for a long time.

That all this is no mere speculation but corresponds to the actual situation in the early sixth century in Athens is confirmed by some aspects of the development in the Solonian and post-Solonian periods. As both Woodhouse and Dr. Lewis³⁷ have pointed out, Solon did three things: he insured the people against enslavement by forbidding the securing of loans upon the person of the debtor; he gave the people back their lands by cancelling agricultural debts; and he took the first step towards making the land legally alienable by permitting a man without sons freely to bequeath his property.³⁸ By this latter provision he not only freed the peasants from a restriction which once had been the guaranty of their citizen status but had since become very burdensome but also compensated to some extent the wealthy land-owners for the losses which they suffered in consequence of the first two provisions, by enabling them to acquire new land in outright ownership, not merely in possessory right.

Thus far Professor Woodhouse and Dr. Lewis agree. Dr. Lewis believes, however,³⁹ that Woodhouse was "too sanguine about

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-5. ³⁸ Cf. also *infra*, pp. 39 f. ³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 155-6.

the effects of Solon's agrarian legislation when he pictures the peasants restored thereby to a position of economic security." He admits that "from that monstrous evil, the evil of *latifundia*, Attic agrarian history, thanks primarily to Solon, continued free," but thinks that "that was not because Solon set the small landholder and farmer on such a secure economic basis that he would not part with his land; it was because his laws on inheritance assured the constant division of large estates." He finally quotes with approval a passage from Woodhouse's book which he considers more realistic than the rest and which runs like this: "By declaring illegal the lending upon security of the body, Solon could and did guarantee the personal freedom of the borrower; but he did not guarantee, and in the nature of things could not guarantee, the permanent freedom of the rescued estates. For Solon did not declare illegal the giving of security for loan; he declared illegal only a particular type of security. So far as his own actions and regulations went, there was nothing whatever in them to prevent every newly liberated farm in Attika from being next day mortgaged up to the hilt and falling ultimately once more into the hands of noble capitalists."⁴⁰

There can be hardly any doubt that Woodhouse has summed up correctly the legal situation created by Solon's legislation. But it seems possible to disagree with Dr. Lewis' view of the actual economic consequences of this legal situation. He is quite right when he takes the state loans instituted by Pisistratus as proof of a continued need for loans among the farmers. That such needs developed again and on a considerable scale is quite natural. But it is questionable whether the consequences were so far-reaching as Dr. Lewis assumes. His fundamental premise seems to be that on the economic side Solon's legislation did nothing for the peasants but to bring them back to the state in which they found themselves when the process had started which gradually reduced the majority of them to hektemor status. He seems to imply that in some way Solon did even less than this for them, since their economic situation had deteriorated in the century preceding the Solonian reforms even regardless of their debts. But if this had been the case the same process must by necessity have started over again, with the only difference that the peasants

⁴⁰ Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

were no longer reduced to bondage and could not be sold into slavery, but would have first to mortgage their property, which hitherto had been inalienable in the family, and finally to hand it over to their creditors. Since, for the reasons discussed above,⁴¹ it must have been more difficult in the time of Solon to draw from the average farms a sufficient living for all their occupants than had been the case in the beginning of the earlier period, it would be logical to expect that in the course of the following century or century and a half the great majority of these farms passed into the hands of the big land-owners and that by the end of this period most of the land, whether consisting of large estates or smaller farms, was owned by the descendants of the land-owning aristocracy, just as at the end of the earlier period these same people had acquired possessory rights, though not free ownership, over the larger part of the country.⁴² This is also what Dr. Lewis seems to imply.⁴³ But one has only to read Aristophanes or the orators in order to see that such was not at all the case.

If the general development did not take this seemingly logical course there must have been something to prevent this from happening. I cannot find any better explanation than the fact that the Solonian legislation made it possible for the peasants to take up other professions and the assumption that a large and probably increasing number of those who up to Solon's time had been compelled to stay on the farms, where they were kept in bondage, availed themselves of this opportunity. The complete lack of a right of primogeniture or any other legislation calculated to prevent the splitting up of farms and estates into parcels that were too small⁴⁴ must certainly have caused very serious difficulties, and the decision as to who should stay on a farm and who should take up another profession may not always have been

⁴¹ See *supra*, p. 35.

⁴² See *supra*, p. 26 and p. 27.

⁴³ See the passage on the reason why there were no latifundia in Attica, quoted *supra*, p. 30.

⁴⁴ If the owner died intestate, all his male children received equal shares of his property. This law seems to have been in force from Solon to the fourth century. If the father made a will he could give a larger share to one of his sons than to the others. The existence of this latter law, however, can be proved only for the fourth century though it may have been much older. For a detailed discussion see L. Bouchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la République Athénienne*, III (Paris, 1897), pp. 423 ff.

easy. But all this cannot have prevented a certain migration from the country to the city as soon as the bondage was abolished until the farm population was reduced to a somewhat more suitable number. That this was actually what happened is also proved by the large number of citizen craftsmen and tradesmen whom we find living in the city in the fifth century,⁴⁵ the majority of whom must have been descendants of the farm population of an earlier period. All this tends to support our view of the psychological reasons which contributed to the restiveness of the indebted peasants in the beginning of the sixth century.⁴⁶

To the economic and psychological causes of the aggravation of the conflict between the indebted peasants and their creditors in the time of Solon one may add certain political reasons. Aristotle's remark, *χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ δουλεύειν*, has still another implication. It seems to indicate that in his opinion the discrepancy between the citizenship of the indebted peasants and the bondage in which they were kept was one of the main causes of the unrest. The remark has often been made that the term "citizenship" has not much meaning if applied to a time when, according to Aristotle's own admission,⁴⁷ the whole organization of the state was entirely oligarchic and even those among the poorer people who escaped serfdom can hardly have had any active political rights. It might then seem as if Aristotle, when using this term, had projected into the early sixth century a concept which really belongs to a much later period. This may be partly so. But it seems possible to interpret Aristotle's statement in such a way that it makes very good sense. Unfortunately we know nothing about the details of the development. But there are two factors which may throw some light on the situation. The very fact that from a very early time, probably from the first settlement of Greeks in Attica, down to the time of Solon the farms had been the inalienable property of the peasant families or clans shows that the peasants had always been considered an integral part of the Athenian body politic.⁴⁸ The rise

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Pseudo-Xenophon, *Const. Ath.*, I, 1 ff.

⁴⁶ See *supra*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁷ Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, II, 2: *ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικὴ πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ ἐδούλευον κτλ.* and *ibid.*, II, 3: *οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέρανον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐτύγχανον μετέχοντες.*

⁴⁸ It is, by the way, by no means certain that the extreme feudalism

of tyranny in the middle of the sixth century through the support of the poorer classes, on the other hand, shows that by this time these classes began to have some political influence in spite of the fact that they were still very much restricted in their political rights, which presupposes that they had been awakened to some political consciousness. As to the intermediate period we have to rely on conjectures. But it would perhaps be logical to assume that the excessively oligarchic rule which preceded the Solonian reforms had at least partly been brought about by economic pressure⁴⁰ and that the rise of the peasants to greater political consciousness was conditioned by the influx of alien tradesmen which had set in in the period preceding the Solonian reforms. For it is at this time that the contrast between the freedom which these aliens enjoyed and the serfdom of so many native sons of the country must have appeared especially grievous.

On the basis of all these considerations we can now give a definite answer to the double question which has confronted us again and again in the course of our investigation. There is nothing in the economic situation in Attica in the seventh century, so far as we can reconstruct it, to justify the assumption that the peasants were ever able to pay or their creditors to demand a rent as excessive as five-sixths of the produce of the farms. On the other hand there are a great many factors, economic, psychological, and political, which show how in the course of a century or so the conflict between the indebted peasants and their creditors could, and in accordance with the general development must, have become so aggravated as to bring the country to the brink of revolution in spite of the fact that there was no increase in the (seemingly reasonable) rent and no change in the legal relation between creditors and debtors. Ancient tradition concerning the status and history of the hektemors, therefore, proves not only consistent in itself but also in harmony with the conclusions which can be drawn from indirect evidence.

of the seventh century in Attica was not preceded by an epoch in which the peasants had a much more positive part in the affairs of their country. One may perhaps point to the analogy of the semi-feudalism prevailing in Thessaly in the fifth century which has been analyzed by Eduard Meyer in the appendix to his work *Theopomps Hellenika* (Halle, 1909), pp. 218 ff.

⁴⁰ See *supra*, pp. 27 ff.

We have reached our conclusion through a new analysis of some aspects of the economic and political history of seventh and sixth century Athens. At this point it is perhaps possible to argue that the ancient tradition concerning the rent paid by the hektemors confirms in its turn to some extent the soundness of the main results of the preceding analysis. This may seem a circular argument. But such a view would not be quite justified. We have seen in the beginning ⁵⁰ that one of the two possible explanations of the term *hektemor* is supported both by tradition and by an argument based on common sense, while the other is supported by an "appeal to common sense" only. Any historical reconstruction which satisfies both tradition and common sense must therefore be preferable to a reconstruction which has to rely on an argument from common sense exclusively.

This does not mean, of course, that all the suggestions made concerning the details of the development must be accepted as firmly established historical truth. Many of these suggestions remain entirely in the realm of conjecture.⁵¹ Conjectures of this kind, however, are not quite useless since the less conjectural reconstruction of the general development can be made plausible only if we are also able to show in what way or ways it could have worked out in detail.

Both in making conjectures as to details and in the reconstruction of the general development we have made free use of conclusions based on those general laws which are derived from universal history and common human experience. In this respect we have followed exactly the same method as those who appealed to common sense against ancient tradition. The only difference has been that, instead of appealing, regardless of all other considerations, to laws which by their very nature can apply only *ὡς ἐν τῷ πᾶσι*, we have tried first to reconstruct the historical background as far as possible in order to see what laws would probably apply in the special circumstances prevailing in the period considered.

The brilliant progress of the science of economics in the last century and the acquisition of a new insight into general economic laws have induced some scholars to deal in a somewhat high-

⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 25-26.

⁵¹ See, for instance, *supra*, p. 34.

handed fashion with historical tradition. It would, however, be dangerous to forget that history is the only source of our knowledge of these universal laws and that in this respect the science of economics is a child of history. It might be advisable for this child to support its mother rather than to kill her, especially since, even when grown to maturity, it still cannot live without her.

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FERGUSON'S LAW IN ATHENS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

Oliver's recent publication¹ of inscriptions from the Agora excavations has brought to light a considerable number of prytany-secretaries dating from the period of the Empire. In dating these and other inscriptions which contain the name and demotic of prytany-secretaries the question arises does Ferguson's law apply to the Empire period? Statements like, "If the secretary cycle has been unbroken since 49/8, the year of Apolexis falls in 25/4"² call for a re-examination of the evidence as to the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

In his study of the Athenian archons under the Empire Graindor concludes that Ferguson's law no longer holds; he therefore dates the change in the method of choosing archons from 103/2, the date in Ferguson's earlier work when the secretary cycle stopped.³ We know now that Ferguson's law relative to the *γραμματεῖς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* continues at least until 92/1. Though we have the demotic of only two secretaries in the ensuing period there is a strong possibility that the cycle continued at least until the middle of the century. If there existed as before 92/1 a coördinate rotation between the tribal cycles of the prytany-secretaryship and the priesthood of Asklepios it is likely that Ferguson's law continued until 49/8.⁴ Assuming that Ferguson's law was broken at the beginning of the first century B. C. Graindor claims that it was not re-established in the Empire period.

The specific evidence, however, which Graindor cites as the basis of his conclusion does not confirm his assumption. Cornelius Menestheus, the *γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα*⁵ in *I. G.*, II², 1776, 1781, whom Graindor cites as evidence in the Empire

¹ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), pp. 29-103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82, n. 22.

³ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, VIII, 2 [Brussels, 1922]), pp. 13, 14, n. 1.

⁴ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 32-4.

⁵ For this more usual designation of the *γραμματεῖς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* cf. W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, VII [Ithaca, 1898]), pp. 65-6.

period of the same secretary in an interval of two or three years, is actually the secretary of two prytany lists which belong to the same year.⁶ Similarly the secretaries of the Council and Demos in two consecutive years (*I. G.*, II², 1773, γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀχαρνὸς Λαμπρεὺς [Erechtheis I] and *I. G.*, II², 1774, γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Μᾶρκος Εὐκαρπίδου Ἀζηγιεύς [Hippothontis X]) cannot be used as evidence by analogy for a breakdown of Ferguson's law. The γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου was chosen by χειροτονία rather than the lot as far back as Aristotle's own day.⁷ Furthermore Dow has shown that this secretary was not chosen according to any cyclical order of rotation and that already in the Hellenistic period this office had become a political post to which a man graduated from the undersecretaryship.⁸ Thus all the evidence cited by Graindor does not establish his claim that the secretary cycle was not re-established in the Empire period.

An examination of the evidence in the period following 92/1 does not establish with absolute certainty the cessation of Ferguson's law with respect to secretary tribal cycles. Where a possibility is offered of testing the tribal rotation of the secretaryship we have the following results.

The only secretaries with demotics immediately after 92/1 are:

TABLE 1 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 34)

Year	Archon	Secretary	No. of Phyle	No. of Phyle	Priest of Asklepios
2/1	Lysandros	Γάιος Γαίου Ἀλαιεύς	II or VIII	12	
1/0	Lysiades			I	Diokles Kephesia
0/49	Demetrios			2	
9/8	Demochares	— σποκλέους Ἀπολλωνιεύς	XII	3	
8/7	Philokrates			4	

On the surface this evidence points to the discontinuance of the official tribal order but we must not exclude the possibility that we have here evidence for a tribal cycle in the allotment order such as Ferguson has shown to exist in the prytany-secretaryship for one cycle in the period 157/6-146/5.⁹ The lack of a coördinate

⁶ *C. I. G.*, II², 1781, note; 1770, note.

⁷ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁸ S. Dow, *Prytancis (Hesperia)*, Supplement I [Athens, 1937], p. 16.

⁹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 42.

rotation between the tribes of prytany-secretaries and the tribes of the priests of Asklepios¹⁰ may indicate only that the secretary cycle was subject to political disturbance after 92/1 whereas the priesthood of Asklepios being a non-political office was less subjected to the disturbance of the official tribal order.¹¹ In view of the allotment order in the list of archons dating from 103/2-96/5¹² it may be that the secretary cycles also continued in the allotment order. Both offices may have found it easier to continue in an allotment order than make the necessary adjustments to re-establish the official order. Thus the evidence does not exclude the possibility of prytany-secretary cycles in the allotment order in this specific portion of the first century.

The next possibility of a tribal rotation of the prytany-secretaryship is found in a decree passed in the archonship of T. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος who has been securely dated by Kolbe in 117/8.¹³ The prytany-secretary for this year is Νευκίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεῖς (Ptolemais V). Now if we rotate the prytany-secretaryship in the official order of the tribes from 117/8 to 131/2 we come upon an interesting discovery: see Table 2, p. 47.

From this Table we may note the following facts. The prytany-secretary cycle, in which the secretary for 117/8 belongs to Ptolemais (V), ends in 124, the year in which Hadrian visited Athens. The coincidence of Hadrian's arrival in Athens with the completion of a prytany-secretary tribal cycle would thus facilitate the creation of a new tribe. Hadrian arrived in Athens in Boedromion (Sept.-Oct.) of 124;¹⁴ his arrival was marked with many honors among which was changing the commencement of the official year from Ἑκατομβαιῶν to Βοηδρομιῶν. The prytany-secretary from Attalis (12) must have assumed office either in Ἑκατομβαιῶν or Βοηδρομιῶν in 124. Weber has shown that

¹⁰ Though Graindor is in doubt as to whether Ferguson's law with respect to the priests of Asklepios continues in the Empire period, he uses the Asklepios priest cycles to date several archons, cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, n. 1; 33-4; 90. This priesthood had become a life office during the second half of the first century A. D., cf. *I. G.*, II², 4481, 4495, 3704.

¹¹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 65-6.

¹² *I. G.*, II², 2336.

¹³ W. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI (1921), p. 108.

¹⁴ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Hadrianis was created in the winter of 124/5 or more probably in March 125.¹⁵ This meant that the prytany-secretary from Attalis (12) must have served until September 125 and that the new secretary cycle could not start until September 125. The same must have been the case with the archon eponymous Εὐφάνης who marks the first year of Hadrian's ἐπιδημία; he must have

TABLE 2 (based on Kirchner-Kolbe table, cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI [1942], pp. 84-5)

Year	Archon	No. of Phyle	No. of Phyle	Secretary
117/8	Τ. Καπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος	XII	V	Νεικίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς
118/9	Δ. Οὐιβούλλιος Ἰππαρχος Μαραθώνιος	X	6	
119/20	Φλάουιος Στρατόλαος		7	
120/1	Κλ. Δημόφιλος		8	
121/2	Φλάουιος Σοφοκλῆς		9	
122/3	Τ. Φλ. Ἀλκιβιάδης (I), Δεωσθένους Παιανιεύς	III	10	
123/4	Κάσιος Διογένης		11	
124/5	Φλ. Εὐφάνης		12	
Creation of Hadrianis				
125/6	Γ. Ἰούλιος Κάσιος Στεριεύς	III	1	
126/7	Τιβ. Κλ. Ἡρόδης Μαραθώνιος	XI	2	
127/8	Μέμμιος [...]ρος Κολ[λυτεύς]	II	3	
128/9	Κλ. Δομετιανός		4	
129/30			5	
130/1			6	
131/2	Κλ. Φιλογένης Βησαιεύς (Hadrianis)	VII	7 (Hadrianis)	

continued in office until September 125 when Cassius went into office. Therefore both the secretary of 125/6, the date of the commencement of a new tribal cycle, and the archon Cassius assumed office in September 125.

Now if we rotate the prytany-secretaryship in the official tribal order forward from this point we find that Hadrianis' turn, being seventh in the new official order,¹⁶ comes on 131/2. Even though Hadrianis was created in 125 the archaizing spirit of the time would prevent Hadrianis from holding the secretaryship until

¹⁵ W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassung des kaiserlichen Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 163; cf. Grunhofer, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22, and Grunhofer, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1932), pp. 16 ff.

¹⁶ Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

its turn came in the official order. Perhaps Hadrian himself with his passionate devotion to Athenian antiquarianism would not wish the tribal order to be broken and requested that Hadrianis await its official turn. On the occasion of Hadrianis' turn in 131/2 the Athenians gave signal honor to Hadrian by selecting as archon eponymous a man from the deme of Βῆσαι, a deme in which, as Oliver has shown,¹⁷ Hadrian himself and all later Roman emperors who became citizens of Athens were enrolled. The coincidence of an archon and a prytany-secretary from Hadrianis in 131/2 must have been a deliberate policy in honoring Hadrianis' inception as seventh in the official order of the Athenian tribes. If this is the case we have here evidence for the existence of the tribal cycles in the official order in the time of Hadrian.

As partial corroboration of this we have the coincidence of a secretary in the exact year in which Graindor, on independent grounds, had approximately dated the archon of the same decree. Graindor, on the basis of internal evidence, has given in his table of archons 95/6 as the approximate date of the archonship of Φιλόππατος and Λαιλανός.¹⁸ The prytany-secretary in the archonship of Φιλόππατος and Λαιλανός is Βούλων Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιος of the tribe Oeneis (VII).¹⁹ The only definite *point d'appui* for testing a tribal cycle in this period is the archonship of Τ. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος securely dated by Kolbe in 117/8. The secretary for 117/8 is Νεκίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς of the tribe Ptolemais (V).²⁰ If we project tribal cycles from the year of the latter secretary we find that the year of Βούλων Μοιραγένους falls on 95/6, the approximate date which Graindor on independent evidence had given to Φιλόππατος and Λαιλανός. Though this coincidence is not offered as positive proof it does give some additional confidence in believing in the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

The final possibility of testing the tribal rotation of the prytany-secretaryship is found in several prytany lists dated in the years 166/7-169/70, years in which the sequence of archons is clear and their date certain.²⁰ The relevant facts are stated in the following

¹⁷ Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), p. 60.

¹⁸ Graindor, *op. cit.*, No. 69.

¹⁹ *I. G.*, II², 1759.

²⁰ Cf. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 137, 138-9, 149; cf. note 31 *infra*.

table which contains the only three secretaries who can be dated consecutively in the Empire period.

TABLE 3

nscription	Year	Archon	Secretary	Demotic	Phyle
7., II ² , 1774	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαῖος	Φυλάσιος	Oeneis VIII
7., II ² , 1775; sp., XI (1942), s. 18 and 21	168/9	Τιμήσιος Ποντικός	Σκρειβώνιος Ταμιακός	'Αλαιεύς	Kekropis IX
7., II ² , 1776, 31.	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Κορ. Μενεσθεύς		

From this table it is evident that if we knew the demotic of Κορ. Μενεσθεύς we could test the possibility of the prytany-secretaryship in this period. It has been apparently overlooked that Κορ. Μενεσθεύς, who is γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα in the two prytany lists dating from 169/70, comes from the same stemma as Κλέων Μενεσθέως 'Αζηγιεύς who is κοσμήτης in *I. G.*, II², 1969, line 3 and note, 1970, line 4 and note; Λ. Κορ. 'Αττικὸς ὁ καὶ Κλέων 'Αζηγιεύς, who is ἐφηβος in 112/3-125/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2029, line 4); Λ. Κορ. 'Αττικὸς ὁ καὶ Μενεσθεύς 'Αζηγιεύς also an ἐφηβος in 112/3-125/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2029, line 7); the latter ἐφηβος also appears in a dedication dated ca. 138-161 (*I. G.*, II², 3392 and note); Λ. Ἐρένσιος Κορνήλιος ὁ καὶ 'Αττικὸς 'Αζηγιεύς, who is κοσμήτωρ ἐφήβων in 165/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2090, lines 4 and 12). Thus Κορ. Μενεσθεύς, the secretary for 169/70, can now be assigned on the basis of this stemma to the deme 'Αζηγία of the tribe Hippothontis (X). With the secretary of 167/8 coming from Oeneis (VIII), that of 168/9 coming from Kekropis (IX), and that of 169/70 coming from Hippothontis (X) we have high hopes for the possibility of tribal cycles in this period. If we only had another precisely dated secretary to serve as a *point d'appui* we could triangulate, as it were, the possibility of tribal cycles and thus definitely establish or reject the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

The missing link and corroboration of tribal cycles in this period is found in *I. G.*, II², 1077, a decree passed in the archonship of Φλ. Διογέννης. This archon has been dated with certainty by Dittenberger in 209/10,²¹ for the decree passed in Posideon

²¹ W. Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*², No. 872, n. 3; cf. *I. G.*, II², 1077, note to lines 6-7.

(Dec.-Jan.) is in honor of Geta who was elevated by Septimius Severus, after the Caledonian campaign in the closing months of 209,²² to the rank of Augustus and assumed the title *Britannicus*. Φλ. Διογένης therefore has been dated with certainty by Dittenberger in 209/10 though Graindor dates him in 208/9 or 209/10, favoring the earlier date.²³ Now it happens that the secretary of this same decree, dated on independent grounds, establishes beyond doubt Dittenberger's date and furnishes conclusive evidence for the continuation of Ferguson's law. The secretary for the year in which Φλ. Διογένης was archon is Ῥόδων Καλλίστου, Μαπαθώνιος (Aiantis XI). Now if we begin with 167/8-169/70, years in which the secretaries come from Oeneis (VII), Kekropis (IX), and Hippothontis (X), and rotate forward tribal cycles in the official order we find that the year in which Ῥόδων serves as prytany-secretary is 209/10, the very year in which Dittenberger, on the basis of the elevation of Geta to the rank of Augustus in 209, dated the archon Φλ. Διογένης. This coincidence reached on the basis of two pieces of evidence quite independent of each other definitely establishes the operation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period and specifically supplies for us the upper and lower limits of tribal cycles extending from 167/8 to 209/10.

Our confidence in this conclusion may be shaken by the fact that the secretary cycle in the earlier period of the second century (95/6-131/2) does not, if rotated forward, dovetail with the secretary cycle beginning with 167/8. But the various breaks in the tribal cycles in the Hellenistic period show that tribal cycles adjust themselves to the social and political conditions of Athens. Therefore the possibility of a similar break in the tribal order with a later readjustment must not be ruled out even in the Empire period. The stability of internal conditions in Athens in the Empire period does not suggest the same reasons for the break as in the cycles in the Hellenistic period. Insufficient evidence with respect to secretaries in this period, 117/8-167/8, prevents a precise determination of the point where the cycle breaks. The only secretaries in the interval between

²² For the date of the elevation of Geta to the rank of Augustus, cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, VIII, p. 427; Dittenberger, *I. G.*, III, 10, note; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, p. 41; Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 236, n. 4.

²³ Graindor, *op. cit.*, No. 169.

131/2 and 167/8 are ——— Εὐδήμου Γαργήτιος dated by Oliver in the first half of the century and — ατων Γαργήτιος dated by Oliver in the middle of the century.²⁴ The first secretary may be placed either in 126/7 or 139/40, while the second may be placed in 152/3, if the cycles continue in the normal order after 131/2. But lack of complete evidence concerning where the break in the cycle might have occurred or the reasons for the break leaves us in darkness as to the date of these two secretaries.

Yet the evidence given in support of tribal cycles in these periods of the second century (95/6–131/2, 167/8–209/10) is of such a nature that, until the contrary is proved,—and certainly it is not proved by the evidence presented by Graindor—, we may be disposed to believe that the earlier method of selecting prytany-secretaries was maintained in the Empire period. It is not likely that the prytany-secretaryship which was closely connected with the rotation of the prytaneis, a tribal mechanism that still survived in the time of Hadrian, should be changed. It is obvious, however, that the office has lost the importance it once had. In the prytany lists of the Empire the secretary is not always recorded with the *aisitai*, and in many cases when his name is recorded the demotic is lacking. Whenever the *γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα* is present in these lists he follows the *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου*.²⁵ But this decline in importance is not evidence in itself of the change in the method of choosing the prytany-secretary. It may only account for the absence of his name or the demotic.

If this is the case with the prytany-secretaryship in the Empire period, we have unexpectedly found a criterion for a precise dating of several archons and a number of secretaries in the Empire period. Table 4 gives us the approximate or exact dating by editors of the archons and secretaries who have been dated shortly before or after 167/8. Now if we arrange the secretaries with demotics into tribal cycles in the official order, setting them in the period determined by internal and external evidence, we gain the precise dating for some of these archons, secretaries, and inscriptions as given on Table 5.

A criticism of the evidence concerning the prytany secretaries shows that we cannot share Graindor's judgment about Ferguson's

²⁴ Oliver, *Hesperia*, XL (1922), Nos. 11, 12.

²⁵ Oliver, *Ibid.*, p. 30; cf. Dawkins, *Byzantine*, p. 22.

TABLE 4

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Deme	Phyle
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1773	166/7	M. Βαλερίου Μαμερτίνου	Φ...ος Ποσειδωνίου	Φυλάσιος	Oeneis VIII
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1774	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαίος	'Αλασιεύς	Kekropis IX
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1775; Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), Nos. 18, 21	168/9	Τυνήιος Ποντικός Εθσεύς	Σκρεψιδώνιος Ταμιακός		
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776; (1942), Nos. 18, 21	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Kop. Μενεσθεύς	('Αζηνηεύς)	Hippothontis X
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776; Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), Nos. 18, 21	ca. 170/80?	'Αθηνόδωρος δ' καὶ 'Αγρίππας	Εὐχάριστος Παπαράνου	'Επεικίδης	Kekropis IX
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776; Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), Nos. 18, 21	ca. 180?	'Ασμένου 'Ιταίος	-- Διονυσίου		
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 180?	Δημόστρατος Μαπαθώνιος	'Ονήσιμος Εὐρυχίδου	Λαμπιπρεύς	Erechtheis I
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 180?		Κλωδίδιος 'Αντίοχος	(Βερνεκίδης) ²⁰	Ptolemais V
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 180?		'Ιστλλή (ιος) Πυθόδωρος		
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 180?		Εισίδωρος 'Ου --	'Αναγυράσιος	Erechtheis I
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	end of 2nd cent.		Αὐ(ίδιος?) 'Υάκινθος		
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	181/2-182/3	'Αναρχία (μετὰ Μεμ. Φνάκκου)	Μυστικός	'Ερποιάδης	Hippothontis X or Antiochis XII
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	end of 2nd cent.		Εισίδωρος Φήλικος	'Αγγελέθθεν	Pandionis III
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 190-200?		Εύκαρπος	Σφάγριος	Akamantis VI
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	208/9 or 209/10 beginning of 3rd cent.	Φλ. Διογένης Μαπαθώνιος	'Ρόδων Καλλίστου Θεο[---]	Μαπαθώνιος Αθ[μωεύς] ²¹	Aiantis XI Attalis XIII
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; 2086, line 78	ca. 210	'Ασαστανός	Εὐρύκος		

TABLE 9

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Deme	Phyle
I 7., II ^a , 1773 I 1., II ^a , 1774 { I 6., II ^a , 1775; Cl var, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942) I 1., II ^a , 1776, 1781	166/7	M. Βαλερίου Μαμερτίνου	Φ...ος Ποσειδωνίου	Φυλάσιος	7 Oeneis VIII
	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαίος	'Αλαίειος	Kekropis IX
	168/9	Τυνήιος Πορτικὸς Βησέειος	Σκρειβώνιος Ταμιακός		
	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Kop. Μεγασθεός	('Αλγηνεῖος)	Hippothontis X
	170/1				11
	171/2				12
I 3., II ^a , 1798, 2086	172/3				13
	173/4				1
	174/5				2
	175/6				3
	176/7				4
	177/8		'Ιστλῆ(ος) Πυθιδωρος	(Βερρεκίδης) ²⁸	Ptolemais V
I 1., II ^a , 1790, 1789 { I 6., II ^a , 1739, Cl var, <i>Hesp.</i> , IV (1935), No. 11	178/9				6
	179/80				7
	180/1				8
	181/2	(M. Φλάκκος Μαραθώνιος)	Εὐχάριστος Παραμόνιου	'Επεικίδης ²⁹	Kekropis IX
	182/3	'Αναρχία (μετὰ M. Φλάκκου)	Μυστικός	'Εραιάδης ³⁰	Hippothontis X
	183/4				
I 1., II ^a , 1796 { Cl var, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), No. 23	184/5				11
	185/6				12
	186/7				13
	187/8		Kλώδιος 'Αντίοχος	Δαμπτρεῖος	Erechtheis I
	188/9		Ελισδοτος Φήλικος	'Αγγεληθερ	2 Pandionis III
	189/90				4
	190/1				5

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Dene	Phyle
{ Oliver, <i>ibid.</i> , No. 5	191/2		Εύκαρος	Σφίπριος	Akamantis VI
	192/3				7
	193/4				8
	194/5				9
	195/6				10
	196/7				11
	197/8				12
	198/9				13
	199/200		Ελισβερος 'Ον --	'Αναγυράσιος	Erechtheis I
{ Meritt, <i>Hesp.</i> , III (1934), No. 43	200/1				2
	201/2				3
	202/3				4
	203/4				5
	204/5				6
	205/6				7
	206/7				8
	207/8				9
	208/9				10
	209/10	Φλ. Διογένης Μαραθώνιος	'Ρόδων Καλλίστου	Μαραθώνιος	Aiantis XI
I. G., II ² , 1077	210/11				12

law in the Empire period. The evidence for tribal cycles, though limited, definitely proves that Ferguson's law continued in the Empire period. With this discovery the writer hopes to have laid the foundation for a more precise chronology of Athens in the Roman period. With the touchstone of Ferguson's law in the Empire period we can not only date much of the new material but also date precisely many of the archons, such as are associated with the paidotribia of Abascantus, who can now be definitely assigned to 136/7,³¹ or are mentioned in many prytany lists. Furthermore the prosopographia in the inscriptions which can be dated now by means of Ferguson's law will be of considerable ancillary value in giving more precise limits to other inscriptions. Finally the persistence of Ferguson's law in the second century A. D. shows the tenacity and longevity of the basic feature of democracy in an Athens whose democracy perished centuries before.³²

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²⁶ The demotic of Ἰστλή(ιος) Πυθόδωρος may be inferred from Ἰστλήιος Συνέρος Βερ(νεκίδης) in *I. G.*, II², 2086, line 78. The gentilicum is so rare that we may confidently assign the secretary of *I. G.*, II², 1798 to Ptolemais.

²⁷ At my protest Oliver (in a letter) retracts the reading [γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρωταρελάν ---]δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερνεκίδης in *Hesperia*, XI (1942), No. 36. The γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα in this inscription is Θεο[--- 'Αθ]μονεύς, and since these two secretaries are one and the same in this period the above restoration is impossible.

²⁸ The demotic of Πυθόδωρος being Βερνεκίδης [Ptolemais V] (cf. note 26 *supra*), we may date him either in 177/8 or 190/1. Since Dittenberger dates this prytany list *ca.* 180 A. D., the writer chooses the earlier limit.

²⁹ The prytany list *I. G.*, II², 1790, which contains Εὐχάριστος Παράμουν Ἐπεικίδης (Kekropis IX) as secretary, must be dated in the archonship of Μ. Φλάκκος Μαραθώνιος (cf. *I. G.*, II², 1739, 1791) who now can be definitely dated in 181/2, preceding the ἀραρχία of 182/3 (cf. *I. G.*, II², 1739).

³⁰ The deme Ἐρμιόδαι may belong to Hippothontis X or Antiochis XII. Since the secretary Mysticus belongs to the ἀραρχία after Flaccus he can only belong to Hippothontis.

³¹ This is now no longer because the ἀραρχία mentioned in *I. G.*, II², 1770, 1791 can be the 246 year of the paidotribia of Abascantus. The perfect sequence of a tribal cycle in the secretaries of 167/8-169/70 shows that Kolbe's dating of Abascantus is now a certainty.

³² The writer is indebted to Prof. Oliver for valuable information about the demotics of several secretaries discussed in this paper.

COASTAL DEFENSE IN THE ROMAN WORLD.

That a country bordering the sea must be prepared to defend its coasts has until recently been one of those truisms which the ordinary individual admitted and, having admitted, promptly forgot. Students of the Roman world thus have noted the fact that Rome had coasts to defend but generally ignore the methods of defense. Yet these latter have their interest today and are not without importance in the general history of the Roman state.

In the ancient Mediterranean, coastal defense was a difficult task, inasmuch as it entailed the protection of the shore not only against invasions in time of war but also against sporadic piratical incursions. For this protection a state generally had the choice of two main methods, one "active" and one "passive." The active defense relied on a navy to seek out the enemy before he approached the coast; the passive defense consisted in fortifying the shoreline itself. Throughout their history the Romans used both procedures, and one conclusion which may be drawn from a study of their experience is the fact that a passive defense is at some times and in some places the most economical means of guarding a shore. The relative emphasis which the Roman state placed on the two methods was subject to interesting variations; to sum up briefly, it may be said that the Roman Republic relied primarily on a passive defense but often found this inadequate, while the Roman Empire drew the appropriate moral and depended on an active defense until the third century of our era. Thereafter the state weakened and reverted to the Republican policy. Since the naval aspect of this defense has been treated elsewhere,¹ I shall deal here more especially with the nature of the passive defense. The character of our evidence will dictate particular attention to conditions in the Empire, but one may discern the main lines of policy in the Republic.

¹ See especially F. W. Clark, *The Influence of Sea-power on the History of the Roman Republic* (Menasha, 1915); L. A. Stella, *Italia antica sul mare* (Milan, 1930); Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 B. C.-A. D. 324* (Ithaca, 1941).

I

The Romans first acquired a shoreline in the middle of the fourth century B. C., when they established their rule over the salt industry at the mouth of the Tiber. They met therewith the problem of coastal protection, for piracy was rife at this time in the Tyrrhenian; Livy notes an incursion on the Roman littoral by Sicilian pirates in 349. Indeed the Roman advance to the sea may have been dictated by their desire to ensure protection for the area against such raids. As yet, however, the Romans were unwilling to create a naval establishment and accordingly accepted the solution which has satisfied many another people approaching the problem for the first time, that is, the direct control of the shore itself. In keeping with their practice of sending out colonies to dangerous regions, the Romans established a maritime colony about 350 B. C. at Ostia, just south of the Tiber mouth.² A fort was constructed, about which the colonists received their individual small farms; and here they with their descendants continued to form a garrison of trained men always on hand to repel any marauders. At times they might prevent a hostile landing; more generally they must have come up after the pirates had landed, in which case they destroyed the galley drawn up on the shore and cut off the retreat of those who had pushed inland for booty.

Within the next fifty years after the founding of Ostia the Roman state slowly discovered additional means of coping with dangers from the sea. When it conquered the town of Antium, a nest of pirates not far south of Ostia, in 338 B. C., the ships of the natives were taken away, and they were forbidden the sea: the peace of the coasts might also be assured by disarming Rome's foes.³ Shortly after this the Roman people laid the foundation of a navy by establishing the office of *duovir navalis* and by assigning to each of the two admirals a squadron of ten galleys.

* The excavations at Ostia have disclosed this early fort, which is probably to be dated not much later than 350 B. C. Ernst Kornemann, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LI (1931), cols. 377-379, suggests 426 and 338 as the outside limits on either side; see also Lothar Wickert, *C. I. L.*, XIV, Supplement, p. 609, and the articles by Calza there cited. Pirates in 349: Livy, VII, 25, 5; 26, 13-15.

² Livy, VIII, 14; Strabo, V, 3, 5; Florus, I, 11.

This modest fleet was apparently designed for minor operations; the evidence suggests that the navy was usually put in commission only in time of war and was then used to ravage the enemy coasts.⁴

Thus the Roman fleet made no attempt to prevent Pyrrhus of Epirus from landing in southern Italy in 280 or to hinder his withdrawal some years later; throughout this period the state continued in the main to rely upon maritime colonies with some coöperation from various Greek cities. The treaties with Tarentum, Thurii, and other south Italian cities after the war with Pyrrhus probably included a provision that these towns should not let in any enemies, and presumably they were to guard their coastline against marauders; Massilia at the mouth of the Rhone for long undertook a similar guard on the Riviera coast of Gaul.⁵ The maritime colonies themselves were founded in bursts after each major war during the third century B. C. Following Antium in 338 and Tarracina in 329, the Pontian Islands were colonized in 313; Minturnae and Sinuessa in 296; Castrum Novum in Picenum in 290/286; Sena Gallica in 283. The end of the First Punic War brought Aesis, inland on the river of the same name, and Alsium in 247, Fregenae in 245, and a Latin colony at Brundisium in 244. Gaps in the system of passive defense became particularly evident as a result of the war against Hannibal, and during the wars with Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus III of Syria, 200-190, the Romans were greatly, though unwarrantably, afraid that one or the other might invade southern Italy. Accordingly maritime colonies were settled in 194 at Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Buxentum, Tempesa, Croton, and Sipontum. Potentia and Pisaurum in 184, Graviscae in 181, and Luna in 177 brought an end to this activity, and to the foundation of maritime colonies generally.⁶

⁴ Livy, IX, 30, 4. In 310 the fleet pillaged Nuceria, *ibid.*, IX, 38, 2-3. Cf. Starr, *s. v.* "Duoviri navales" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (to be published).

⁵ Strabo, IV, 1, 5 and 9.

⁶ Kornemann, *R.-M.*, *s. v.* "Coloniae," cols. 520-521; Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, I (10th ed., Berlin, 1907), pp. 412-417. The Roman fear of an invasion in 200-190 is brought out by G. T. Griffith, "An Early Motive of Roman Imperialism," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V (1935), pp. 1-14.

Except in the case of Brundisium, and also in two instances after the Hannibalic War, when the urgency of the need led the Romans to use Latin allies, all of these colonies were composed of Roman citizens, three hundred families being the usual size of the garrison. From this emphasis on the citizen character of the maritime settlements one may deduce both the importance of the colonies in Roman eyes and at the same time the limited extent of their functions. The plan of studding the coastline thus with clumps of land-loving Romans seems more directly an effort to deny vital harbors to the enemy than an attempt to fashion a system of naval bases. Although the latter purpose may incidentally have been met, the true reasoning of the state is probably reflected in the observation of the geographer Strabo that since Italy has few good harbors it can easily be defended.⁷ As a method of guarding the coast the policy of colonies essentially satisfied the Roman desires—otherwise the state would not have adhered to it so steadily—but one cannot believe that it was a complete answer to piracy.

Nor, again, was this passive defense the primary reason why Italian shores were not menaced by invaders more often. It must be remembered that from the middle of the third century B. C. the great wars against Carthage had forced the Romans to maintain a navy. After the initial fighting in Sicily at the beginning of the First Punic War, the Roman state had realized that Carthage must be defeated on the sea and had set about the construction of large fleets. Although these were defeated on occasions by the Carthaginians or more often were wrecked by storms, the Carthaginians were unable to harass the Italian coasts to any extent. In the Second Punic War Rome retained mastery of the sea throughout, and Carthaginian ships appeared off Italy on very few occasions. At these times, however, the chain of Roman colonies did not prevent the landing of Carthaginian troops to reinforce Hannibal.⁸ The terms of peace in 202 included the

⁷ Strabo, VI, 4, 1. The four *quaestores classici* established by the people in 267 B. C. probably supervised the coastal defense; both their duties and their areas of action are obscure. The evidence is collected by Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II (1st ed., Berlin, 1874), pp. 535-537.

⁸ E. g., Livy, XXIII, 41, 10. The difficulties which galleys experienced on long, uninterrupted trips must be kept in mind as a partial explanation for their rarity.

almost total disarmament of Carthage; after similar provisions had been dictated to Philip in 196 and to Antiochus in 190, no organized fleets remained in the Mediterranean to challenge Roman control of the sea.

The state therefore permitted its system of coastal defense to decay. The Romans had never been enthusiastic sailors and had during the Republic no idea of maintaining a navy in commission; after the Punic Wars they had to prepare a fleet in great haste for each new conflict and on its completion allowed the ships to rot away in drydock. The chain of maritime colonies was not abolished, but during the second century the inhabitants of the colonies lost their military zeal, and the local organization for maintaining and training a militia withered away. As for the provinces, no special measures seem ever to have been taken in this period; the guard of the *ora maritima* remained an incidental duty of the provincial governor.⁹

During the troubled first century B. C. the Italian coasts were once again threatened from the sea, so the Romans refurbished both their passive and active defenses. At the beginning of the Social War (90-88 B. C.) the Senate stationed freedmen as guards along the Tyrrhenian from Cumae to Ostia, and also obtained ships from the Greek cities of the East to patrol the coasts.¹⁰ After 80 B. C. the pirates of Cilicia, encouraged by Mithridates and by the generally disturbed conditions in the Mediterranean, extended their raids farther and farther west, and in 70-68 ravaged the shores of Italy itself, carrying off two praetors from the Appian Way and sinking a consular fleet in the port of Ostia. What measures of passive defense the state undertook during these years we are not told; the bold impunity with which the pirates proceeded demonstrates that the old system, however patched, was inadequate. The pirates could be put down only by being driven from the seas, and the Roman people entrusted this mission to Pompey by the Gabinian law of 67 which gave him command over all the seacoasts in the Mediterranean and fifty miles inland.

⁹ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 31.

¹⁰ Appian, *Civil Wars*, I, 49; Memnon, *History of Heraclea*, 29; *I. G.*, XIV, 951. For a fuller study of naval operations during the first century, see Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, pp. 1-10, with the references there cited.

The unprecedented character of this command marks the danger which the Roman people felt; the whole episode, indeed, is of the highest significance. As a result of the incursions the Romans again became aware of the problems and importance of coastal defense, and the terms of the law indicate a perception of the fact that the peace of the Italian coasts depended on the peace of the entire Mediterranean shoreline. Here, moreover, we may see most clearly how the question of coastal defense could play an important part in internal politics. Apart from the effect of Pompey's extraordinary command on later political developments, the memory of the insecurity of the coasts and sea lanes had its influence in strengthening the demand for a strong government. In this connection it must be added that Pompey's whirlwind campaign in the early months of 67, though temporarily successful, did not eliminate piracy. For a few years Pompey secured the maintenance of a fleet in peacetime, and Cicero also tells us that members of the Roman equestrian class, probably with troops under their orders, were placed along the seacoast;¹¹ but these measures were soon dropped. Thereafter piracy revived and remained a problem down to the period of Augustus.

II

After the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Octavian held the mastery of the Mediterranean and incurred therewith the responsibility of pacifying coast and hinterland alike. Looking back at the naval history of the Republic and more especially, from his point of view, at his difficult war with Sextus Pompey, he could come to only one conclusion: the policy of relying primarily on a passive defense or, more accurately, of neglecting an active defense had proved unsatisfactory even for Italy. To settle military colonies on all coasts of the Mediterranean was completely impossible, yet the pirate wars had shown that insecurity in Eastern waters could speedily spread to the West. Moreover, the chief impediment to the maintenance of a navy in the Republic no longer existed; with a permanent executive authority the state could now supervise and support a standing navy. Accordingly Octavian fashioned a large navy from the ships which he now

¹¹ Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 30.

possessed and so set a policy of active defense for the following three centuries.

A fleet at Misenum near Puteoli, with stations at subsidiary points on the Tyrrhenian coasts of Italy, Sardinia, and Corsica, defended the western Italian seaboard; another main fleet at Ravenna guarded the Adriatic; and two minor squadrons in the East, at Seleucia in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt, guarded Levantine shores. The great rivers on the northern frontier also received their flotillas, the German fleet on the Rhine with bases at Colonia Agrippinensis and other points toward the mouth of the river, and the Pannonian and Moesian fleets on the middle and lower Danube. Subsequent emperors added the British fleet, operating chiefly across the English Channel from Gesoriacum; the Mauretanian fleet at Caesarea; and the Pontic fleet at Trapezus. As finally established, these squadrons formed a well-integrated system for policing the rivers and seas vital to the Empire.

By itself, however, the navy could not guarantee that pirates might not slip out from creeks or hidden inlets for quick raids; and the Empire from the time of Augustus devoted much attention to controlling the pirate coasts. Augustus himself subjugated the Dalmatian tribes which plagued the Adriatic, took away their ships, and pushed the worst offenders inland so that they might not again have access to the sea.¹² Where practicable this method was applied elsewhere, but certain districts continued to need lasting, immediate supervision by an imperial officer with some troops at his disposal, both to prevent raiders from using the region as a base and also to guard the littoral against inroads from other areas.

This officer is generally styled *praefectus orae maritimae* in the inscriptions, from which we derive our chief information on the post. Provincial governors of the Republic had used their praefects on occasion to guard threatened coasts, and Pompey had secured the large-scale employment of such officers;¹³ but the

¹² Strabo, VII, 5, 6; 5, 4. Sextius had followed the same policy of driving the natives inland on the Riviera coast in 122 B. C. (*ibid.*, IV, 1, 5).

¹³ J. N. Madvig, "Quelques remarques sur les officiers dits *praefecti*," *Rev. Phil.*, II (1878), pp. 177-187, gives a clear account of the praefects on the governor's staff. For examples, cf. *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1905, 23; Eugen Bormann, *Bull. Inst. Cor. Arch.* (1869), pp. 183-185.

first praefect of the seacoast thus far known to have borne the title is C. Baebius, whom Octavian appointed to guard the coast of Hither Spain during the war against Antony. In 38 B. C. Bogud the Moor had operated from Mauretania against this shore, and Antony probably tried to stir up the Mauretanian tribes in 32 to repeat their raids.¹⁴

The appointment of Baebius was undoubtedly a temporary one, but other *praefecti orae maritimae* are attested for four points at one time or another during the Early Empire. There is no evidence that any of these praefects ever controlled any ships; usually they did direct some troops, but they probably used them to patrol a sector of the coast, just as the maritime colony had once guarded its district. Apart from their military functions they occasionally had to repress the activities of wreckers and may at times have dealt with smugglers.¹⁵ To fulfill these duties they must have had some jurisdiction in matters of general government over the natives along the coast, but in only one case, which will be noted below, does this seem to have been their main duty. With so much by way of summary, we may examine the evidence available for each of the four *praefecti*.

In the reign of Augustus the geographer Strabo describes vividly the pirates living at the eastern end of the Black Sea, who sailed in their two-prowed *camarae* even to the mouth of the Danube; he also notes that, while the local chieftains on the northern coast of Asia Minor defended their shores, the Roman officials did nothing. Early in the second century after Christ, however, Pliny the Younger mentions a *praefectus orae Ponticae* on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia-Pontus, an indication that the

¹⁴ Dio, XLVIII, 45, 1; *C. I. L.*, XI, 623. Appian, *Civil Wars*, V, 80, informs us that Octavian fortified the coast of Italy with watchtowers and garrisons during the war against Sextus Pompey; the commanders of this system may well have been *praefecti*.

¹⁵ In the *Digest*, XLVII, 9, 7, Hadrian permits those losing property to wreckers to complain before the "praefects," who are to take the culprits and send them to the provincial governor. See also *Digest*, XIV, 2, 9; XLVII, 9, 4 and 10; Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*, VII, 31-32, 51-56. According to the *Digest*, I, 8, 2 and 3, the seacoast was free to all; but Juvenal, *Satires*, 4, 48-49, 51-55, mentions "inquisitors" on the coast who swooped down on the fishermen and else, perhaps in jest, legal opinion of his day that everything in the sea belonged to the emperor. The praefects may at times have proceeded on this theory.

Empire had tried to repair its negligence. Pliny itemizes the forces which this praefect should draw from the governor's troops as ten *beneficiarii*, two *equites*, and one centurion. Although the praefect may also have commanded a local militia, the fact that the Pontic fleet at Trapezus had by this time brought order to the pirate coasts suggests that his original military task had yielded to fiscal duties.¹⁶ The praefecture does not recur later and may have been abolished shortly after Pliny's notice.

In the early first century Roman officials, designated simply as praefects in our evidence, appeared on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Danube. There can be little doubt that their full title, if expressed, would have been *praefectus orae maritimae* or some variant thereof, for their general military and administrative control of the seacoast appears both in a poem which Ovid indited to the praefect Vestalis shortly after the birth of Christ and in some letters of Flavius Sabinus, governor of Moesia 43-49. The latter, which were written to the coastal city of Istrus, suggest that the control and protection of the Greek cities along the Black Sea coast south of the Danube constituted the chief duties of this praefect; even though the Empire was not yet sufficiently interested in the region to annex it completely, the guard of these cities could not be left to the client kingdom of Thrace which occupied the inland regions.¹⁷ As a result the Roman organization of the lower Danube area in the last decades B. C. included the creation of a praefecture dependent on the governor of Moesia. Possibly the praefect commanded the cohort VII Gallorum, stationed at Tomis near Istrus, for the region needed a strong hand during the first century of our era to repel coasting pirates from the wild reaches north of the Danube and even to check piracy at the mouth of the river.¹⁸ The area of Salmydessus just

¹⁶ Pliny, *Letters*, X, 21, 86a; Strabo, XI, 2, 12; Tacitus, *Histories*, III, 47; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV, 10, 25-30; Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 16; E. G. Hardy, *Plinii Epistolae ad Traianum* (London, 1889), p. 115. See also M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Pontus, Bithynia and the Bosporus," *B. S. A.*, XXII (1917-1918), pp. 1-27, on a possible explanation of the praefect's fiscal duties.

¹⁷ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV, 7; *S. E. G.*, I, 329. The organization of the region is discussed by Anton von Premerstein, "Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien," *Jahresh.*, I (1898), Beibl., cols. 145-196.

¹⁸ *C. I. L.*, III, 7548; Carl Patsch, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Süd-osteuropa V, 1: Bis zur Festsetzung der Römer in Transdanuvien* (Wien.

above Byzantium, inhabited by the Astae, also had an unsavory reputation throughout ancient history as an abode of wreckers, who tolled ships onto the barren coast and then killed their crews. The Astae were active in Strabo's day, and Arrian, writing his *Periplus of the Euxine* under Hadrian, quotes a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* on the same subject—though this is scarcely strong evidence that the custom had escaped Roman suppression.¹⁹ By the time of Arrian, indeed, the praefecture on this coast seems to have been extinguished; in fact it does not appear in some letters written by governors of Moesia to Istrus in the 50's. After the annexation of Thrace by the Emperor Claudius in 46 and the ensuing reorganization in the region of the lower Danube a semi-independent praefect on the coast may have been an anachronism. At the very latest the post must have been swept away in the reforms following Trajan's conquest of Dacia, for by A. D. 107 the Moesian fleet had moved to stations at the mouth of the Danube where it could cut off any raiders coasting from the north.²⁰

The two other praefects were located in the western Mediterranean, one in Mauretania and the other in Hispania Tarraconensis. The *praefectus orae maritimae Mauretaniae* is known from one inscription only, which does not locate his precise sphere of operations. The whole Mauretanian coast, however, was unruly throughout the Empire; the Baquates and other tribes along the coast were never thoroughly suppressed, and on various occasions in the second and third centuries they even penetrated into southern Spain. Since the small fleet based on Caesarea and the auxiliary regiments in the area were insufficient to their task, the praefecture may have been an additional agency of control devised for a particularly unruly part of the coastline.²¹

The *praefectus orae maritimae* in northeastern Spain is better known than any of the others, inasmuch as a large number of honorific inscriptions set up to occupants of the post have sur-

Sitzb., CCXIV, 1 [1933]), pp. 127-140, 145-153; Adolf Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), p. 205.

¹⁹ Strabo, VII, 6, 1; Arrian, *Periplus*, 25, 2-3 (quoting Xenophon, *Anabasis*, VII, 5, 12-13).

²⁰ Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, pp. 135-137.

²¹ *C. I. L.*, XI, 5744; Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-120.

vived.²² Although these come from Tarraco, capital of the province and seat of the provincial assembly, the zone of the praefect's main operations lay to the north about Barcino. One praefect thus is called *praefectus orae maritimae Laetanae* after a tribe which occupied the shore near Barcino, and another stone was erected by a citizen of that town.²³ In the inscription of L. Antonius Silo, a veteran of the Jewish war 66-70 and an officer in the regular army, we may have a record of the person delegated by the Emperor Vespasian to organize the coastal defense;²⁴ thereafter the praefect was drawn from the local aristocracy, but the praefecture was certainly not a rung in any municipal chain of offices. The praefect directed first one and then two cohorts of *tirones* or local militia recruited in part perhaps from Tarraco;²⁵ that he ever had warships attached to his command is a modern assumption unsupported by the inscriptions.

Unfortunately the stones do not disclose the reasons for the creation of the post. Most scholars have linked it with the need of protecting these shores against Moorish inroads, but there is no evidence that the Moors were active in the Flavian period or that they ever in the Empire came so far north.²⁶ Rather the praefecture should be associated with Vespasian's thorough reorganization of Spain and not so much with the possibility of external trouble as with the danger of piratical tendencies in the natives of the area. The northeastern coast of Hispania Tarraconensis is studded with excellent harbors, and the tribes in the

²² *C. I. L.*, II, 4138, 4189, 4213, 4217, 4224, 4225, 4226, 4239, 4264, 4266; *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1929, 230, 234; R. K. McElderry, "Vespasian's Reconstruction of Spain," *J. R. S.*, VIII (1918), pp. 60-61; IX (1919), pp. 89-92; René Cagnat, *De Municipalibus et Provincialibus Militiis in Imperio Romano* (Paris, 1880), pp. 16-24. See also Adolf Schulten, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Tarraco."

²³ *C. I. L.*, II, 4264, 4226; Strabo, III, 4, 8.

²⁴ *C. I. L.*, II, 4138; Josephus, *Jewish War*, III, 486. His tribe, Galeria, suggests that he was a native of Tarraco.

²⁵ Cichorius, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Cohors," col. 342.

²⁶ The fortification of Tarraco at the end of the first century (*C. I. L.*, II, 4202) was due as much to its importance as to the actual danger from Moorish raids. The *cohors maritima* of Cordova (*C. I. L.*, II, 2224) and the detachments of legionary troops in Baetica were probably used to protect the Baetic coast against the Moors; see *C. I. L.*, II, 1120, 2015 for evidence of raids in the area.

region long remained backward from the Roman point of view. Piracy is indeed not attested for the Empire, but the trade was not unknown along these shores in the Republic. In discussing the Second Punic War, Livy mentions towers on high points "which they use both as watchposts and as forts against pirates."²⁷ To judge from the number of honorific dedications the services of the praefects were continuous and valuable to the region; at the same time the fact that local men commanding native militia could cope with the matter indicates the minor danger of the problem. Under the Flavians the region probably became more peaceful; Barcino was a city of some importance by the reign of Trajan, and the *praefectus orae maritimae* may have ceased to exist by about the same date.²⁸

Apart from the praefect of the seacoast so called, certain other officers had similar functions and merit a passing glance inasmuch as they may help to explain the character of passive defense in the Empire. The *praefectus montis Berenicidis*, who appears first in A. D. 11 and recurs thereafter in numerous inscriptions throughout the Early Empire, is generally assigned by modern scholars the task of patrolling the coast of the Red Sea, largely because no other suitable official can be found in this region. Though the inscriptions make it plain that he was primarily concerned with supervising the mines and guarding the overland route between the Red Sea and the Upper Nile, they do not bar this additional mission—but certainly do not attest it.²⁹ The various small islands in the Mediterranean, especially in its western portion, required supervision, and most of them seem to have had their separate praefect or procurator. This officer kept an eye on local shipping, probably commanded a militia, and in some cases guarded the state prisoners relegated to island imprisonment.³⁰ And, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that rivers as well as seas have their shores; in the early days of

²⁷ Livy, XXII, 19, 6-7; also XXI, 61, 8-9; Strabo, III, 4, 6.

²⁸ If the commander of the *cohors prima* of *C. I. L.*, II, 4213 was a praefect, the office lasted into the reign of Hadrian.

²⁹ *C. I. L.*, III, 32, 55, 13580; VI, 32929; IX, 3083; X, 1129; *L'Ann. égypt.* 1910-1911; P. HAMBURGER, *L. A. G. KONTAKHOUT, G. R. SCHE, DISCU.* (1910), pp. 580-585; Jean Lequien, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 427-431.

³⁰ *Perdutoria*, *C. I. L.*, X, 6785; *Medici*, *C. I. L.*, X, 7491; *Balearica Islands*, *C. I. L.*, XI, 1331, 6955, 7427; cf. also Dio, LVIII, 5, 1.

Roman occupation on the Danube praefects appeared along its course as governors of one or more tribes (*praefecti gentis*) and also as guardians of the riverbank (*praefecti ripae Danuvi*).³¹ When the legions and auxiliaries moved up to the river and the fleets were fully organized, these agents were no longer necessary. A similar *praefectus gentis*, it may be noted, controlled the Cinithii on the Lesser Syrtes in Africa.³²

To sum up the available evidence then, one point which stands out clearly is the attention paid to the problem of defending the coastline. Such an attention argues an awareness of its importance, and in fact the literature of the Early Empire attests that the Romans had at last come to a dim perception of the significance of the coasts and seas in linking together their Empire.³³ In general the navy bore the brunt of the guard, for the Empire relied primarily on an active defense, alike in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the English Channel, and on the great rivers of the northern frontier. Such a method, however, was not practicable in certain areas, either because the Empire was not sufficiently interested in them to provide a costly fleet or because local conditions did not favor a naval supervision. In just such cases, and in no others, we find a system of passive defense; apart from the regions already noted, it is difficult to point out any shoreline of the Empire which needed a *praefectus orae maritimae*.³⁴

³¹ *Praefectus ripae Danuvi*, *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1926, 80; *praefectus ripae Danuvi et civitatum duarum Boiorum et Azaliorum*, *C. I. L.*, IX, 5363; *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae*, *C. I. L.*, V, 1838-39; a temporary officer to guard the Rhenish bank, Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 55; *praefectus ripae fluminis Euphratis*, *C. I. L.*, XII, 1357 (probably to be associated with Trajan's campaign). The *procurator ad ripam* of *C. I. L.*, II, 1180, X, 7587, was a purely financial official.

³² *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10500.

³³ This is particularly manifest in the geographers. Pomponius Mela, describing the world under Gaius, proceeded along the coasts; and Pliny the Elder in describing Italy in his *Natural History* (III, 46) used material of Augustus but rearranged it so as to follow the shore.

³⁴ In only two regions might one reasonably expect to find permanent praefects who have not yet turned up—on the northern coast of Britain and on the southern and western coasts of Spain—but since both of these were closely controlled by legionary troops, further protection may not have been deemed necessary.

The system of coastal defense devised by the Early Empire represented the most highly developed form of protection which the ancient world achieved. That age-old insecurity of the coasts, which had once impelled the Greek city-states such as Athens to build some distance away from the sea, vanished, for piracy was almost entirely exterminated. For two hundred years and more this state of peace continued, but during the later third century the quiet of the Mediterranean was broken, not to return until the nineteenth century of our era. The Empire was beset by external war and internal strife over the throne; piracy revived; and on a few occasions barbarians burst into the Mediterranean itself. The navy, which had been sapped by the years of peace, broke under the stress, and several areas turned to local strong men for coastal defense. When these troubles had been put down, Diocletian and his successors felt themselves incapable of reviving the navy. Like the Romans of the fourth century B. C. they therefore tried the "simpler" means of forming a chain of shore defenses in the most seriously threatened areas.

Of these the *litus Saxonicum* in southeastern England is the best-known, and also the region in which the greatest measures of defense were taken; for this region of Kent, today's "Hell's Corner," received the first impact of the Saxon attacks. Carausius or Constantius built stone forts at some twelve harbors in the region at the beginning of the fourth century to serve as bases for garrisons; later a special *comes* supervised the system.³⁵ *Custodes litorum*, probably descendants of the municipal *limenarchae* of the late second century, were general along the shores of the Mediterranean itself; though they appear in the edicts of the Theodosian Code chiefly as agents to control commerce, communication, and so forth, they may also have had military functions.³⁶ This passive defense proved as unsatisfactory as that of

³⁵ *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ., I, 28, 36; cf. R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 277-279, 285. A similar system for the river frontiers is attested by *C. I. L.*, III, 3330, 3332, 3385, 10312, 10313; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8913 (all under Commodus on the middle Danube); see also *Pan. Lat.*, VII, 13; *Not. Dig.*, Or., I, 42, 55.

³⁶ *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ., I, 28, 36; *C. I. L.*, III, 3330, 3332, 3385, 10312, 10313; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8913; *Pan. Lat.*, VII, 13; *Not. Dig.*, Or., I, 42, 55. Note also *S. N. L.*, *Vita Maximiani*, 23 (though this is not trustworthy evidence).

the later Republic, but an active defense grew ever more impossible as the Empire weakened. The Germanic successors to the Empire in the West continued generally to rely upon watch-towers and hill forts, for the fleet of a Visigothic Eric in the Garonne or of an Ostrogothic Theodoric at Ravenna remained exceptional.³⁷

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³⁷ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, VIII, 6, 13; Cassiodorus, *Letters*, V, 16-20. The Vandals used their fleets less to protect their coasts than to ravage those of others.

VIDEOR AS A DEPONENT IN PLAUTUS.

The extraordinary interest of the Plautine passages which form the subject of this paper lies in the fact that if the reading of the manuscripts is sound they apparently preserve a deponent use of the verb *videor*. In and for itself, this should not be so very surprising. Evidence accumulates in recent years, and especially since the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, that the so-called *r*-forms of the Latin language—*sequor*, *sequitur*, *sequimur*, *sequuntur*, for example—far from being, as was once thought, the result of an innovation of Italo-Celtic, contain in fact an old, inherited middle ending *-r*.¹ Their strongly medio-passive character is thoroughly consonant with the quasi-reflexive, or middle, meaning of kindred *r*-endings in regions of Indo-European speech as widely separated as Sanskrit and Old Irish.²

In Latin literature the meaning of the so-called passive forms of *video* is almost always "seem," only very rarely "be seen." It would be only natural, therefore, to consider these forms as being, from prehistoric times onward, middle rather than passive, kindred both etymologically and semantically with Homeric Greek εἶδομαι "seem." In Homer, alongside of middle forms of *φειδ- meaning "seem," "appear" we find not infrequently other forms of the same base, equally middle, but meaning "see." Why not, then, in Plautus alongside of frequent occurrences of *videor videri* "seem" an occasional *videor videri (viderier)* "see"?

I refer of course to the Homeric contrast of such phrases as

τὸ δέ τοι κῆρ εἶδεται εἶναι (Il., I, 228)

"but that *seems* to you to be doom," and

ἐέλδετο γάρ σε ἰδέσθαι (Ocl., IV, 162)

“for he wished to *see* you.” In the first instance we have a middle form *εἶδεταί* used intransitively in the sense “seem,” in

¹ See E. F. Claflin, "The Indo-European Middle Ending -r," *Lang.*, 1936, 13(36), 100, 1-10.

² Cf. Clafin, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 89. See also my paper, "The Nature of the Latin Passive in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *A. S. P.*, *XXVIII* (1927), pp. 157-175.

the second, *ιδέσθαι*, also middle in form, is used transitively in the sense "see" and takes a direct object *σε*.

A like contrast is found in Plautus between the ordinary use of medio-passive forms of *video* in the sense "seem" and the deponent use of *videor*, *viderier* "see," which occurs, if the manuscripts are to be trusted, in the passages under discussion. Since such a deponent use conflicted, however, with the preconceived views of the nature of the "passive" of *video* entertained by editors, attempts to emend this interesting old verb out of existence, or to explain it away, have been numerous.

In *Curculio* 260-263 the dramatic situation is perfectly clear. Cappadox, the procurer, who has but lately emerged from the temple of Aesculapius, is about to tell his dream to the Cook, an expert, it appears, in the interpretation of dreams. He says: ³

Hac nocte in somnis uisus sum uiderier
procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium:
Neque eum ad me adire neque me magni pendere
Visu<m>st.

"Last night in my sleep I seemed to see Aesculapius sitting a long way off from me, and he seemed not to come near me or to think much of me." ⁴

The reading *uisus sum uiderier* has the support of practically all the manuscript evidence that we actually possess.⁵ In the sixteenth century, however, Lambinus, "scripturae veteris obscura vestigia secutus," read *tuerier*.⁶ Lindsay, reporting this remark of Lambinus, queries "an codicis T?"⁷ But Lindsay himself, the chief authority on the Codex Turnebi, considers it "very

³ All references to Plautus, unless otherwise indicated, are to G. Goetz and F. Schoell, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Leipzig, 1904-1913).

⁴ See Paul Nixon, *Plautus, with an English Translation* (*The Loeb Classical Library* [London, New York, 1917], II, p. 217).

⁵ Cf. G. Goetz, in F. Ritschl, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, edition revised and completed by G. Loewe, G. Goetz, F. Schoell (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879), *ad loc.*

⁶ Cf. *M. Acci Plauti Comoediae Viginti, Variarum lectionum ac notarum, ex D. Lambini aliorumque doctissimorum virorum commentariis, suo quaque loco adscriptae* ([Lugduni?], Apud Petrum Santandream, 1581), *ad loc.* The title-page of this work, in the copy found in the Columbia University Library (Johnson Collection), is mutilated. It has Lambinus' readings in the margin.

⁷ See W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Oxford, 1903), *ad loc.*

unlikely" that Lambinus ever actually had in his hands this precious fragmentary manuscript.⁸ Lambinus' "loose way of quoting his manuscript authorities" is also commented on by Lindsay.⁹ It therefore seems most probable that in this instance, as in several others,¹⁰ Lambinus is confusing with a genuine reading of one of his "libri veteres" some contemporary scholar's emendation, designed to eliminate the unwonted deponent *viderier*.

The play on words, so characteristic of Plautus,¹¹ strongly supports the main manuscript tradition. Leo warns us: "verbum duplex ne moveris"¹² and compares, besides *Epidicus* 62, *Moscellaria* 270:

Non uideor uidisse lenam callidiorem ullam
alteras,

ibid., 820:

Non uideor uidisse postis pulciores,

and *Rudens* 255 (254):

Video decorum dis locum uiderier.

In view of these striking parallels it is not surprising that Hofmann, also, is skeptical as to there being any genuinely ancient basis for the reading *tuerier* and comments vehemently: "immo misella est interpolatio."¹³

Leo's tentative conjecture *videre ego* is rightly rejected by Hofmann, who remarks: Plautus non videtur novisse collocationem talem, qualis est *visus sum videre ego*.¹⁴

⁸ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *The Codex Turnebi of Plautus* (Oxford, 1898), p. 15. It is at least doubtful according to Lindsay (*ibid.*, p. 18) whether Lambinus had at his disposal any more extended collation of this lost MS than is supplied by the Bodleian marginalia.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Cf. Lindsay, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹ Cf. Morris Marples, "Plautus," in *Greece and Rome*, VIII, no. 22 (October, 1938), p. 6: "With his colloquialisms and slang, his snatches of Greek, his constant puns and plays on words, his love of verbal jugglery so reminiscent of Shakespeare, he [Plautus] evidently represents in his own way the speech of middle-class Romans of his period." See also, F. Leo, *Analecta Plautina, De figuris sermonis* II (Göttingen, 1924), *passim*.

¹² See F. Leo, *Plauti Comediae* (Berlin, 1905), *ad loc.*

¹³ See J. B. Hofmann, *De verbis quae in prisca latinitate erant deponentibus commentatio* (Greifswald, 1910), p. 22.

¹⁴ Cf. H. Jacobson, "Zur Flexion von *videre*," *K. Z.*, XIII (1908),

There seems to be no good reason to reject the reading of the manuscripts, and it is in fact accepted in most modern editions. So in those of Leo,¹⁵ Lindsay,¹⁶ Goetz-Schoell,¹⁷ and Ernout.¹⁸

Verses 61-62 of the *Epidicus* occur in the midst of the lively colloquy between two slaves, with which the opening scene of the play begins. Epidicus has been thrown into consternation by the news that his young master, Stratippocles, who has been off to the wars at Thebes, has there fallen in love with a young girl captive and purchased her from the booty. This puts Epidicus in a desperate predicament. For, at the instance of this same Stratippocles, he has induced the young man's father to buy a female lute-player, really his son's inamorata, under the impression that the girl was his own lost daughter. No wonder that on hearing of the son's sudden shift of fancy, Epidicus changes color and his face becomes the picture of alarm.

Thesprio, the other slave, who has been with Stratippocles on the Theban campaign, exclaims:¹⁹

Nescio edepol quid tu timidus es, trepidas, Epidice, ita
uoltum tuum (61)
Videor uidere commeruisse hic me absente in te aliquid
mali. (62)

So at least all modern editors have reconstituted the lines, which appear in B J as follows:²⁰

Nescio edepol quid tu timidus es
Trepidas Epidice, ita uoltum tuum videor uidere com-
meruisse
Hic me absente in te aliquid mali.

That the beginnings of the two verses are now rightly arranged is shown by the Ambrosian Palimpsest, in which can be discerned:

p. 153; J. Wackernagel, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung," *I. F.*, I (1892), pp. 333 ff.

¹⁵ F. Leo, *Plauti Comoediae* (Berlin, 1895).

¹⁶ W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Oxford, 1903).

¹⁷ G. Goetz and F. Schoell, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Leipzig, 1910).

¹⁸ A. Ernout, *Plaute* (Collection Guillaume Budé [Paris, 1935]).

¹⁹ For the unemended text of *Epidicus* 61-62 see F. Leo, *Plauti Comoediae, Volumen Prius* (Berlin, 1895) or A. Ernout, *Plaute*, Tome III (Paris, 1935). Leo puts a dagger after *tuom*; Ernout puts one before *ita*.

²⁰ Cf. G. Goetz, *Symbola critica ad priores Plauti fabulas*, in *Analecta Plautina* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 107. Goetz makes brief mention *ibidem* of the conjectures of earlier scholars.

?
NESCIQ̄EDE
UIDEQ̄RUIDER²¹

In the former of the two verses some emendation is necessary, since, as it stands, it will not scan. There are too many syllables. With two minor emendations, however (*pol* for *edepol*²² and *timidu's* for *timidus es*²³), verse 61 scans perfectly as an iambic octonarius, a lively rhythm well-suited to the context, and continuing the passage of iambic octonarii that begins at verse 56:

EP. Dei immortales, út ego interii básilice. TH. Quid
iam? aút quid est,

changing at verse 64, as usually happens when the moment of excitement is subsiding, to the trochaic tetrameter catalectic:²⁴

TH. Quid nunc me retinés? EP. Amatne istam quam
émit de praedá? TH. Rogas?

No further emendation seems to me to be necessary.²⁵ Verse 62 is a good iambic octonarius as it stands. The reading *videor*

²¹ Cf. Goetz, *ibid.* The *r* of *videor* seems quite plain in the Palimpsest, according to Goetz's transcription, and should therefore be retained on the principle of the *difficilior lectio*. There is no conceivable reason why any scribe should change the easy reading *video* to *videor*. That is why, no doubt, Goetz, after citing the conjecture *video*, made by the sixteenth century scholars, Camerarius and Gulielmus, says: "tamen vehementer dubito eodemne iure *videor* in Ambrosiano quoque traditum in *video* mutarint necne." There is indeed a charming naiveté in the manner in which Gulielmus sets aside the testimony of our best manuscript, merely remarking: "Litterulam vnam extero, & pura puta Plauti cetera sunt. *ita voltum tuum video. videre commeruisse Hic, me absente, i*" (Iani Gulielmi, *Plautinarum Quaestionum Commentarius* [Lutetiae, 1583, *Cum privilegio Regis*], p. 135).

²² The reading *pol* is adopted by Goetz, both in the revised Ritschl and in the *Editio Minor Teubneriana*, and also by J. H. Gray (*T. Macci Plauti Epidicus* [Cambridge, 1893]). See also the important article by A. Luchs (*Hermes*, VI [1872], pp. 266-273).

²³ This is a rather obvious correction in view of the well-known weakness of the sound of final -s after a vowel in early Latin. Aphaeresis of the *e* of *es*, *est* after -is, -us is also common. The reading *timidu's* is adopted by Goetz (*Epidicus*, edition of 1878, cf. note 5 *supra*), Gray (see note 22 *supra*), Lindsay, and Goetz-Schoell (*T. Macci Plauti Comœdiae* [Leipzig, 1910]).

²⁴ Cf. J. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

²⁵ See Excursus, pp. 78-9 *infra*.

uidere of P is confirmed by A, the famous Ambrosian Palimpsest, which belongs perhaps as early as the third or fourth century.²⁶ This reading should therefore be retained, if it can be interpreted successfully.²⁷ I would put a colon after *videor* and read the couplet as follows:

Nescio pol quid tu tímidu's, trepidas, Épidice, ita
uoltúm tuom
Videór: uidere cómmeruisse hic me ábsente in te aliquíð
mali.

If now we take *videor* as a transitive deponent²⁸ (= *video*), with *uoltum tuom* as its direct object, and *uidere* as present indicative, second singular, the verses give very good sense. This is well conveyed, for example, in Nixon's lively translation:²⁹ "By Jove, Epidicus, you are in a fright and flurry over something; judging from your expression, I judge you've got into some scrape here in my absence." Nixon's rendering is particularly happy in that it preserves both the expressive alliteration of verse 61 and the characteristic play on words of verse 62.

The verbal pattern of the passage is, indeed, rather intricate; for we have first a triple alliteration of *t* in *tu tímidu's trepidas*³⁰

²⁶ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 78-79.

²⁷ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *op. cit.* (see note 16 *supra*), Praefatio, p. iii: "hanc mihi legem statui ut in consensu (AP) Ambrosiani codicis (A) cum Palatina quam vocant recensione (P) optimum illud testimonium quaererem, a quo nunquam fere discederem, nisi mihi persuasissem in eundem errorem et hunc et illum scribam incidisse."

²⁸ Cf. Th. Hasper, *Ad Epidicum Plautinam Coniectanea in Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden, 1882), pp. 12-13. In his illuminating discussion of the passage, Hasper comments on the intolerable sentence structure that we get if we try to connect closely *videor videre conmeruisse*. On the other hand, he cautions against simply "rubbing out" the *-r*: "*Videor* vocabulum offensioni esse iam pridem intellectum est, quod tamen cave cum Gulielmo mutes in *video*." Hasper sees clearly that what we need at the beginning of verse 62 is a transitive deponent meaning "see." He would read *tueor*; but in the parallel passages that he cites, *Curculio* 260 (see *supra*, p. 72) and *Rudens* 254: *videor decorum dis locum tuerier*, scholars now read *uiderier*.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* (see note 4 *supra*), II, p. 283.

³⁰ On account of the alliteration I cannot agree either with Lindsay (*ad loc.*) in bracketing *tu* or with Leo (note *ad loc.*) in suggesting the omission of *trepidas*, both without any MS authority. The omission

and then a corresponding triple alliteration of *v* in *voltum videor videre*, the two alliterations subtly linked by the *t* of *tuom*. And in the play on *videor videre* we have not only the repetition of different forms of the same verb, but also, just as in the *visus sum viderier* of *Curculio* 260-261, a play on the two voice uses—transitive deponent "see" and intransitive middle "seem." This intricacy of verbal pattern strongly confirms the already strong manuscript tradition.

Videre is of course the regular, and, indeed, I believe, the only form of the second person singular present indicative, of the medio-passive of *video*, used in Plautus.³¹ So, for example, in

<Lor.> Omnis profecto liberi lubentius
Sumus quam seruimus. HE. Non uidere ita tu quidem,
Capt. 119-120.

The form contains in itself the original Indo-European middle ending of the second singular, *-se/-so³² and in its very make-up constitutes a striking part of the proof of the inherited middle nature of the Latin passive.

The deponent use of *videor viderier* which these interesting verses of Plautus appear to preserve is, on the other hand, exceptional. But that does not mean necessarily, especially in such an early author, that it is wrong. Lodge, though expressing himself with some caution, seems on the whole inclined to accept it.³³ And there is no better authority on the language of Plautus.

In this connection I should like to quote some words of wisdom of Edward P. Morris,³⁴ which, *mutatis mutandis*, have a direct bearing on the subject of this discussion: "There is doubtless some danger in the use of tables and graphic schemes of syntax,

of *timidus es* by a single MS (*E*) is not significant, since it doubtless represents simply some scribe's attempt to make the line a verse (trochaic septenarius). Cf. Leo *ad loc*.

³¹ Cf. Gonzalez Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig, 1904-1933), s. v. "video."

³² See my paper on "The Nature of the Latin Passive," *A. J. P.*, XLVIII (1927), pp. 160-161 and cf. A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (2nd ed., Paris, 1927), p. 338.

³³ Cf. the note above 31 in *op. cit.* pp. 600-601. It was in fact reading Lodge's article that first drew my attention to the apparently deponent use of *videor, viderier*.

³⁴ Cf. *Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax* (New York, 1901), p. 17.

the danger that they may become traditional and may lead to the ignoring of the irregular, the exceptional. Language is so haphazard, so complex, that the exceptional cases which do not fit into systems are the cases which deserve most attention and may afford suggestions for new discovery."

The two passages, in the *Epidicus* and the *Curculio*, defend each other. Since it is now recognized that the Latin deponent is the lineal descendant of the Indo-European middle voice,³⁵ this Plautine deponent, *videor*, *viderier*, confirms the writer's view³⁶ that the so-called "passive" forms of *video* are actually middles, parallel to Greek *εἶδομαι*, *ιδέσθαι*.

EXCURSUS.

The numerous emendations which have been suggested for the text of *Epidicus* 61-62 have their origin, it seems clear, in the failure to understand the deponent nature of *videor*. None of them has met with any general acceptance and it has appeared to me hardly germane to my argument to discuss them in detail. Since, however, Duckworth in his recent monumental edition of the *Epidicus* (George E. Duckworth, *T. Macci Plauti Epidicus* [Princeton, 1940]) has adopted Wheeler's emendation *uoltu tuo* (for *uoltum tuom* of the MSS), it may be worth while to append a brief criticism of it:

1. The substitution of the ablative for the accusative instead of "solving the chief syntactical difficulty in the verse" (as Wheeler asserts) introduces difficulties. For

a) The omission of *te*, the subject of *commeruisse*, is very harsh. In Terence, *Phorm.* 205 f.: *si senserit te timidum pater esse, arbitrabitur commeruisse culpam*, *te* is not omitted but carried along from *te* after *senserit*. In the other instances cited in Wheeler's note (see Duckworth, p. 143), it is perfectly clear from the context what subject accusative is to be supplied. It is not so here.

b) The construction of *uoltu tuo* is hard to explain. English "I see by your face" is a misleading parallel. *Voltu* can hardly be an ablative of means. To a Roman, "I see by means of your face" would be unintelligible. The only natural ablative of instrument with *video* is *oculis*. Cf. Plautus, *Mercator* 183:

Ch. qui potuit uidere? Ac. óculis. Ch. quo pacto? Ac. hiantibus.

Nor could it possibly be an ablative of place where, without a preposition, since this construction in Plautus is extremely limited. Cf.

³⁵ Cf. E. F. Claffin, "The Hypothesis of the Italo-Celtic Impersonal Passive in -r," *Lang.*, V (1929), p. 238, n. 35; J. B. Hofmann, *op. cit.* (see note 13 *supra*), *passim*.

³⁶ See my paper on "The Middle Verb *vidēri*," *Lang.*, XVIII (1942), pp. 26-32.

Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, § 64. As Wheeler himself says, "the usual phrase in Plautus seems to be *e* or *ex uolū tuo*." But we do not have an *ex* and cannot supply one; nor *in*, either, as suggested by Leo (cf. Duckworth, p. 142).

2. There is no MS evidence for the ablative. It may be true, as Wheeler says, that "it would not be difficult for *uolū tuo* to have become *uolū tuō* in the archetype of the MSS.," but we have absolutely no evidence that this actually happened.

3. *uideor uidere* is not Plautine, as stated by Duckworth (p. 143). *uideor uidisse*, which occurs several times in the poet (see Duckworth, *ibid.*), is different. It means "I think I saw" (or "have seen"). But *uideor uidere* must mean "I think I am seeing now" and has a subjective cast quite foreign to lively dramatic dialogue. This subjectivity of *uideor uidere* appears clearly in the examples from Cicero cited by H. Hafter (*Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache*, pp. 39-40). The same dreamy quality pervades the *hac nocte in somnis uisus sum uiderier* of *Curc.* 260 (which is parallel to *uideor uidere*), but with comic effect.

A perfect illustration of the important distinction between *uideor uidere* and *uideor uidisse* occurs in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. ii, 184-190:

Ham. My father,—methinks I see my father.

Hor. O where, my lord?

Ham. In my mind's eye, Horatio.

Hor. My lord, I think I saw him yesternight.

Ham. Saw? who?

Hamlet's "methinks I see," which corresponds to Latin *uideor uidere* is purely subjective and imaginary. Horatio's "I think I saw him yesternight" = Latin *uideor uidisse* brings us back sharply to reality. Hamlet's startled "Saw? who?" marks the change.

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TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE: A. D. 270-285.

In 1930 H. Mattingly undertook to prove that a number of the Roman emperors of the third century received their annual grants of the tribunician power on the anniversaries of their accessions rather than on December 10 of each year as Mommsen and others had supposed.¹ Mattingly came to the conclusion that, although the emperors from Antoninus Pius to Maximinus took the tribunician power annually on December 10 or January 1, Gordian III, Decius, and Probus seemed to have employed the anniversary system.² On the other hand, a more detailed study by Mason Hammond,³ which covered the period from Augustus to Alexander Severus, indicated that the Flavii used the anniversary system and that the emperors from Trajan to Alexander Severus renewed the tribunician power annually on a date somewhere between December 10 and January 1.

Although Mattingly's theories regarding the tribunician day in the period before 235 have not been accepted, there is something to be said in favor of his argument that the anniversary system was employed after the reign of Maximinus. If Mattingly had been willing to examine the epigraphical evidence more thoroughly, he might have strengthened his case for the later period, for it can be demonstrated that the emperors from Aurelian to Carinus (with the exception of Tacitus) did use the anniversary system.

We may first consider the reigns of Probus and Carus.

On the basis of the Alexandrian coins⁴ and the papyri,⁵ it may be agreed that Probus assumed the purple shortly before August 28, 276 (probably in July) and died soon after August 29, 282 (in September or October).⁶ This agrees with the epigraphical

¹ H. Mattingly, "Tribunicia potestate," *J. R. S.*, XX (1930), pp. 78-91. For an earlier study with a similar outlook, see H. F. Stobbe, "Tribunat der Kaiser," *Philologus*, XXXII (1873), pp. 1-91.

² Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-91.

³ Mason Hammond, "The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XV (1938), pp. 23-61.

⁴ J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 218-219.

⁵ W. L. Westermann, "The Papyri and the Chronology of the Reign of the Emperor Probus," *Aegyptus*, I (1920), pp. 297-301.

⁶ A Stein, "Zur Chronologie der römischen Kaiser," *Arch. Pap.*, VII (1923), pp. 47, 51.

and the other numismatic evidence, and it provides definite proof that Probus received his successive grants of the tribunician power on the anniversary of his accession. Probus was consul in 277, 278, 279, 281, and 282;⁷ thus, we may correlate his consulships and grants of the tribunician power as follows:⁸

Dates	Tribunician grants and consulships		Evidence
July 276-Jan. 277	tr. p. I		<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4881
Jan. 277-July	I	cos. I	II, 1116; XI, 1178
July-Jan. 278	II	I	III, 8707
Jan. 278-July	II	II	no evidence
July-Jan. 279	III	II	XII, 5437, 5511; <i>E. E.</i> , VII, 693
Jan. 279-July	III	III	no evidence
July-Jan. 280	IV	III	no evidence
Jan. 280-July	IV	III	no evidence
July-Jan. 281	V	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 3738
Jan. 281-July	V	IV	Webb, 248
July-Jan. 282	VI	IV	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 1673
Jan. 282-July	VI	V	Webb, 249, 250, 251
July-Sept. (or Oct.)	VII	V	no evidence

If a similar table is worked out on the supposition that the tribunician power was renewed on December 10, it will be found that the inscriptions *C. I. L.*, II, 1116 and XI, 1178 cannot be used since there will be no place in such a table for tr. p. I cos. I. Moreover, the coins dated tr. p. V cos. IV and tr. p. VI cos. V will not fit into the December 10 system. It must be concluded, therefore, that Probus employed the anniversary system.⁹

Carus reigned from September or October 282 until December 283.¹⁰ Once again, there is evidence for the use of the anniversary system:

⁷ W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii* (Bonn, 1909), p. 31.

⁸ In the following tables, these abbreviations are employed: Webb: P. H. Webb in H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1933), Vol. V, Part 2. The numbers refer to coins. *A. E.* = *Année Epigraphique*.

⁹ A. MICHEL, "Zur Münzkunde der spätsten römischen Kaiserzeit," *Moneta*, LVIII (1922), p. 352; Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Stobbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; T. B. Jones, "A Chronological Problem: The Date of the Death of Carus," *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), p. 340.

¹⁰ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-342.

Sept. (Oct.) 282–Jan. 283	tr. p. I	cos. I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 1117, 4760; VIII, 968; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 740; <i>A. E.</i> (1923), 16, 103
Jan. 283–Sept. (Oct.)	I	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 3660, 4102; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 227
Sept. (Oct.)–Dec. 283	II	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 5332, 10250, 12522

If Carus' second grant of the tribunician power had been conferred in December 282, the inscriptions *C. I. L.*, II, 3660, 4102, and *E. E.*, VIII, 227 would have to be discarded as erroneous, for Carus would have received his second grant of the tribunician power before his second consulship. It is highly significant that there are no inscriptions or coins which have tr. p. II cos. I.¹¹

The anniversary system was also employed by Carinus and Numerian, the sons of Carus. Carinus was made a Caesar before January 1, 283.¹² He was still Caesar when he held his first consulship in 283,¹³ but shortly afterwards he was made an Augustus.¹⁴ We also know that he held his second consulship in 284.¹⁵ Thus, we have:

Sept. (?) 282–Jan. 283	tr. p. I	Caesar	
Jan. 283–spring 283	I	cos. I Caesar	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4103
Spring 283–Sept. (?)	I	I Augustus	II, 3835, 4761, 4882 ¹⁶
Sept. (?)–Jan. 284	II	I	VIII, 7002
Jan. 284–	II	II	

Numerian was made a Caesar before August 28, 283,¹⁷ but it was probably not before the spring of 283 that he obtained this

¹¹ From December 10, 282 until January 1, 283 Carus would have had tr. p. II cos. I.

¹² In the Alexandrian coins Carinus appears first as Caesar and then as Augustus in the course of his first year (Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 166). *C. I. L.*, VIII, 7002 shows that he had his second grant of the tribunician power before January 284. See also *Vita Cari*, 10.

¹³ *C. I. L.*, II, 4103. Another inscription, *C. I. L.*, II, 4102, erected at the same time shows Carus as tr. p. I cos. II.

¹⁴ We know that this elevation occurred before August 28, 283 (see note 12 *supra*). The probable date is the spring of 283 when Carus was just setting out on his campaign against the Persians.

¹⁵ Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ These three inscriptions help to confirm the chronology suggested in notes 13 and 14. See also, *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10315 which has tr. p. I *procos.* Aug.

¹⁷ Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

rank. We know definitely that his elevation to caesarship came after that of Carinus.¹⁸ Furthermore, the fact that, when he held his first consulship in 284, he was tr. p. I cos. I¹⁹ would seem to indicate that he had not been granted the tribunician power until after January 1, 283. Finally, he did not become an Augustus until late in 283, for an inscription dated in the autumn of 283 refers to him as Caesar.²⁰

Turning now to Tacitus and Aurelian, the predecessors of Probus, we know that Tacitus, for special reasons, took his second grant of the tribunician power on December 10, 275,²¹ but it can be demonstrated that Aurelian employed the anniversary system.

Stein has shown that Aurelian assumed the purple shortly before May 25, 270 and reigned until some time in the autumn of 275.²² This chronology is supported by the evidence of the papyri,²³ the Alexandrian coins,²⁴ the literary sources,²⁵ and the researches of modern historians on the chronology for the reigns of Claudius Gothicus and Marcus Aurelius Tacitus.²⁶

Two facts about Aurelian's reign are, therefore, certain: 1) he received his first grant of the tribunician power in the spring of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 220. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 122 (see note 8 *supra*).

¹⁹ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 427.

²⁰ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10283. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 341. The elevation of Carinus to the rank of co-Augustus with Carus was commemorated in coin issues (Webb, *op. cit.*, nos. 152, 153), but there are no coins of Carus and Numerian as co-Augusti. Therefore, Numerian does not seem to have become an Augustus until after his father's death. Then coins were issued which proclaimed Carinus and Numerian co-Augusti (*ibid.*, no. 180).

²¹ T. B. Jones, "Three Notes on the Reign of Marcus Claudius Tacitus," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), p. 368.

²² Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 46; B. P. Grenfell, "The Future of Greco-Roman Work in Egypt," *J. E. A.*, IV (1917), p. 6. Another view was taken by P. Schnabel, "Die Chronologie Aurelians," *Klio*, XX (1925-1926), pp. 363-368, but his arguments contradict one another. On this, see Stein, "Zeitbestimmungen von Gallienus bis Aurelian," *Klio*, XXI (1927), pp. 78-82.

²⁴ Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²⁵ See, for example, chronograph of 251 (5 years, 4 months, 20 days): *Chron. Min.*, p. 10; 261 (5 years, 4 months, 20 days); *Chron. Min.*, p. 11; 271 (5 years, 4 months, 20 days); *Chron. Min.*, p. 12.

²⁶ P. Damarau, "Kaiser Claudius Gothicus," *Klio*, Beiheft XXXIII (1931), pp. 21-31; Jones, *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), p. 303 (see note 21 *supra*).

270, and 2) he held the consulship three times—in 271, 274, and 275.²⁷

The following chart shows the inscriptions and coins of Aurelian which record his consulships and grants of the tribunician power:

Group	Tr. p.	Cos.	Inscriptions and Coins
1	I	—	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 15450; XI, 1180; <i>B. E.</i> , VIII, 796; Webb, 325
2	I	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 21985, 22361, 22564, 23066; IX, 5577; XI, 4178; <i>B. E.</i> , VIII, 775; <i>Corpus In-</i> <i>scriptionum Rhinarum</i> , 1939; Webb, 157, 158, 159, 324
3	II	I	<i>B. E.</i> , IX, 1
4	III	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , III, 7586; VIII, 9040
5	V	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XII, 5548
6	III	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 10017
7	V	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 10177, 10217
8	V	II desig. III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VI, 1112
9	VI	II	Webb, 185
10	VII	II	Webb, 16, 186
11	III	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4506
12	IV	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XII, 5456; Cohen, 177 ²⁸
13	V	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , V, 4319; XIII, 8904
14	V (or VI)	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XIII, 8997
15	VI	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 5143; Mowat ²⁹
16	VII	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XIII, 8973

We may call the above chart Chart I, and, with this chart in mind, let us consider the two systems for reckoning the tribunician power—the December 10 and the anniversary systems—noting the groups in Chart I which provide confirmation:

CHART II. DECEMBER 10 DATING.

Spring 270–Dec. 10, 270	tr. p. I	Group I
Dec. 10, 270–Jan. 271	II	no confirmation
Jan. 271–Dec. 10	II cos. I	Group 3
Dec. 10–Jan. 272	III	I Group 4
Jan. 272–Dec. 10	III	I Group 4
Dec. 10–Jan. 273	IV	I no confirmation
Jan. 273–Dec. 10	IV	I no confirmation

²⁷ Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁸ H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (Paris, 1885-1888), VI, p. 194, no. 177. Webb, *op. cit.*, does not mention this coin, and even Cohen suspected its legend of being an error or a forgery.

²⁹ R. Mowat, "La station de Vorgan," *Rev. Arch.*, XXV (1874), p. 7.

Dec. 10-Jan. 274	V	I	Group 5
Jan. 274-Dec. 10	V	II	Groups 7, 8
Dec. 10-Jan. 275	VI	II	Group 9
Jan. 275-	VI	III	Groups 14(?), 15

CHART III. ANNIVERSARY DATING.

Spring 270-Jan. 271	tr. p. I		Group 1
Jan. 271-Spring	I	cos. I	Group 2
Spring-Jan. 272	II	I	Group 3
Jan. 272-Spring	II	I	Group 3
Spring-Jan. 273	III	I	Group 4
Jan. 273-Spring	III	I	Group 4
Spring-Jan. 274	IV	I	no confirmation
Jan. 274-Spring	IV	II	no confirmation
Spring-Jan. 275	V	II	Groups 7, 8
Jan. 275-Spring	V	III	Groups 8, 13, 14(?)
Spring-	VI	III	Groups 14(?), 15

It will be noted that Groups 6, 10, 11, 12, and 16 of Chart I will not fit into either scheme (Charts II and III). Since Aurelian held his second consulship in 274, he could under no circumstances have had tr. p. III cos. II. Thus, we can disregard *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10017 (Group 6) as an error of the stone cutter. The same reasoning will support the abandonment of Groups 10, 11, and 12.³⁰ As for Group 16 (represented by *C. I. L.*, XIII, 3973), it is clear from the other evidence that Aurelian was dead before December 10, 275 (or the spring of 276) when he might have received his seventh grant of the tribunician power.

We must now examine Charts II and III in order to determine which of them offers the preferable system of dating. Since we have decided to discard as inaccurate the evidence of Groups 6, 10, 11, 12, and 16, we still have to pass upon the validity of Groups 1-5, 7-9, and 13-15. Charts II and III make equally good use of Groups 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 14, and 15, and there remains only the problem of examining the evidence of Groups 2, 5, 9, and 13.

³⁰ Group 10 (Webb, 16 and 186) deserves some comment. Webb, 16 and 186 refer to the same coin, Cohen, 179. Others with a similar dating exist, however. The dating is clearly erroneous, for Aurelian could not have held his second consulship and his seventh grant of the tribunician power at the same time. The inscription *C. I. L.*, II, 4506 (Group 11) has disappeared. It was described only by Strada, an early epigraphist, and he may well have made an error in his transcription. In the case of Group 12, we have already seen the doubtful nature of Cohen, 177 (note 28 *supra*). *C. I. L.*, XII, 5456 was read in 1680 by Antelmi and it has since disappeared.

Groups 5 and 9 fit into Chart II, but not into Chart III; Groups 2 and 13 fit into Chart III and could not under any circumstances be fitted into Chart II.

Group 5, represented by *C. I. L.*, XII, 5548, may be eliminated at once, for the inscription reads Pro. V Inp. III Cos. P. P. and is thus altogether corrupt.³¹ Group 9 is represented by a coin (Webb, 185), but its evidence cannot be taken seriously. The coin itself is known only through the nineteenth century catalogue of Eckhel,³² and its existence cannot be established. Probably it is a forgery, for we have already observed the reasons for discarding its mate (Webb, 16 and 186).³³

The elimination of Groups 5 and 9 paves the way for the acceptance of Chart III. Group 2, which is represented by eight inscriptions and four coins, supports Chart III and could not be fitted into Chart II, although it is only fair to observe that inscriptions and coins which have only tr. p. cos. are not necessarily equivalent to tr. p. I cos. I.³⁴ On the other hand, the evidence of *C. I. L.*, V, 4319 and XIII, 8904 (Group 13), and perhaps also *C. I. L.*, VI, 1112 (Group 8), is conclusive. Group 13 will not fit into the system of Chart II.

Our final conclusion must be that Aurelian employed the anniversary system. This conclusion is based on the reasoning that: 1) Group 13 will not fit into the system of Chart II, 2) there are numerous inscriptions and coins which have tr. p. (I?) cos. (I?), but none which have tr. p. II with no mention of the consulship (see Chart II), and 3) the system represented by Chart III is supported by more copious evidence than that of Chart II. Finally 4), Chart III makes good use of *all* the reliable evidence gathered from all sources, whereas Chart II does not.

From the foregoing argument it should be clear that the anniversary system was employed by Aurelian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian: only Tacitus did not use it.

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³¹ Probably tr. p. III cos. I was intended. Thus, the inscription should be placed in Group 4.

³² J. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (Bonn, 1828), VIII, p. 481. See also, Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

³³ See note 30 *supra*.

³⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, 1939, for example, has tr. p. cos., but it may date from 273-275. See L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien* (Paris, 1904), p. 351.

THE ARISTOPHANIC BIRD CHORUS—A RIDDLE.

There is probably no single tradition in the history of Greek Comedy more universally familiar than that which sets the number of the Comic chorus at twenty-four. This figure appears three or four times in the Aristophanic scholia, is repeated by Pollux, and recurs several times in other late sources.¹ It is all the more curious, therefore, that in the one play which now affords us the opportunity of testing this statement for ourselves, namely the *Birds* of Aristophanes, the scholiast should offer us this standard information in a qualified and hesitant way. His remarks are appended to line 297, which is that point in the parodos where Pisthetaerus names the first bird entering from the crowd at the doorway.

From this (bird) the enumeration of the persons contributing to the chorus,—twenty-four, those listed before being taken in excess. . . . Counting from here you will find the twenty-four persons of whom the Comic chorus is composed.²

Thus we see that in order to retain the traditional number twenty-four the scholiast is compelled to "count from here," and to "take those listed before in excess,"—i. e., *extra numerum*.

This directs our attention to the other birds who for some reason are left out of the count. These are the four which are elaborately introduced and described in the earlier part of the parodos, in lines 267-293. They are the Phoenicopter, the Mede, the second Hoopoe, and the Gobbler. The function of these four has always been a standing puzzle. They have been variously and vaguely described as "aristocratic birds,"³ "an advance guard probably of musical accompanists,"⁴ or "an ornamental spectacle."⁵ Zielinski frankly confesses that "their purpose is

¹ Schol. *Ach.* 211, *Eq.* 589, *Av.* 297; Pollux, IV, 109. See testimonia in A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886), p. 203, n. 5.

² οὗτοσι περίδεις, — ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ καταριθμησις τῶν εἰς τὸν χορὸν συντεινόντων προσώπων κδ', ἐν περίπτῳ ληφθέντων τῶν προκατελεγμένων . . . ἐντεῦθεν καταριθμῶμεν εἰρήνους καὶ σεβ' ἀρσένους καὶ θῆν δ' κοινὰς χορὸς συνίσταται.

³ *Opusc. de Aristophane* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1884), I, 28.

⁴ W. W. Merry, ed., *The Birds* (2th ed., Oxford, 1904), note on line 263.

⁵ J. van Leeuwen, ed., *Avcs* (Leyden, 1902), note on line 267: "insolite aspectu penaeusque splendore adulationemque mouerunt."

quite obscure,"⁶ while Rogers states dogmatically that "the four birds enter singly . . . pass before the audience and disappear."⁷

Alone among modern scholars Willems has suggested that these four may have served as *coryphaeus* and *parastatae* and may thus have been an integral part of a chorus of twenty-eight members.⁸ This suggestion has nowhere been favorably received, partly, no doubt, because no ancient reference to a twenty-eight-man chorus can be found, but chiefly because heretofore there has been no actual demonstration that these four birds are indispensable to the performance of the other twenty-four. It is the purpose of this paper to show that this is true and that the whole symmetry of the choral evolutions depends on the continued presence of these four as participants in a twenty-eight-member unit.

We may begin by examining a remarkable statement by the scholiast on line 589 of the *Knights*:

The Comic chorus consisted of men and of women as well,
 . . . twenty-four, just as this author too has enumerated in
 the *Birds* twelve male birds and the same number of females.⁹

Of modern scholars some have blindly accepted this statement,¹⁰ others have rejected it as untrue,¹¹ while most have completely disregarded it. No one has satisfactorily explained it. The complete list of the twenty-four birds as given in lines 297-305 follows.¹² By noting the grammatical genders it is possible to check the actual distribution of the sexes.¹³

⁶ *Die Gliederung d. Altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 306, n. 1.

⁷ B. B. Rogers, ed., *The Birds* (London, 1906), note on line 268.

⁸ A. Willems, "Notes sur les Oiseaux d'Aristophane," *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, 3. Sér., XXXII (1896), p. 609: "Le chœur comique, qu'il fût disposé par rangs ou par files, avait toujours quatre chefs de files. Ce serait ces quatre choreutes, c'est à dire, le coryphée et ses trois parastates. . . ."

⁹ συνεστῆκει δὲ ὁ χορὸς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἥδη καὶ γυναικῶν . . . καὶ ὡς καὶ οὗτος ἀπηρίθμησεν ἐν Ὀρνισιν, ἀρρένας μὲν ὄρνις ἑβ', θηλέας δὲ τοσαύτας.

¹⁰ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "Chorus," n. 85: "Le chœur des Oiseaux est composé de douze oiseaux males et de douze femelles." So similarly Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 f., and van Leeuwen, *op. cit.*, n. 2 on lines 297 ff.

¹¹ Merry, *op. cit.*, note on line 298: "It is impossible to follow the scholiast in dividing the birds into two equal groups of males and females."

¹² Male birds are marked +, females §.

¹³ It is, of course, true that normally the grammatical gender of the

+ πέρδιξ + ἄτταγᾶς + πηνέλοψ § ἀλκύνων + κειρύλος § γλαυῆ
 § κίττα § τρυγῶν § κορυδός¹⁴ + ἐλεᾶς § ὑποθυμῖς § περιστερὰ
 + νέρτος + ἰέραξ § φάττα + κόκκυξ + ἐρυθρόπους § κεβλήπυρις
 § πορφυρίς § κερχγῆς § κολυμβίς § ἀμπελῖς § φήνη + δρύοψ.

Careful examination of this list will show a total of ten males and fourteen females. This is in apparent contradiction to the statement of the scholiast. If, however, to the twenty-four here enumerated we add the four birds, all male,¹⁵ who have previously entered, the distribution between the sexes is exactly even,—fourteen males and fourteen females. Thus it seems very probable that the scholiast in his bungling way has attempted to combine the principle of evenly balanced ἡμιχόρια, of males and of females, with a fixed idea that the chorus must contain only the traditional twenty-four members.¹⁶

This even distribution of the sexes, confusedly hinted at by the scholiast and confirmed by direct examination, is in itself very suggestive. Closer scrutiny, however, of lines 294-305 yields still more conclusive proof of the necessary unity of this twenty-eight-member group. After exclamations by Pisthetaerus and Euelpides at the "devilish crowd" of birds whose flutterings obscure the doorway, the first six are introduced one after the other¹⁷ with a certain amount of descriptive by-play. The remaining eighteen are then told off by the Hoopoe without

name of a bird has no correlation with the sex of the individual bird. The point is that in this play for purposes of his own Aristophanes, as will be shown, has chosen to assume this correlation. Moreover the objection of van Leeuwen, *loc. cit.*, "Genus grammaticale in orchestra ostendi non potuit," is clearly false in view of the ubiquitous Comic phallus. This may be seen in the well-known Bird-Chorus oinochoe in the British Museum, cf. *J. H. S.*, II, pl. xiv b 1.

¹⁴ It has probably been the failure to observe that the κορυδός is regarded as feminine in this play (cf. line 472 and schol.: *θηλυκῶς εἴρηκε τὴν κορυδόν· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς κορυδοὺς*) which has thrown previous investigators off the track.

¹⁵ + φοινικόπτερος + Μῆδος + ἔποψ + κατωφαγᾶς.

¹⁶ The remainder of this scholium, not here quoted, states in a confused way that sometimes, when the chorus is composed of both males and females, there is a proportion of thirteen males to eleven females. This is never actually stated in the text, but it is clear from the context that it is a general record of the proportions of males and females in the chorus. See note 17 *infra*.

¹⁷ Cf. line 299: *τίς γάρ ἐσθ' οὔπισθεν αὐτῆς*.

interruption in three lines, each of which lists six birds. It is extremely probable that this method of introduction in four sections of six birds each was designed to accord with the standard arrangement of the Comic chorus in six-unit *στοῖχοι* or ranks, and four-unit *ζῦγα* or files.¹⁸ We are further informed that the first rank was especially selected because of its conspicuous position nearest the audience.¹⁹ This last fact best explains the particular pains which Aristophanes has taken in the elaborate introduction of the first six. We may then set down the precise arrangement of these twenty-four birds after they have all entered the orchestra at line 306 and before they have begun their strophic ode at line 327. The following diagram, in which F indicates the female, and M the male birds will show their position.

Audience						
ζ	η	θ	ι	κ	λ	ζῦγα
F	M	F	M	M	M	στοῖχος α'
F	F	M	F	F	F	στοῖχος β'
<hr/>						
F	M	M	F	M	M	στοῖχος γ'
M	F	F	F	F	F	στοῖχος δ'
Scene-building						

This arrangement is highly significant when we bear in mind that the only conceivable reason for dividing a chorus evenly into males and females is to permit the symmetrical evolutions of equally balanced *ἡμιχόρια*. Note, therefore, that if these twenty-four birds are divided in two horizontally, i. e., *στοῖχοι* 1 and 2 from *στοῖχοι* 3 and 4, the result shows five males and seven females in each *ἡμιχόριον*. If again they be divided vertically, i. e., *ζῦγα* 1 to 3 from *ζῦγα* 4 to 6, again the result shows five males and seven females. Thus, whichever way the division is made, each *ἡμιχόριον* needs two more males to complete the balance of the sexes. In other words if the four male birds already in the orchestra join this group of twenty-four, the dramatist is able to divide the total group of twenty-eight into

¹⁸ Pollux, IV, 109 and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁹ Schol. Aristides, III, p. 536 Dindorf, cited by Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 2.

ἡμιχόρια of seven males and seven females each in two different ways, either κατὰ στοίχους or κατὰ ζῦγα.

It is, of course, almost beyond mathematical possibility that this perfect double symmetry can be due to mere chance. Indeed, once it has been pointed out, we can see the elaborate preparations which Aristophanes has made for it, particularly in lines 302-4 where the last three στοῖχοι are listed, one line to each. It is no wonder that modern scholars have been unable to identify many of these birds. Even for the ancient audience it was the gender, and not the species which was important. Even if the names of species were genuine in all cases, that audience certainly could not have identified them by their costumes. On the other hand, except for the conspicuous first στοῖχος which was more elaborately introduced, the others needed no further identification than that provided by the presence or absence of the familiar Comic phallus.

It will doubtless be possible in the future to extend this investigation in an attempt to discover evidence in the text of the *Birds* for the use made by Aristophanes of this principle of evenly distributed ἡμιχόρια. The question also as to whether these four male birds first introduced are actually the coryphaeus and the three parastatae, as Willems thought, remains still to be answered. Again one may ask whether there may not here be a functional parallelism with the unsatisfactorily explained increase in the tragic chorus from twelve to fourteen or fifteen.

For the present, however, it will be enough to formulate the results of this paper as follows. The chorus of the *Birds* enters at the parodos in two sections. Four carefully described male birds enter first and await the arrival in traditional marching order of the second group of twenty-four. These latter are introduced in a carefully planned succession with the sexes so distributed that the symmetrical addition to their number of the four males already present creates an augmented chorus of twenty-eight which is convertible at will and by two separate processes into ἡμιχόρια each consisting of seven males and seven females.

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CHARIOT FIGHTING AND A CRUX IN HOMER.

In the fifth book of the *Iliad*, during the general battle which follows the breaking of the truce, Tlepolemus and Sarpedon engage in combat. Tlepolemus is killed and Sarpedon is seriously wounded. Tlepolemus' spear has become lodged in Sarpedon's left thigh and is hanging from it. Sarpedon's comrades rush to save him. They carry him back from the fight and are so busy rescuing him that no one thinks to pull out the spear, ὄφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ (E 666).

The interpretation "in order that he might mount," that is, "step into his chariot" is found in the translation of Aemilius Portus (1584) and is generally accepted by editors and translators down to 1863¹ when it was attacked by Immanuel Bekker.² As a result, it has been completely given up. In all subsequent editions, except Paley's of 1866, these words are interpreted to mean "in order that he might stand on his feet."³ Since 1891 the translators, too, having got into the habit of consulting the learned editions of Homer, have adopted this interpretation.⁴ It is the only interpretation recognized by Ebeling and Cunliffe and in *L.S.J.* Furthermore, because this interpretation of ἐπιβαίω is unparalleled and appears strange, some editors go so far as to regard the line as an interpolation.⁵ Bekker's only objection to the older interpretation is that nothing is said at this particular place of Sarpedon's chariot: "weit und breit umher kein wagen zu sehen ist."⁶ Ameis, in the edition of 1894, objects further that the absolute verb ἐπιβαίνειν is not an established expression for the idea of stepping into a chariot.⁷

¹ Editors: Heyne (1802), Crusius (1845), Dübner (1848), Paley (1866). Translators: Pope and Chapman omit any reference to the spear; Norgate (1864), Bryant (1876), Cordery (1886).

² *Homerische Blätter* (1863), p. 22.

³ Düntzer (1873), La Roche (1883), Ameis-Hentze (1894). This interpretation can be traced to Eustathius (592, 14) who says that ἐπιβαίῃ here means ὁρὸς στρατῆ. Clarke, in his first American edition (New York, 1814), brackets Portus' translation "ut currum inscenderet" and writes "ut incederet."

⁴ Purves (1891), Way (1910), Butler (1914), Murray (1930), Mazon (1937).

⁵ Nauck (1877), van Leeuwen and Da Costa (1895), Leaf (1900).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ Ameis-Hentze, *Homers Ilias* (1894), part II, p. 105.

All of this, the objections to the older interpretation, the adoption of the new one, and the consequent doubts concerning the authenticity of the line, can be shown to proceed from inattention to what actually is said in the *Iliad* in regard to the use of chariots by the *πρόμαχοι* and to Homer's use of *ἐπιβαίνειν*.

Sarpedon was one of the greater champions, and like most of the others he possessed a chariot. Now these greater champions are usually represented by Homer as leaping down from their chariots to fight on foot. But, while the champion fights on foot, his charioteer always keeps chariot and horses close at hand.⁸ This is well illustrated in the combat between Patroclus and Sarpedon in the sixteenth book. The heroes have leaped down from their chariots and are drawing near to each other on foot. Yet, Patroclus, by his first cast, kills Sarpedon's charioteer. And when Sarpedon casts at Patroclus, the spear strikes Patroclus' horse Pedasus. Finally, when Sarpedon is killed, he lies outstretched before his horses and chariot (II 462-485).

One of the chief reasons why the charioteer follows the champion so closely is that he may offer him a means of quick retreat if he is in danger or is wounded. Whenever a champion is so seriously wounded that he must leave the fight, Homer almost invariably represents him as retreating to his chariot or as being carried there so that he may be driven off the field.⁹ So, in the fourteenth book, when Telamonian Ajax knocks Hector down with a rock, the latter's comrades rush to protect him and some of them lift him up and carry him to his chariot (Ξ 428-432).

There are thirty other instances of *ἐπιβαίνειν* in the *Iliad*. It is used with the genitive twenty-eight times of "mounting upon" or "causing to mount upon" a chariot, ship, wall, etc.¹⁰ Once, in the fifteenth book, it is used absolutely, but so closely after the phrase *ἀπὸ νηῶν* that a genitive is easily supplied from that

⁸ N 384-386. Sometimes the charioteer is killed in place of the champion or along with him who stands immediately before the chariot: E 580.

⁹ A 339-340, 488, 516; N 533-539, 596-600; II 657.

¹⁰ E 192, Ξ 299, with *ἄρματα τῶν*. E 221, Θ 105, A 512, 517, with *ἀγέων*. Θ 44, N 26, Ψ 379, Ω 322, with *δίφρου*. E 46, 255, 328, Θ 129, K 813, 829, Π 345, with *οὐκων*. Ο 512 with *κλῶν*. Ο 127 with *νηῶν*. I 133, 275, T 176 with *ἐνὸς*. Ο 165 with *πύργων*. Δ 99, I 546 with *πυρῆς*. M 444 with *κροσσάων*. II 396 with *πόλῃος* "to set foot in." Ο 285 with *ἐκλεῖς* metaphorically, "to set one's foot on the way to."

expression.¹¹ It is used only once with the accusative in the meaning "traverse."¹²

From this it is clear that the poet, in describing the rescue of Sarpedon by his comrades, even though he says nothing of the chariot, thinks of it as being close at hand and means: "but no one thought to pull out the spear of ash in order that he might mount."

For nearly eighty years all editors and translators of the *Iliad*, in deference to the authority of Immanuel Bekker, have rejected the normal familiar meaning of ἐπιβαίνειν and adopted an interpretation for which no parallel can be found.¹³ In some instances, they have even rejected the line on the basis of this unparalleled interpretation. Bekker's objection is now seen to be vain and illusory; we must go back to the old interpretation which is unquestionably correct.

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ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

Herc. Fur., 356-7:¹

invidia factum ac sermo popularis premet.
ars prima regni est posse te invidiam pati.

This is the reading of the A class of manuscripts, while E, the famous codex Etruscus, omits the *te*. A close parallel in 347-8, with the same usurper Lycus speaking, proves that the *te* is excellent: *quod civibus tenere te invitis scias strictus tuetur ensis*. So it is allowable to alter neither *posse* (*noscere* Kiessling and Garrod; *pondus*, with *invidiae* to follow, Peiper; *pessimam* Summa) nor *invidiam* (*vim populi* Hoffa). For the blamelessness of *posse* see, moreover, *Thyestes*, 470: *immane regnum est posse sine regno pati*. *Invidiam* too is faultless, being a repetition of *invidia* in 356 with a different stress, a device dear to the more

¹¹ O 387 οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὕψι μελαινῶων ἐπιβάντες.

¹² Z 226 with the accusative Πιερίην.

¹³ Neither μ 434 nor I. G., XII, 3, 1381 exhibits the meaning "stand on one's feet." In both instances the idea is to set foot on or to step up on something.

¹ References are to the first edition of Peiper-Richter, 1867.

elegant Roman poets. For Seneca cf. for instance *Medea*, 160-1: *virtús, virtutí*.

Herc. Fur., 1319:

letale ferro pectus impresso induam.

Editors have doubted that this is Latin, and Withof wrote *senile* for *letale*, cf. *Herc. Oet.*, 1862: *senile pectus*; Peiper *vulnus* for *pectus*; Delrio, starting from the *ferrum . . . impressum* of some MSS, *ferrum pectori impressum*. These conjectures are, all of them, more sensible than Peiper's other attempt, *laetare* for *letale*, but they fail to pay attention to the parallel in *Herc. Fur.*, 1033: *pectus in tela indue*, which shows that *pectus* at least is unobjectionable. Inversely 1319 proves that 1033 must not be altered as Bernhard Schmidt and Peiper did. To my mind the former of the two passages makes it clear that in the latter we should correct *letale* to *in tela*. Such self-repetitions are quite in the manner of Seneca.

Thyestes, 110-11:

pallescit omnis arbor et nudus stetit
fugiente pomo ramus.

The perfect *stetit* between the presents *pallescit*, 110, and *exaudit*, 114, is awkward, and Koetschau corrected it to *sitit*. Was it not *tremis*? In *Phaedra*, 517 the first edition of Peiper and Richter printed *ramique . . . tremunt*. There *ornique* seems to be the better reading, but the passage has nevertheless a certain interest for us, because the two successive lines, 516 and 517, end one on *fremunt*, the other on *tremunt*, just as in the *Thyestes*, if my suggestion is right, 110: *tremis*, 112: *fremis*.

Thyestes, 728-9:

cervice caesa truncus in pronum ruit,
querulum cucurrit murmure incerto caput.

Here too readers have taken exception to the tense, as *cucurrit* is preceded by four presents, *trahit*, *adicit*, *amputat*, *ruit*. Cornelissen's remedy, *susurrat* for *cucurrit*, is ingenious, but the detailed detail of the horse falling away can't be objected. It would be more natural to read *quadrangue curra*, removing thus the not very attractive asyndeton between *ruit* and the following verb. See the similar case in *Herc. Oet.*, 1682: *arcus novoscit* B. *arcumque poscit* A.

Phoen., 498-9 (136-7):

hic (Eteocles) ferrum abdidit,
reclinis hastae arma defixa incubant.

This is the reading of E. The other class of manuscripts has *reclivis* (*reclinis* R) and an *et* before *arma*. Editors have not understood this, and Jac. Gronovius wrote *reclinis astat a. d. incubans*; Peiper the same with *incubant*. The simple truth is:

reclinis hastae parma defixae incubat.

The shield is leaning against the spear planted in the ground. The prototype of our line is Vergil, *Aen.*, XII, 130:

defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant.

Cf. also Livy, II, 30, 12: *defixis pilis*. When the *p* of *parma* had disappeared the archetype of the A class interpolated the particle.

Phaedra, 1194-5:

coniugis thalamos petam
tanto impiatos facinore?

For *impiatos* E has an unmetrical *impletos*. The article *impio* in the *Thesaurus* informs us that this would be the only passage where the verb occurs between Plautus and the archaists Apuleius and Fronto. I cannot believe that Seneca really used it and suspect that he wrote *inquinatos*, a verb which he has six times in the Tragedies.

Oed., 392 (Oedipus to Tiresias):

memora quod unum scire caelicolae volunt.

The translators take this as an elliptic phrase for *scire nos*, what the gods want us to know. It seems tempting to correct *caelicolae* to *Thebicolae*. The word is not attested but is correctly formed, cf. *Agam.* 325: *Latonigenas*. *Caelicola* occurs elsewhere in the Tragedies only once in a lyric, *Medea*, 90.

Medea, 957-9 (Medea speaking of her children):

Iam iam meo rapientur avulsi e sinu
flentes gementes oculis pereant patris,
periere matri.

For *oculis* there are, of course, some variants in the manuscripts or early editions: *osculis*, *occulis*, *sed oculis*. Richter took *ocius*, the emendation of Gronovius, into the text. Starting from *patris*,

the reading of A (E has *patri*), I write simply: *sub oculis pereant patris*. That is what the poor boys actually do; see 1001 (Medea about Jason): *spectator iste*; 1009: *te vidente*. Under their father's eyes they shall perish—they have perished already for their mother.

Agam., 1028 (Electra to Clytemnestra):

dixi parenti satis. *Clyt.* at iratae parum.

Codex E gives the whole line to Clytemnestra, the A class to Electra; the partition between daughter and mother is Bothe's. Mr. E. Harrison, writing in *C. R.*, LIV (1940), p. 152, objects to this because the change of persons (*antilabe*) does not otherwise take place after the third foot of the trimeter. Hesitatingly he would write *dixti* for *dixi* and render the whole line to the mother. Now *dixi . . . satis* seems warranted by *Phaedra*, 643: *satisne dixi*? Moreover, the shortened form *dixti* never occurs in the Tragedies. We should therefore acquiesce in the anomaly. The parallel from the *Phaedra* also shows that Peiper-Richter (first ed.) should not have put a comma after *dixi*. Such stops after the first foot are always suspicious. *Iustae*, the reading of A, is nothing but an interpolation, and it is a pity that L. Hermann should have taken it into his text.

Herc. Oet. 1643-5 (description of the pyre on Mt. Oeta):

raptura flammæ pinus et robur tenax
et brevior illex silva se complet rogo
populeæ silva, frontis Herculeæ decus.

The first *silva* is just as impossible as the first *iecur* at 1225, the more so as a third *silva* precedes in 1641. For *se complet rogo* (E) A has *contexit pyram*. Heinsius wrote *alba sed* for *silva se* which, with *rogos* for *rogo*, makes good sense. I should leave it as it stands but for one objection: according to the *Index Verborum* to the Tragedies by Oldfather, Pease, and Canter (1918), Seneca never uses *albus* in them. Our suspicion having thus been aroused, we find that it would be a nice idea if the wood of the poplar were to cover the top of the pyre, as expressed in A by *contexit pyram*. So I should venture a *summa* for *silva* which goes so well with *complet*.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "WOOL AND LINEN" IN JEROME.

In his suggestive article on the passage in Jerome's letter to Fabiola: *vestis linea nihil in se mortis habens, sed tota candida* (LXIII, 207 ff.), Professor Johannes Quasten has shown that the opposition of wool (*tunicae pelliceae*), as a garment related to earth and death, and linen, as a garment of life (regeneration by baptism), goes back ultimately to the Pythagoreans and to Egypt. Perhaps I may be allowed to add another patristic passage in which the contrast wool (= the carnal) vs. linen (= the spiritual) obtains, though mixed with another contrast: exterior vs. interior. Augustine says (*Sermo*, XXXVII, 5: Migne, XXXVIII, p. 224), commenting on the verse *Inveniens lanam et linum, fecit utile manibus suis*, Prov. Sal., XXXI (this appears in the Vulgate as *Quaesivit lanam et linum et operata est consilio manuum suarum*):

Quaeritur autem a nobis quid sit lana, quid sit linum. Lanam carnale aliquid puto, linum spirituale. Hoc conicere audeo ex ordine vestimentorum nostrorum: interiora enim sunt linea vestimenta; lanea, exteriora. Quidquid carne operamur, in promptu est: quidquid spiritu, in secreto. Operari autem carne, et non operari spiritu, quamvis bonum videatur, utile non est. Operari autem spiritu, et non operari carne, pigrorum est.

The Augustinian tendency to center the essential of life in the spiritual interior of man (*noli foras ire, in interiore animae habitat veritas*) finds a symbol in the contrast offered by the two garments: the linen shirt, since it is closer to the interior of man, represents the spiritual; the woolen cloak which comes to rest upon the linen shirt is consequently exterior and may represent the carnal. The hierarchy: linen superior to wool, as inherited by the Christians from the pagan tradition, is now established on a new criterion, itself basic for Augustine: the relative closeness to the core of man.¹ This subtle conceit, betraying the "aberwitzigen

¹ In Alanus ab Insulis (†1203), *Dictiones* (Migne, CCX, p. 829), there is still another distinction: that between "strength" (monkish asceticism in regard to clothing) and "purity" (inner perfection):

Dicuntur fortiores qui sunt in ecclesia, qui cedunt ornamentum et indumentum Ecclesiae; unde de Ecclesia dicitur in Salomone: *Quaes-*

iefsinn des Mittelalters," in the words of V. Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* [Berlin, 1911], p. 129), is possible only at a period when the (linen) shirt had become a customary garment; previously shirts had been worn among the Romans only by women, and by women of noble degree;² it was under the influence of the Northern barbarians that Aelius Severus came to prefer fresh white linen to wool and even to Oriental garments of purple. For the growing popularity of the linen shirt among the common people in Rome, cf. Hehn, whose *Wörter- und Sachenforschung* serves to round out the picture sketched by Professor Quasten—as the latter, in turn, supplies a spiritual reason for the preference accorded to linen in Christian Romania.

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vit lanam et linum . . . per linum illi [intelliguntur] qui sunt poenitentes, qui per multam contritionem poenitentiae assumunt candorem justitiae.

As a matter of fact, during the Middle Ages woollen clothes were rather the traditional outfit of a penitent (O. Fr. *en langes e nuz piez*, see the passages in Godefroy).

² A reflection of this situation is to be seen in the meaning which has been preserved by *linca* in the peripheral Romance (or Romance-influenced) languages—Rumanian, Albanian, Sardinian: "woman's shirt" as opposed to the *camisia* "man's shirt," first attested in Jerome's letter to Fabiola.

REVIEWS.

GUIDO CALZA. *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra*. R. Istituto di archeologia e storia dell' arte, 1940. Pp. 369; 1 plans; 5 colored plates; 159 text illustrations.

No archaeologically-minded tourist who visits the fascinating ruin of ancient Ostia should fail to cross the bridge over the Tiber and see the highly interesting necropolis of the rival and neighbor of Ostia, the rapidly developed city of Portus, a child of the new harbor of Rome created by Claudius and Trajan. In olden days the poor lovers of antiquity (like myself) and those tourists who came to Ostia by rail had to cross the Isola Sacra, the land which lay between the Tiber and Trajan's canal (now a branch of the Tiber). It was a romantic place: a large meadow with hundreds of white cows and scores of fierce bulls so typical of the Campagna Romana. Now this "sacred island" (the name is late and still unexplained) has been turned from grazing to agricultural land by the efforts of the Opera Nazionale Combattenti.

The Isola Sacra has always been a mine of wonderful finds for chance diggers. It has waited, however, for the systematic work of reclamation to show its real character. During this work several excellently preserved tombs were discovered and a large group of them (more than two hundred) was subsequently excavated systematically by the Staff of the excavation of Ostia headed by the well-known and prominent scholar, Guido Calza. These excavations showed that the Isola Sacra was a large city of the dead, a necropolis where thousands of inhabitants of the city of Portus built for themselves, their families, and their households pretentious and expensive house-like tombs which formed a real city with streets, squares, etc. Between these richer tombs the *plebs* of the Portus buried its anonymous dead in modest graves of the usual type.

Systematic excavation of this burial ground began in 1925 and has been carried on for many years. The best preserved tombs were restored and an imposing group of them along the ancient road which crossed the "island"—the via Severiana—is easily accessible to students and other visitors to the ruins of Ostia. Several preliminary reports on the excavations have been published, a summary description of the necropolis is included in the excellent Guide of Ostia by Calza, and many spectacular finds have been discussed in special papers. Now in the volume under review we have an exhaustive, detailed report on the necropolis and the finds made therein, compiled by Professor Calza in collaboration with Mme. R. de Chirico for the archaeological part and the bibliography and with Dr. E. Bloch for the numerous Latin and Greek inscriptions.

I cannot go into a detailed analysis of this final report, excellently illustrated. It would take too much space. I may point out, however, that the illustrations, abundant as they are, should be still more copious and that some reproductions of the most important

finds should be better; that the treatment of the various problems presented by the necropolis is in some parts preliminary and sketchy and does not stress some important and basic questions; and that the bibliographical references are far from complete and sometimes disfigured by annoying misspellings. These shortcomings are of minor importance, however, in comparison with the wealth of new information which has been yielded by the exemplary exploration of the necropolis.

I may point out some of the most important revelations furnished by the discovery and study of the group of tombs of the Isola Sacra.

1) The group as such, exactly dated, presents in its inscriptions, architecture, painting and sculpture a vivid illustration of the most brilliant period in the life of the Roman Empire, that of the second and early third centuries A. D. It mirrors, however, one part only of this life: not the life of the great, of the leaders; it does not refer to great national events, nor does it illuminate the basic constitutional, social, and economic problems of the early Roman Empire. It reflects the life, mentality, religion, and art of a peculiar local group of a leading part of the population of the empire, the city bourgeoisie. I say a "peculiar" local group. Its peculiarity consisted in that it was formed, in this unlike the other sections of the imperial bourgeoisie of the Roman Empire, not of local men with their ancestral local traditions but of a medley of men of various origin, international in its character but thoroughly Latinized and Romanized, an overflow as it were of the corresponding group of the population of Ostia and of the great city of Rome itself, attracted to the settlement of Portus by the economic opportunities which this new city presented. Of this group of new settlers the Portus' necropolis makes us acquainted not with the leaders—the municipal aristocracy—but with the middle and small bourgeoisie of the city, its economic and social backbone; business men of various occupations, merchants of various standing, owners of industrial concerns, artisans, representatives of liberal professions (doctors, priests of oriental cults), minor officials, soldiers and non-commissioned officers. The majority of these were not free-born persons of Italian stock but slaves of higher standing or freedmen or their descendants, in large part of oriental origin.

This group appears to us as highly civilized and fairly prosperous. The members of it buried their dead in house-like tombs of large size, built of cheap but solid material, decorated with paintings, mosaics, statues. There is nothing surprising in the picture for a student of the social and economic life of the Roman Empire, but it is the first time that we have in our hands for the second century A. D. not scattered monuments of uncertain date but a solid body of material exactly dated, comparable on a smaller scale with the evidence for the first century presented by Pompeii and Herculaneum.

2) The tombs of the Isola Sacra yield little direct information on the religious ideas and the general mentality of the small bourgeoisie of the Portus. The funeral inscriptions are short and state as a rule only the name of the buried person with the addition of the

usual formulae, and the paintings in the tombs are for the most part purely decorative, the few figural compositions being commonplace. Nevertheless the necropolis does supply us with a wealth of information on the popular art of the time, as regards architecture, wall painting, floor mosaics, and sculpture. All these subjects have been adequately treated in the book under review. It will be sufficient to point out a few salient facts.

a) Aside from Pompeii and Herculaneum, our information on the evolution of *decorative wall painting* in Italy and in the West is hopelessly poor. Now for the first time we are able to add to the mostly fragmentary wall decorations of Ostian houses, and to those of a few Roman and Ostian tombs, a small but illuminating group of exactly dated wall decorations. These wall decorations are of course tomb and not house decorations. The tombs of the Isola Sacra are, however, houses in miniature, and no new system of wall decoration was invented for them. The prevailing system of wall decoration was certainly adopted by the professional painters of the Portus.

b) The same must be said of the mosaics. The floors of almost all the respectable tombs were covered with them, although most of them were ruined by later burials in the mausoleums of the second century. The most interesting feature of these floor-mosaics is the practice—inherited from the Hellenistic past—of inserting into a mosaic laid on the spot by more or less skilful mosaicists finer central panels made in special shops and bought separately, the so-called *emblemata*. Several of them were found in the ruins of the necropolis, none *in situ*. They are interesting and sometimes elegant products of mosaicists of the second century A. D. (pp. 178 ff.).

In speaking of the mosaics I may mention one of them of a certain interest, the mosaic of tomb 43 (pp. 169 f. and fig. 83). To a subject common in the harbor cities of Ostia and Portus—the Pharos with two ships entering the harbor—is added the inscription: ὁδὸς πᾶσι[ς] λυτὸν: “here is the end of your sorrows.” What is meant is of course the tomb. The Pharos is the end of a long and sorrowful voyage through life, a typical concept for sailors and merchants for whom the Ostian Pharos was the symbol of the end of their long and dangerous voyage and of the rest which it promised to the tired traveler.

c) Surprising is the number and quality of the funeral sculptures found in the necropolis. I cannot dwell on this subject at length but I may draw the attention of the reader to such striking products of Roman portrait sculpture as the famous sarcophagus of an archigallus—a masterpiece of pathetic portrait sculpture (pp. 205 ff. and figs. 108-111) and a valuable source of information on the cult of the Magna Mater and Attis; the portrait statue of Iulia Procula, represented as Hygieia (figs. 221 and 222); that of Volcacius Myropous, a typical representative of the nervous, effeminate intelligentsia of the second century, a counterpart among the bourgeoisie to the intellectual aristocracy of the time of the Antonines (figs. 123 and 124), and the fine, still-Hellenistic group of a boy on horseback with a sturdy peasant behind him (figs. 135 and 136). The most striking products of sculpture found in the Isola Sacra are, how-

ever, the small bas-reliefs in terracotta inserted into the front walls of the tombs alongside the funeral inscription and supplementing it (pp. 247 ff.). It is a pity that only a few of them were found. They are intended to show the deceased as he was during his lifetime, engaged in his customary occupation: a midwife assisting a woman in travail; a surgeon treating his patient; a smith in his well-furnished shop, rich owner of an industrial concern (the tomb where these bas-reliefs were found *in situ* was one of the richest in the necropolis); an "arrotino"; a grain importer and merchant; an ambulant wine or water seller; a seller *en gros* of water [on one of his bas-reliefs the inscription *Lucifer aquatari(us)*]. Not that this class of funerary bas-reliefs is unknown. It is one of the most characteristic classes of the sculptural art of the Roman Empire. But the Portus group represents a new version of these sculptures and can be truly called a product of popular art strikingly reflecting the mentality of the small bourgeoisie of that period.

We must be thankful to Professor Calza for having so promptly and adequately made accessible to the students of the Roman Empire the rich material discovered by him in the Isola Sacra.

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COLEMAN HAMILTON BENEDICT. A History of Narbo. Princeton, 1941. Pp. vi + 93. (Diss.)

Part of this dissertation was published as an article, "The Romans in Southern Gaul," in *A. J. P.*, LXIII (1942), pp. 38-50. That article should be read in connection with this volume. The work has the usual chief divisions—founding, history, political organization, analysis of population, and economic life. The evidence is most satisfactory for political organization and population, and the treatment of those points is especially competent. In general this is a sound piece of work.

I should like to discuss the founding of Narbo somewhat at length. The article in *A. J. P.* discusses carefully the campaigns in Gaul of the decade before the founding, then abruptly announces that the colony was founded for commercial reasons. This view, which we have heard before, is announced again in the book with an enthusiasm that amounts almost to abandon.

On p. 3 we are told that after the settlement of 121 business men from Italy flocked to Gaul in large numbers. Obviously we have no evidence of this but only a reasonable assumption that some business men had been in Gaul before and that the prospect after 121 of more settled conditions attracted some of the more conservative to go there. On the same page we are told that "the business class in Rome clamored loudly for the establishment of a colony in the newly subjugated territory which should dominate the trade not only of Gaul but of Spain as well." As a matter of fact we do not know that this was the case. There is only an inference that the business men favored the establishment of the colony because it would bring them some

advantage and that inference is generally thought to be strengthened by the fact that the Senate opposed the establishment of the colony. This confident and vivid assertion is more suited to the style of the orator than to the style of the historian.

We should be more cautious in assuming that at this period the Senate seized every opportunity that it could to do harm to the financial interests of the *equites*. This assumption rests upon the senatorial opposition to the establishment of Colonia Junonia and Narbo and upon the fact that the *equites* were made conscious of themselves as a political power by Gaius Gracchus. We can hardly doubt that the Senate wished to lessen or remove the political power of the knights. There is no proof, however, that it would descend to spoiling some minor field of enterprise for the knights so as to take away a small part of their profits.

The conflicts between Senate and knights are more interesting than their coöperation, but a study of their relation in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* will serve as a reminder that there had been coöperation for a long time and that it continued long after the Gracchan period. A great deal of state business was carried on by the knights, and there is no reason to suppose that the Senate had any idea of trying to drive them gradually out of that field. This would be the extreme to which senatorial opposition could go. But there is also no reason to suppose that the establishment or non-establishment of Junonia and Narbo was of such importance to the knights that it would be a significant blow to them if neither colony were founded.

Business men, whether as corporations, single knights, or less important individuals, must have been somewhat concerned with Africa Proconsularis and Gallia Narbonensis before the colonies were proposed. We know that they did not confine their operations to regions securely held by Rome. The colonies, therefore, would not create opportunities for them where none existed before, but only improve their opportunities. Failure to establish the colonies surely would not mean their complete withdrawal from the regions involved. The blow that the Senate could inflict on the knights by preventing the establishment of the colonies, when set against the total of equestrian operations, could hardly have been worth bothering about. It would be prudent to consider other motives which may have animated the Senate's opposition. The motives which I have in mind are only those which others have already conjectured, such as a conservative repugnance to the creation of citizen colonies outside Italy or to the distribution in fee of lands which had been paying rent to the treasury. The Senate might also have wanted to allow its own members to enjoy the privilege of renting the public land in Africa, since many senators must have suffered by the Gracchan program of cutting down large holdings in Italy.

It is also worth while to consider the motives of those who favored the founding of the colonies. We generally assume that the colonies were to be either military or commercial. Junonia surely was not intended as a military colony to oversee the province. The large allotments (200 jugera) were not characteristic of such colonies, and the Senate evidently relied largely on the Numidian kings for

military protection. For military purposes a number of smaller colonies would presumably have been used. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the purpose of the colony was to produce grain for the market at Rome, whether we consider that grain as a dole or as a means of stabilizing the supply. It would also relieve slightly the shortage of land in Italy, since the colonists were presumably stable farmers who had holdings in Italy. We do not often think of the conditions of their leaving, but it is hardly likely that they kept their Italian holdings. We might even conjecture that the six thousand of them would leave land enough in Italy for twelve thousand holdings of fifteen jugera.

A colony designed to increase the production of grain could hardly be called a commercial colony, even though it would obviously yield some profit to the business men who handled the produce. Indeed, the term commercial colony is not exact enough for serious historical writing, for alone it cannot express exactly the commercial opportunities implied in the foundation of such a colony. We have no reason to suppose, in the first place, that the founders of Junonia had made any official arrangement for the presence and activity of business men, nor that in the second place they had any thought of restricting that activity to Romans and Italians. The bare expression "commercial colony" will therefore carry certain false implications if applied to Junonia and will fail to represent adequately the relation of the founding of Junonia to the interests of the business men, as well as obscuring the purpose of the founders.

Benedict believes that Narbo was intended as a military colony to make trade safe. We do not find other examples of business men striving for such protection, in the first place. In the second place, the region should have seemed safe enough after the military operations which he discusses in his article, and it is hard to believe that business men would have thought a military colony necessary. If we knew more about the number of colonists and the size of their allotments, we might find that the good grain land behind Narbo was parceled out in good-sized allotments as was planned at Junonia. The support of Gracchan sympathizers in the Senate and the opposition of the Senate would thereby be plausibly explained.

These studies of cities should always sift the evidence for life in the territory outside the city center. Sometimes we can discover whether the great men of the city were merchants or landowners with outlying villas. Large territories sometimes have minor centers here and there. Such exact studies, added to studies of the pagi and unorganized open country, could help us to form a more accurate idea of the relation between city and country than we now have. It is easy to overemphasize the deadly dullness of country life as compared with city life, as Carcopino did in the introduction to his recent book on Roman daily life. It is also easy to overrate the superficial smartness of unintelligent city dwellers when it is contrasted with the loutish bearing of unintelligent countrymen. But the differences between rich and poor, intelligent and stupid, properly privileged and unprotected, both in the city and the country, should be kept in mind. There should also be some consideration of whether the most active talents were being drained from country to city,

which did not always happen, and whether in some places the urban center should really be opposed as city to the country around it, since it was merely a center for a population which really lived (and well) in the country.

We should also be careful in using the words "Romanize" and "Romanization." I doubt whether Benedict's use of the word at the top of p. 68 is the most desirable use, since it implies only that a large number of Romans was active in the province and implies nothing about their impact or the impact of Rome in general on the province.

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FRIEDRICH VON DUHN. *Italische Graeberkunde*. Zweiter Teil. Nach dem Tode Friedrich von Duhns abgeschlossen, umgearbeitet und ergaenz't von FRANZ MESSERSCHMIDT. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939. Pp. xv + 383; 6 figs.; 40 plates; maps. RM. 31.

Every scholar who has used von Duhn's *Graeberkunde* has regretted that the author's death left it incomplete. It is, therefore, most gratifying that this defect has now been remedied by the publication of the second volume which deals with the three peoples along the Adriatic, Veneti, Picenes, and Iapyges. Von Duhn had left an almost finished manuscript which was up to date to the year 1929. The new author, Messerschmidt, has added recent discoveries and new literature, complete to March 1939 (Nachtraege). Von Duhn's had been an amazing undertaking; it needed admirable industry and lifelong familiarity with ever-progressing studies to collect this vast material scattered in many museums and in many publications often inaccessible to the scholar outside Italy. Only a specialist could bring this work up to date and Messerschmidt has the competence to do it. A visit to Italy enabled him to deal with the material at first hand. He improved upon the readability of the book by putting the references into footnotes instead of the text, as von Duhn had done; further additions are several maps indicating the proveniences and forty plates with illustrations. Illustrations are the crux of von Duhn's first volume; I do not want to minimize its value, but mere descriptions are no substitute for illustrations. On the other hand, nothing short of a "corpus" in the manner of Montelius' publications would suffice. It is evident that the publishing of such a corpus was an impossible task for Messerschmidt; it must be done by the Italian archaeologists themselves as a part of the international corpus which is in progress. Messerschmidt even had to abstain from including in his modest collection valuable but unpublished material, because excavators and directors of museums preserved it for themselves. But Messerschmidt found a different way to increase the value of the *Graeberkunde*, by adding to the descriptive catalogue of the finds of each region general chapters in which problems are discussed according to the latest data. Needless to say, he had to

change many assumptions originally put forward by von Duhn which have been refuted by new studies. These new chapters enabled him at the same time to fill another gap in the *Graberkunde*, namely to include finds from settlements which do not occur in tombs and he thus succeeds in giving a fully rounded picture of the cultures.

Italian prehistory is at present in a period of reconstruction. Theories held for a long time and accepted by the handbooks, as for example that about the Terramare, have been given up (cf. MacIver, *Antiquity*, XIII [1939], pp. 320 ff.); new theories have been propounded, and everything seems to be in a state of flux, very disconcerting for the non-specialist. The tendency, especially among Italian archaeologists, among whom Patroni might be cited as representative, has been lately not to deny but to minimize immigrations and foreign influences and to emphasize the indigenous development; furthermore to stress the importance of southern and central Italy in contrast to the valley of the Po which formerly was believed to be of preponderant importance. Messerschmidt takes side in all these problems, among them that of the Terramare. His general attitude is to do justice to the indigenous development but to make immigrations and foreign influences responsible for a number of new features. Fortunately, we may say, the problems of the Adriatic shore of Italy and of the first millennium to which the bulk of the material belongs are less controversial than those of other regions and periods: connections with the other side of the Adriatic are universally conceded, their strength and relevance only being problematical.

The wealth of material and of problems makes it impossible to give here a detailed account of the contents of the book. It must suffice to mention a few items in order to give the reader a more intimate knowledge of Messerschmidt's methods and results. In the Introduction he deals with the "Lausitz" culture, the bearers of which are commonly identified with the Illyrians. This ethnic group has lately been studied by archaeologists and philologists, and, although not all the conclusions may turn out ultimately to be correct, its importance for the beginning of the Iron age in Europe is certain. This culture spread from its center in Eastern Germany to the Southeast, South, and West; in Italy the Villanovan civilization was ushered in by immigrants belonging to this group; it is interesting to notice that even the "nativist" Patroni admits this particular immigration. Messerschmidt contributes convincing proof by illustrating almost identical vases from Este, Apulia, Bohemia, Silesia, and Rumania. He assumes that this immigration of Indo-europeans was preceded by an earlier one affecting also the pile-dwellers and terramaricoli and distinguishes three successive elements in northern Italy as far as Liguria: a non-Indo-european substratum, a first Indo-european immigration, and finally a second, namely the Illyrian. The second element is the most controversial and will be attacked by a number of scholars. The reviewer is likewise inclined to emphasize the indigenous continuity, underrated, for instance, by Whatmough. He thinks, on the other hand, that the immigration of the Greeks into the Aegean in the beginning of the second millennium makes a parallel immigration into Italy likely (cf. Battaglia, *Boll. Ass. Stud. Med.*, V [1934], pp. 89 ff.; Matz, *Neue Jahrbuch. f.*

Antike, 1938, pp. 385 ff.). Messerschmidt's discovery of northern battle-axes and vases in Italian museums (*Arch. Anz.*, 1938, pp. 637 f.) is a valuable contribution in this context. His method of dealing with details might be illustrated by his following studies: the "situla" originated not in Crete, but probably in Locri, was transmitted to the Veneti by the Etruscans and exported as far as Rumania; the "cinturoni," only used by women, were produced in Este and exported into Etruria and Latium; another atetine creation, the ciste with horizontal ribs, were exported even to Sicily. It must be admitted that superficial conclusions occur occasionally, for instance about the sculptures from Nesaetium: the type of meander on them is too common to be dated by a Greek example of 530 B. C. In Picenum five ethnic layers are distinguishable according to Messerschmidt: Balkanians bringing "Bandkeramik"; Sicilians from the South as far as Rivoli; a people with crude pottery coming from a still indefinable region in the North during the Bronze age; the cremating people of Pianello; and finally Liburno-Illyrians crossing the Adriatic in the Iron age and settling in the southern part. The famous stelae from Novilara are discussed; they reflect the native tradition which differs very much from that of the Indo-european Italics; the figure motives, on the other hand, are mostly Greek, as von Salis has shown; their date is late, reaching down into the fifth or even fourth century, an undecorated example which preceded the decorated ones being datable to about 700. The third part deals with the Iapygians. Messerschmidt uses extensively the linguistic studies of Krahe and assumes that Illyrians crossing the Adriatic somewhat after 1000 superimposed themselves upon native descendants of the neolithic population; these immigrants are naturally more numerous in the northern parts; the "Messapian" inscriptions prove the existence of another linguistic element, namely "mediterranean" Cretans who became amalgamated with the Illyrian group. The circular tumuli with flexed burial are more likely to be connected with Istrian burials than with those on Leukas. Important is the observation that an Illyrian population attested by pottery found in the Borgo preceded the Spartan colonization of Tarentum. His conclusion, on the other hand, that the custom of burying the dead inside the town must be an Illyrian survival is not sound, because the Spartans likewise had this custom, unique in Greece (cf. I. von Mueller, *Griech. Privataltertumer*², p. 218).

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CHANDLER SHAW. Etruscan Perugia. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. Pp. xii + 102; 16 plates. \$2.75. (*The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, No. 28.)

Only for twenty years has Etruscan art been considered an individual entity, with its own characteristics and its own value, and no longer a bad imitation or a provincial interpretation of Greek art. No wonder, therefore, that a clear and satisfactory sketch of the

various Etruscan artistic schools, of their specific creations and their different tendencies, has not yet been traced. Corresponding to the real political independence of the cities in the Etruscan Confederation, only loosely bound together, there is a striking variety in their artistic productions, in their tastes and attitudes, in their predilection for special classes of monuments, and in how much they derived from different foreign influences. Different artistic productions always bear, notwithstanding, the imprint of the ethnical qualities that distinguish Etruscan art from all the other arts of antiquity. The local peculiarities of the various Etruscan artistic factories are complicated still more by the relations between the Etruscan racial stock and the civilization previously dominant in the country, by the geographical positions of the Etruscan towns—either on the Apennine hills in the interior part of the country near the confines of the Italic peoples, such as the Umbrians and the Picenes, or on the Tuscan shores open to the landing of invaders and to contact with the Oriental and Hellenic civilizations—and consequently by the different degrees of conservatism dominant in the various regions of central Italy. Moreover, some of the Etruscan towns seem to start their history with the very beginning of the Etruscan culture, while others owe their foundation to a later expansion of the Etruscan power or even begin only toward the decline of Etruscan history.

Consequently the monographs which try to collect our scattered information about each of the many Etruscan towns are always very welcome: monographs to which scholars have addressed their efforts only in the last few years, and two excellent specimens of which have appeared quite recently: the study on Luni by Luisa Banti and that on Tarquinia by Pallottino. Of such works some are simple compilations, summing up all our knowledge about the literary tradition and the archaeological discoveries in the territory of an Etruscan center; others try also to solve the various problems regarding the Etruscan town with which they deal. Shaw's book has no such pretension; it is a clear exposition, in a simple and pleasant form, of all the aspects of the life and art of Etruscan Perugia, a book which can be read without difficulty and with profit by all students and cultivated people. In consequence it necessarily reflects the especially unfavorable condition of our knowledge about that charming town of modern Umbria: the extreme scarcity of historical records, the lack of systematic excavation in the Perugian territory, the absence of thorough studies of the artistic categories which can be attributed with more or less certainty to the Perugian factories.

Shaw diligently provides us with all the bibliographical material on the discoveries and the studies regarding Perugia and with a description of the most important objects found in the territory. It is unfortunate that, when using his sources, he does not make a stronger discrimination between reliable studies, such as the two sound, recent articles by Miss Banti, and others of much less importance, some of which are not worth mentioning and upon which a reconstruction of Perugian history cannot be built: thus we cannot derive a conception of the religious beliefs in Perugia from the fantastic interpretations by scholars of the beginning of the 19th century, when the "symbolistic" mania was at its height. A great

part of what the author describes as symbols and beliefs of the Beyond is only obvious ornamental motifs on urns and similar objects which appear in the same way on all kindred Etruscan products everywhere. In the description of Perugian products, furthermore, we must be very careful in attributing to Perugia's factories the many objects which were found in its territory: so, for instance, the bronze mirrors, of which several fine specimens were found there, could very easily have been imported (Miss Banti hints at the *possibility* of a local factory but warns against easy deductions regarding objects of such a kind); the same can be said for the bronze statuettes, for the jewelry, and so on. The sarcophagus from Sperandio (p. 15) and the round cippus (p. 54) are by all evidence of Chiusan origin, and we cannot therefore derive from their representations any image of Perugian life and cults.

In general, in spite of the popular character of the book, a clearer distinction between what is essentially Perugian and what is common to the whole of Etruria would have been desirable. Customs and creeds, dress, ornaments, rites that are depicted in this book belong in great part to the usual patrimony of Etruria. Their description is often unnecessary, because to each of these aspects of Etruscan life special studies have been dedicated and each one presents problems which cannot be dealt with here; sometimes the account is consequently partial or incorrect: for instance fashions in garments, hair-dressing, and shaving changed in the different ages of Etruscan history, and in their study much must be discounted which is only an imitation of the foreign models of the Etruscan monuments. On the other hand, although the author does not intend to solve particular problems, it would have been praiseworthy if he had tried better to determine the specific qualities of the artistic productions which can be considered Perugian. In the first place he could examine with more attention the cinerary urns, the stylistic characteristics of which are plainly discernible from those of the kindred factories of Chiusi and Volterra and from which a chronological evolution in style and subjects could probably be traced (the distinction between the urns of Perugia and those of Chiusi drawn from the position of the inscription or the shape of the letter T is entirely fictitious). The author accepts at once Galli's hypothesis of a local pottery at Perugia to which the vases of Montelucente would belong (p. 75), but he does not take into consideration the objections of such an expert on Etruscan vases as Albizzati. In the same way he accepts without discrimination (p. 69) all the theories attributing local factories to the various Etruscan provinces, although these factories have been much discussed and disputed. Another very important argument to be studied is the place of creation of the magnificent laminated bronzes and silvers of the 6th century B. C. found in the Perugian territory, although the obviously slight importance of the Etruscan settlement in Perugia before the middle of the 5th century makes a local origin of such monuments very improbable.

Above all, the author does not seem to have made up his mind as to the intrinsic qualities of Etruscan art as a whole. While discussing the attribution of the bronzes from San Mariano (p. 11) he seems to consider Etruscan art nothing but an unskilful imitation of Greek

art; he seems inclined to accept the Greek creation of the Loeb tripods (p. 15); the admirable sculptures of the Volumni Tomb, in his opinion, have no longer anything peculiarly Etruscan (p. 63, p. 93) because Perugia has become by now "part of a world civilization," and because the sculptures reflect a strong Hellenistic influence. But, indeed, under the strongest spur of Greek art Etruscan art developed its own individual characteristics excellently: the influence of the school of Pergamum is in fact the last stream of Greek influence which helped Etruscan art to bring to the surface and stress its own artistic tendencies; it would be difficult to find more striking evidence of the Etruscan artistic qualities and of the late Etruscan style than the beautiful Lasae of the Volumni Tomb. It would have been interesting, on the other hand, to make clear how much the particular situation of Perugia—its peaceful relation with Rome, far from the new fields of struggle in Italy—may have contributed to this very late blossoming of art, much more advanced than anything Perugia had created before.

In spite of such deficiencies, and of some other slips on which it is useless to insist, the attempt to draw a sketch of such a dark center of Etruscan life and art is highly commendable. The author intends (p. ix) to publish some Appendices also, with a chronological table of the tombs, an index of the objects discovered, a list of the inscriptions, etc. It is to be hoped that the deeper study which he will devote to the different products of the Perugian territory in preparing such Appendices will enable him to face some of the most important problems regarding the history and the art of Perugia, so that the basis will be laid for a more thorough monograph in the future, when perhaps more accurate archaeological explorations will also have filled some of the large gaps in our knowledge concerning this important ancient town.

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CAMPBELL BONNER (ed.). *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis and Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel*. London, Christophers; Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. x + 202 + 2 plates. \$5.00. (*Studies and Documents*, edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, XII.)

By his latest contribution to this notable series Professor Bonner has put in his debt students of religious literature of antiquity, for his excellent edition of the long-lost Greek *Sermon on the Passion* by St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (ob. ca. 190), helps to fill the noticeable void in the homiletical department of the writings of those Ante-Nicene Fathers whose works have survived. For generations it has been believed that of Christian homilies the oldest oration extant is the so-called *Second Discourse of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians*, which appears to be neither an epistle nor by Clement, but seems to be a Greek sermon (of which both its author and its date are not known) and which may have

been composed, according to general opinion, sometime between 125 and 175. If so, the discourse of Melito comes close in time to this earliest example of patristic preaching and may very well contest the honor of being the second oldest orthodox oration surviving in Greek and in an almost complete form with the *Discourse on the Holy Theophany*, which is the sole specimen in Greek (save for several fragments and except for his exegetical homilies) of the sermons of St. Hippolytus of Rome (*ob. ca.* 235), Melito's younger contemporary, since the twenty homilies in Greek ascribed to the Roman Clement, who in these presents the preaching of St. Peter, are now held not only to be in inspiration Arian in their present form but also to be of oriental origin sometime in the earlier part of the third century.

The text of this edition, equipped with notes (orthographical, lexicographical, grammatical, rhetorical, historical, theological) and translation, is based principally on a papyrus-codex produced in the fourth century by a scribe, who corrected his own copy in a few places and then only in faulty letters or syllables. For the construction of the text is utilized also the evidence of other documents containing sections of the sermon, viz., a Greek fragment of seven sections, a Coptic fragment of five sections, a Syriac version of five sections, a Syriac version of excerpts from thirty-five sections. (Duplication among these witnesses occurs only in the Syriac versions.) Beside this testimony to the text an author of the seventh century, St. Anastasius of Sinai, abridges inaccurately a sentence of the sermon, which occupies eight and one-quarter leaves or sixteen and one-half pages of the papyrus, extends (by count) to 641 lines (thirty at least and perhaps thirty-five lines in addition being missing according to the editor's estimate), and has 104 sections determined by the editor for convenience in reference. While "ordinary sources of injury" have resulted in some loss of letters and words and lines (as is common in manuscripts of this character), yet "the work is complete" save for "the few lines that have been lost from the lower part of the leaf" at the end of the homily. By printing on opposite pages the Greek in "an exact and uncorrected transcript" and in a conventionally edited expansion, this edition presents the reader with the *data* of the document, of which "the more debatable passages are discussed in the notes" at the bottom of the pages. The emendatory expansions are evidently for any editor a ticklish task, but from his long familiarity with this field of philology Bonner, employing commendable inhibition as well as conservative ingenuity, has brought to us what, on the whole, was written by Melito rather than what some scholars might suppose Melito should have written.

In the introductory pages (3-82) is assembled much information relating to technical features of the papyrus, to method of edition, to structure and style of the sermon, to special topics including the theological position of Melito revealed in the work, the author's use of the Bible, the influence of the homily on both contemporary and later writers. An *index verborum* completes the part of the volume devoted to Melito's discourse and is more than usually helpful, since words which appear to be of interest from theological

and grammatical considerations are noted with brief explanation of their usage.

The second portion of Bonner's book presents three annotated fragments of the apocryphal *Prophecy of Ezekiel*. These, as well as St. Melito's *Homily on the Passion* and the concluding chapters of the *Book of Enoch*, are found in the codex belonging partly to Mr. A. C. Beatty and in part to the University of Michigan. In a short introduction (pp. 183-185) the editor discusses the still unsolved difficulties involved in his ascription of these fragments to the pseudo-Ezekiel (of which not much is known), especially since "none of the fragments hitherto recognized as belonging to the pseudo-Ezekiel can be detected in the Beatty pieces." Bonner believes on good grounds, however, that these fragments "give the impression of a Jewish prophecy" and he finds that eight lines of the first fragment "are cited, with very slight variations, by Clement of Alexandria . . . as from Ezekiel." Because both Clement's citation and the first fragment "represent an Ezekiel very different not only from the text of the Septuagint but also from the Hebrew," Bonner, relying on the Alexandrian attribution, refers both Clement's quotation and the three fragments here edited to pseudo-Ezekiel; "for there is no reason to think that the writer of the fragments merely happened to quote the same words that Clement cites." To this part of the volume is appended also an index of words.

It cannot be doubted that Bonner has performed a genuine service in giving us in scholarly form this edition, which is commended to all investigators of early Christian literature.

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A. CORDIER. *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l' "Énéide."*
Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 1939. Pp. xxxix + 354.

The aim of Professor Cordier's lengthy book is to establish the relationship of the *Aeneid* to the technique of epic language in general, to determine to what extent Virgil remained faithful to tradition, and to show what skilful and original use he made of the heritage left him by previous writers. The twenty-five pages of introductory material include a long bibliography of works both general and specific on the Latin language, especially that of the epic poets. An index verborum of twenty-five or thirty pages stands at the end. Through an extremely detailed study of the vocabulary and methods of Virgil's predecessors Cordier attempts to discover the literary state of epic language in Virgil's time and thus to arrive at the

state on which he based his conclusions. The book is divided into three parts: the first, which deals up to a certain extent with the archaism and the gloss (tout nom qui est étranger à l'usage)—including poetic, technical, rare, and foreign words—, both of which are essentially epic elements, and the compound, which he calls

semi-epic and which may be merely ornamental or truly expressive. The same general plan is followed in each major division, a plan which the author states will be clearer than any other, even if perhaps more monotonous. Cordier draws a great many of his illustrations and observations from Marouzeau's *Stylistique*. Statistics are used in profusion throughout, though as a means of illustrating the tendencies shown, rather than as an end in themselves. In each section Virgil's predecessors are discussed in chronological order with special attention given to their use of the elements appropriate to epic, after which Virgil's own policy is carefully delineated.

In the main, Virgil, according to the author, confined himself within the same limits of vocabulary as former writers, with, however, the modification of some tendencies and the extension of others. To bring epic within the reach of all classes, he limited his archaisms to those most closely allied with current speech, retaining a sufficient number to lend solemnity, nobility, or gravity to his poem. Poetic words were likewise chosen with good taste and moderation, so as to create the desired esthetic style and epic color without becoming cumbersome through repetition, as in Homer. His compounds, formed chiefly upon Latin models in preference to the Greek, achieved an effect of neither monotony nor artifice but rather a union of naturalness and variety. By thus eliminating excessive use of epic elements and normalizing his words to suit the requirements of the Latin system, he safeguarded the traditional features of the language and preserved the acquisitions of the past; by making innovations and taking account of new elements when such creations were in harmony with the established language, he enriched the expressive qualities of his vocabulary. Virgil's art consisted of a combination of the traditions of his predecessors with the newer tastes; his contribution was the reconciliation of the divergences of two different schools and the fixation of the epic manner.

Cordier's book seems to be a thorough, scholarly piece of work, which must have been a prodigious and infinite task in the making. It shows much sound reasoning and good judgment as well as an indefatigable desire to penetrate into small details and reach the very groundwork of his subject. His work is substantial and persistent, though by no means inspiring; his theories and conclusions are interesting, though nothing extraordinary has been brought to light.

The chief faults of the author are his attempt to be too thorough and his rambling, repetitious style. It seems unnecessary to incorporate into the body of his text copious lists of each and every archaism or gloss borrowed by Virgil from other epic writers or all the compounds found in other authors which were not used by Virgil. Abundant illustrations are always necessary and helpful but an overabundance which amounts to exhaustion is a little wearying. Such material is valuable for reference, of course, but it might find better place in footnotes or appendixes. The book is an excellent working manual, and the illustrative material, though excessive is usually convincing. Notwithstanding, one must often wonder how Cordier can decide satisfactorily upon the limits of distinction between the different types of glosses.

The book is loosely hung together and would gain much by compression to half its present length. The numerous introductions and conclusions to the whole book and separate chapters, not to mention introductions and conclusions to the introductions and conclusions themselves, involve a great deal of unnecessary repetition, which is ubiquitous, even within the individual sections.

Cordier's work would have been much more attractive if he had simply indicated to his readers the extent of his tremendous research and the number of examples which he could supply, instead of demonstrating every step of his procedure. His style, which seems almost that of the classroom, lacks subtlety and leaves little to the imagination. That which it would often be sufficient to suggest is told several times instead. The book is straightforward, logical, and consistent, but a trace of liveliness and variety would make it more readable.

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GEORGE VAN LANGENHOVE. *Linguistische Studiën, II: Essais de linguistique indo-européenne*. Antwerp, De Sikkel; The Hague, Martin Nijhoff, 1939. Pp. xvii + 151. (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren, 87^e aflevering.)

The first series of these *Studiën*, which appeared in 1936, contained five chapters on "Macht en taal," "La Linguistique et l'histoire des religions," "West-Germaansch = Gemeen-Germaansch," "Indo-Europeesch **tt* = Gemeen-Germaansch **ss*," and "Nederlandsch -*mst*, Duitsch -*nft* I"; the series here under consideration has four: "Sur quelques racines indo-européennes du type **ə₂éu*-" (pp. 1-47), "Le Nom de la 'nouvelle mariée' en indo-européen" (pp. 48-64), "Sur l'interprétation de quelques noms de personnages divins" (pp. 65-88), and "Notes pour une théorie de la racine" (pp. 89-151); and at least one more series has been planned by the author.

Of eleven homonymous bases **əeu*-, van Langenhove has chosen the one meaning "flow" with its suffixes -*ā*-, -*g*-, -*n*-, -*i*-, -*r*-, -*s*-, -*l*-, etc., carefully examining all certain or probable derivatives, and treating with prudent reserve all doubtful cases (cf. his summary, pp. 38-41). The study closes (pp. 46-47) with pertinent remarks on homonymous bases in Indo-European, the conclusion being that many such bases are, in reality, identical, and that the fundamental meaning of the identical bases of the **əeu*-group here discussed is "vital or animating force" (that this *ə* is the *ə₂* of Kurylowicz's scheme, rather than his *ə₁*, is not, the author admits, entirely certain; and this admission is not yet sure that the theory of *ə > e*, *əe > a*, *əe > o* is fully established). If, in this connection, it be finally shown that all Indo-European bases apparently beginning with *r* or *u* were, in fact, the "second states" of **ə₂e₂re*- or **ə₂e₂ue*-, may it not equally well have been the case that Indo-European had no bases with initial

l, *i*, *m*, or *n*? The author would, indeed, seem to suggest (p. 143) that many, if not all, bases with initial consonants in historic Indo-European originally began with a laryngeal, Indo-European **brūti-*, for example, coming ultimately from **ə_xbh-ə₁r-ə₂u-ə_xt-i-*, a conclusion which at present seems rather hazardous.

The study on the Indo-European designation of the newly married woman is devoted essentially to the etymology and semantics of Teutonic **brūdi-* (represented, e. g., by Anglo-Saxon *brýd* "sponsa, nupta, uxor, mulier," Middle Dutch *bruden* "een vrouw beslapen," Gothic *brub* "daughter-in-law") < Indo-European **bhrū-ti-* < **bhr-ū-ti-* < **ə_xbh-ə₁r-ə₂u-ə_xt-i-*. This analysis is supported by that of Teutonic **frawian-* "lord, master" < **ə₁p-ə₁r-ə₂éu-i-on-*, where **ə₂eu-* is the same base as that already discussed, so that **frawian-* must primarily have meant "he who brings vital force" and **brūdi-* "she who carries vital force" (the connection of this group with Sanskrit *bhrūnám* "embryo," Middle High German *brune*, *brüne* "belly, vulva," p. 60, seems much more likely than any other etymology thus far proposed). On the other hand, it is not so certain to this reviewer that **brūdi-* and **frawian-* referred originally to the chief actors of a *ἱερὸς γάμος* (pp. 60-64); this would appear to be a sufficient, not a necessary, interpretation.

The third study is concerned with the etymologies of certain Teutonic divine names: *Lóðurr* < Teutonic **lōþura-* < Indo-European **lā-tu-ro-* "hidden" (cf. Doric *Λᾱτώ*, Latin *lateō*; pp. 67-70); *Hōnir* < Teutonic **hōniia-* Indo-European **kōniio-* < **k-eo₃-n-io-* "sharpeners, possessor of the whetstone" (cf. Latin *cōt-* "whetstone"), **k-* being the "second state" of the base **ə_xekēə₃-* "sharp" (cf. Greek *ἀκρος* "sharp, pointed") — a term applicable either to *Thór* (who has so many traits in common with the Vedic *Indra* that they seem to be continuants of the same Indo-European deity) or, less probably, to his adversary and predecessor *Hrungnir* (pp. 70-79); *Hrungnir* < Teutonic **hrungnia-* = **ə_xq-* ("second state" of **ə_xeq-* "living being, especially an animal or a bird") + **ə₁r-* ("second state" of **ə₁er-* "bird") + *n-g-io-* (pp. 79-88; cf. Greek *ὄρνις* "bird," Latin *corvus* "crow," Anglo-Saxon *hróc* "rook, raven," Old Prussian *kerko* "diver-bird") — an etymology which seems to this reviewer not wholly to fit the records describing the divinity.

The fourth essay, on the theory of the Indo-European base, begins with a long discussion of *signifiés-idées*, *signifiés-pensées*, *signifiants-sémantèmes*, and *signifiants-morphèmes*, the *signifiant-idée* which forms the basis of the *signifiant-pensée* being "static" when it denotes being, and "dynamic" when it expresses becoming (pp. 90-93); a distinction of value is drawn (pp. 98-103) between phonemic and non-phonemic sounds; differentiation is made (pp. 110-112, 123-126, 129-130, 141) between *actes-significatifs*, apparently insignificant *actes d'appui*, and truly insignificant *actes d'appoint*; and weakening (*débilité*) at the beginning as well as at the end of words, as shown by the alternation *eT*: *T* and by the loss of initial laryngeals, receives attention (p. 137).

Consonantal and sonantal phonemes are to be divided, according to the author, into "pressed" and "unpressed" sounds, *ə₂* and *ə₃* giving rise to the former, and *ə₁* to the latter. Pressed sounds are always autonomous; the unpressed are always dependent on the

syllable in which they are integrated, whether autonomously or as components of diphthongs; the pressed sonant is never an element of a diphthong, whereas the unpressed forms the syllabic peak; and the conclusion is drawn that the series vowel + laryngal + occlusive, sonant, or spirant became, first, vowel + pressed consonant, and then, in pre-dialectic Indo-European, long vowel + simple consonant ($e + \varnothing_a + T > e + {}^wT > \bar{e} + T$: pp. 121, 137-140; it seems possible, however, that the antithesis between pressed and unpressed in Sanskrit *véda*: *vidmá*, Latin *stella*: Vedic *stṛbhís* < **str-bhís* may conceivably be due to accent). In this connection, the important question is raised (p. 140) whether the laryngals were really ancient or were vestiges of still earlier reduced consonants (cf. dialectic English [wə?ə] "water").

Vowels were dependent in Indo-European, their autonomy in common and dialectic Indo-European being due to the fact that they had absorbed and replaced older laryngals (pp. 140-141); and Indo-European knew two types of semantemes: trilateral, which were dynamic and without vocalic sound-phonemes; and at least quadrilateral, which were static, sometimes with vocalic sound-phonemes (pp. 92, 140-141). Furthermore, the vowel was originally non-phonemic and merely an *acte d'appoint*, its phoneme-character *e*, like its differentiation into *e* and *o*, being a later development which arose primarily from the structure of the syllable (pp. 146-150).

The verbal semanteme, according to van Langenhove, was originally biliteral and might be supported by a uniliteral element (the "suffix" of Benveniste) plus, sometimes, a *point d'appoint* (the "enlargement" of Benveniste); and the biliteral and uniliteral types were older than the trilateral or quadrilateral. The nominal semanteme, earlier than the verbal, is trilateral (pp. 141-146; the reasons for postulating this difference are not wholly clear to this reviewer; if the noun is older than the verb—as is undoubtedly the case—its most primitive form should also have been biliteral). The word, then, is really a compound of two or more bases (cf. p. 63); in general, the Indo-European languages inherited from their proto-speech their modes of procedure rather than their historic forms (p. 6); the so-called nasal infix is simply an enlargement (e.g., Latin *ungō* < **vi-eu-n-g-*; pp. 8-9); and the "root" (*racine*) is "the signifier whose signified is the dynamic idea" (p. 151).

Van Langenhove's discussions are of unusual value; and his remarks about Indo-European religion (pp. 77-79), like his consideration of animate vs. inanimate (pp. 147-148) and of the shift of thought from the static to the dynamic point of view (p. 150), are of importance and worth for students of comparative religion. After all, have we in the very earliest stage of Indo-European a situation somewhat resembling that of the Australian Aranta so ably studied by Alf Sommerfelt in his *La Langue et la société* (Oslo, 1938)? In one or two cases, operation with reduced grades, of which van Langenhove makes no mention, would seem to be in order, so that his difficulty in explaining Sanskrit *ṛnóti* "turns," Anglo-Saxon *wæt* "wet," and Greek *ῥανν* "water" (pp. 73, 12) would apparently be solved by assuming the grades *der*, *ḡer*, and *oed-*.

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PETER CHARANIS. Church and State in the Later Roman Empire.

The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518. Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1939. Pp. 102. \$1.50. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, XXVI.)

Although the subtitle of Dr. Charanis' monograph is a more accurate description of its contents than is its title, the latter has the merit of emphasizing the complex relationships between religion and politics in the Later Roman Empire. It is perhaps difficult for us to appreciate the significance of the religious controversies which so profoundly stirred church and state during that period. These were no mere quarrels of rival theologians, debating fiercely their respective doctrinal formulas. Religious politics were party politics. The great political schisms that rent the state were based on religious differences: Arians fought Athanasians, Chalcedonians fought Monophysites, Iconoclasts fought Iconodules. The convictions and ambitions of emperors and ecclesiastics, regional prejudices and loyalties, even an inchoate nationalism, no less than theological differences, were involved in these quarrels.

In this sympathetic and carefully documented account of Anastasius' theological diplomacy Charanis seeks to show that political interests and aims were intermingled with the religious conflict concerning the union of two natures—the human and the divine—in the person of Christ. The theological issues at stake in the Monophysitic controversy may have been comparatively small but the political issues were enormous. Behind the debates lay deep-rooted cultural differences which threatened the peace and the unity of the Empire. It was, the author believes, the statesmanship of Anastasius which provisionally parried the danger of a rift between the Greek and the Oriental provinces of the Empire.

The beginning of the Monophysitic heresy and its significance are summarized in a brief introductory chapter. Charanis then describes the attempts of Anastasius to find a political solution for the conflict between the champions of the heresy, who were chiefly in Egypt and Syria, and the supporters of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, foremost of whom was the Pope in Rome. Anastasius had to choose between the horns of a dilemma, between the restoration of moral and political unity in the East by the sacrifice of peace with Rome or the maintenance of friendly relations with the West at the price of alienating Egypt and Syria. He chose to satisfy the Eastern provinces. Papal pressure and the revolts of Vitalian in the Balkans in 514 and 516 could not deflect the emperor from this course. He did not, however, succeed in bringing peace and harmony to the Empire. Peace came only when the Monophysitic provinces were conquered by the Saracens and detached from the realm of imperial politics.

Charanis wishes to prove that Anastasius' religious policy was not shaped by his own religious convictions. The proof adduced (for example, p. 13, n. 22) is by no means convincing. The "flexible policy" which Anastasius is said by the author to have followed was

almost always a policy in favor of the Monophysites. Peace he undeniably desired, but peace on his own terms, and those were generally satisfactory to the Monophysites. It is significant that before becoming emperor Anastasius had often preached in Constantinople, and that his doctrines were declared Monophysitic by the patriarch of Constantinople. It is at least interesting that the emperor's most trusted adviser during the period from 498 to 515 was the Syrian Marinus, who was highly praised by his fellow heretic, Zacharias of Mitylene (*Chronicle*, VII, 9). At all events, the people of Constantinople held Marinus responsible for certain ecclesiastical measures taken by the emperor in favor of the Monophysites. It is as unreasonable to deny the importance of the emperor's religious predilections as to ignore the importance of political and secular considerations. For the later Roman Empire the dichotomy is artificial.

The reader may not accept the author's thesis in its entirety but he will find an account of a difficult problem written in a manner at once interesting and informative. Charanis has brought an exacting scholarship and a command of widely scattered sources to his task. The critical note on these sources and the bibliography which complete the book are valuable; the index is adequate. I have noted a few omissions and errata. To the bibliography may perhaps be added H. Gelzer, "Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXVI (1901), pp. 193-252, and W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London, 1923). Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte* is best used in the translation with supplementary notes by H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* (8 vols., Paris, 1907-21). P. 3, n. 1 and p. 96, for "Welts" read "Welt"; p. 8, the *Epistola Dogmatica* ascribed to Cyril is apparently the same as the *Tome* of Leo; p. 10, n. 1 and p. 52, n. 5, for *De Bello Pers* read *De Bello Persico*; p. 10, n. 1, for *Ῥωμαῖοι* read *Ῥωμαῖοι*; p. 10, n. 3, for *Excerpta ex Ecclesiasticae Historiae* read *Excerpta ex Ecclesiastica Historia*; p. 11, n. 7, for "Dexippi" read "Dexippus"; p. 81, for "Zacharius Scholasticus" read "Zacharias Scholasticus"; p. 82, for "Naw" read "Nau"; p. 94, for "Smith and Ware" read "Smith and Wace"; p. 100, for "Indiculus" read "Indiculus"; p. 101, for "Nicophorus Callister" read "Nicephorus Callistus."

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WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES. *Sophocles, Poet and Dramatist*. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. xiii + 291; 6 plates; 4 figures. \$3.50.

This book, dedicated to his four great Harvard teachers, follows the plan of Professor Gey's similar volume on Euripides. There are chapters on The Life of Sophocles, the Dramatic Art of Sophocles, The Satyr Dramas, The Extant Tragedies, The Lost Plays, and an appendix listing the fragments in seventeen papyri. The sources

are carefully studied and documented to give a picture of Sophocles' career; and a critical estimate is given of plot, character, irony, the supernatural, horror, dramatic silence, humor, stage devices, style, and the chorus. There is an account of the seven preserved tragedies and of the fragmentary new Satyr-play, the *Ichneutae*, with summaries and quotations in Professor Bates' own verse translations. But there is little literary appreciation of the plays or of their dramatic vitality and inspiration to future generations, such as a recent performance in Greek of the *Oedipus Rex* at Fordham University brought home to those who were present. The "fortuna" of Sophocles should be discussed in such a volume as well as an imaginative estimate and a less mechanical analysis given of the characters, the sort of thing Gilbert Murray does so well. Professor Bates does refer (p. 68) to Shorey's citation of De Quincey, who declared a passage in the *Oedipus at Colonus* (1547-1555), where the blind, miserable Oedipus guided by a higher power moves out of the orchestra (not "off the stage" as Bates says) to be transfigured, "one of the most sublime in literature." I shall never forget the rendering of this scene at the Comédie Française by the great French actor, Mounet-Sully, after he had become blind. Professor Bates also refers to a prose translation of some lines of the *Oedipus Rex* in the Gennadion in Athens which is attributed to Shelley. But we needed much more.

The illustrations are not well chosen. On p. 183 (Plate III) a column crater in Chicago is used to illustrate the mad Athamas. It really is the story of Salmoneus, and, though perhaps dating before the play, illustrates Sophocles' *Salmoneus*. Salmoneus is mad and breaking his bonds. With greave on his left arm and thunderbolt in his right hand, he is defying Zeus. The scene was painted by the Aleimachus Painter and is correctly labelled in the Chicago Art Institute.¹ No reference is given to the place of publication of the illustrations. The Caeretan hydria in the Louvre (Plate IV), for example, is published in the *Corpus Vasorum, Louvre*, Fasc. 9, III F a, Pls. VIII, 3 and 4; X. It would be better to use as the frontispiece the full-size Lateran Sophocles rather than the poor British Museum bust (hardly a herm) reproduced as the frontispiece, which may even portray a Homer going blind. This head is entirely different from that of the Lateran Sophocles, and even Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*⁴, p. 988, Pl. 13, questions it.² The gold seal from Thisbe (Fig. 1, p. 39; dated ca. 1500 B. C.) is probably a forgery and probably does not represent "Oedipus attacking Sphinx."

¹ Cf. Robert in the *Halle Apophoreton* (Berlin, 1903); Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, s. v. "Salmoneus," p. 291; and *K.-E.*, s. v. "Salmoneus," cols. 105 ff.

² This type of head is published as that of Sophocles in Delbrueck, *Antike Porträts*, Pl. 16; Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, p. 29, no. 2; Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, 4a. But all agree with Bernoulli and others that it is very doubtful and that there is no real evidence that it is Sophocles. In any case it surely is an imaginative Hellenistic creation and does not go back to the statue erected by his son, Iophon, ca. 400 B. C. A replica, formerly in the Landsdowne Collection in London and published by Poulsen, *Einzel-aufnahmen*, 3064-3065, is now in the possession of the New York dealer, Gregor Aharon, who calls it Homer.

There is no bibliography, though great scholars are sometimes cited, even Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (but always with one *f* at the end of his name, pp. 118, 144, 218 [*bis*], 236, 291). Robert's work on Sophocles is ignored, and his edition of *Die Spürhunde* (Berlin, 1912) and his two volumes on *Oedipus* (Berlin, 1915) seem not to have been used at all. For Satyrus' Life of Euripides, to which Bates refers a good deal, compare Kirby Smith's article in *A. J. P.*, XXXIV (1913), pp. 62-73. On p. 234 in discussing Sophocles' *Meleager* no mention is made of a passage in Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVII, 40, who evidently is referring to this play when he attributes to Sophocles the story that after Meleager's death his weeping sisters were transported from Greece to India and changed into guinea fowl (*meleagrides*), dropping tears of amber from their eyes for Meleager. For Daedalus and Talos references to art representations of these characters would be valuable in reconstructing the plot of the *Daedalus*. P. 33, n. 3, a reference should be given to *I. G.* instead of *C. I. G.*; and the inscription in which the *Telepheia* is mentioned need not be dated as late as 405 B. C. (p. 173). P. 73, Pausanias is quoted as referring to the tomb of Oedipus between the Areopagus and the Acropolis. Could this be the Mycenaean tomb found by Shear in the agora (*Hesperia*, IX [1940], pp. 274-291)?

The volume is an interesting and good résumé but not as important to the scholar as Pohlenz's *Griechische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1930), Harry's *Greek Tragedy*, I (Aeschylus and Sophocles) (New York, 1933), or Webster's *Introduction to Sophocles* (Oxford, 1936), or Jebb's editions and complete translations of the seven plays, and Pearson's *Fragments of Sophocles*.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

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J. BRUNEL. L'aspect verbal et l'emploi des préverbes en grec, particulièrement en attique. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1939. Pp. 296. (*Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XLV.)

In his introduction the author mentions the old aspectual classification of Greek according to the present, aorist, perfect tenses, representing respectively a process in its development, a process viewed without idea of duration, and an acquired state. This interpretation is valid but does not suffice for the whole picture, and he goes on to examine the Greek verb on the basis of the aspects which are fundamental in the Slavic languages: imperfective or durative, perfective or momentary action. Herein he follows the lead of his honored teacher Meillet, who in his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*², pp. 209-210 called attention to the fact that in Greek, as in Slavic, a compound verb often served as perfective to an imperfective subiect. Brunel proposes to use *déterminé* and *indéterminé* as designations for the two aspects, since they seem to indicate the meanings more exactly, and calls attention to the phenomenon that the *déterminé* is not necessarily *momentané*, but may be ingressive,

denoting the single act which results in a permanent state, or resultative, denoting an action which may be of some duration but comes to a definite result. It is from this standpoint, then, that he surveys especially the compound verbs in comparison with their uncompounded forms, finding that where the prefix does not essentially alter the meaning the prefix serves to give to the verb the determinate aspect.

His index shows 227 simple verbs, 505 compounds; his examples are quoted in the original, then translated into French, which proves to be a splendid tool for the expression of the delicate shades of meaning: only rarely, as in the Xenophontine passage, p. 162 top, does his French paraphrase seem to me to be ineffective.

Scholars who are interested in aspects should read this volume with care. Any critique would have to be on details of the interpretation of single passages, for which there could hardly be space here; and even a reviewer's disagreement on a few passages would not refute Brunel's exposition, which is centered on the use of verbs with prefixes but does not limit the determinate aspect to these verbs. For he repeatedly speaks of the fact that determinate aspect is the meaning of special verbs (p. 12, determinate *φράζω* and indeterminate *λέγω*), and of uncompounded verbs which form their presents by reduplication (p. 5, *μύμνω*, but indeterminate *μένω*) or by suffixes (p. 5, *ἀνύτω*, but indeterminate *ἀνύω*). But the picture, in its general traits, is not changed. The really living variation in classical Greek times was that marked by presence or absence of a prefix (e. g., p. 24, *ἐπείγω* vs. *ἔχω*). The prefixes which yield the bulk of his examples are *ἀνά*, 48; *ἀπό*, 98; *διά*, 71; *ἐκ* *ἐξ*, 104; *ἐπί*, 53; *κατά*, 90; *σύν*, 24.

In examining such treatises as these I have certain misgivings. Are there not many passages in which either meaning would suit the situation? This is admitted in Brunel's introduction, where he finds that the aspect expresses the writer's attitude toward the fact, and implies that a difference of attitude on the writer's part would reverse the aspect. Then might not the modern scholar be unduly influenced in his interpretation by a desire to make words and forms determinate in accord with the supposed significance of the verbal forms? After all, can a reliable feeling for verbal aspects be acquired by one who does not use these discriminations in his ordinary daily speech? These problems worry me somewhat, but perhaps my misgivings are unjustified. For Brunel's picture is not a schematically regular picture: he admits the determinate value of the aorist of many simple verbs, and he sometimes finds that the simplex and the compound vary little if at all in aspect (examples on pp. 121, 197-198). This is as it should be in language, where thoroughgoing regularity is seldom found, especially in semantic matters. Brunel has demonstrated the correctness of a view which has been set forth in brief by others and has been by him established with a detailed exposition.

ROLAND G. KENT.

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CRONJE BURNFORD EARP. *A Study of the Fragments of Three Related Plays of Accius*. Scottdale, Mennonite Press, 1939. Pp. vii + 105. (Diss.)

"The difficulty of locating the fragment is shown by the varied opinions concerning its interpretation" (p. 85). This sentence might well have been used as a motto for the dissertation as a whole. Of these opinions concerning the fragments of the *Achilles*, *Myrmidones*, and *Epinausimache* Earp gives a clear and detailed account from the dozens of specialists and transients in the field of Greek and Roman tragedy. It will be the starting point for any future work on these plays or their Attic forbears. The completeness of the critique and the good sense applied to the prejudiced arguments of many students of Greek tragedy whose sole interest in Accius lay in the reconstruction of Aeschylus will be a joy to subsequent workers in the field. Accius is rehabilitated as a subject for study in himself, instead of a dump heap of translated Greek fragments to be picked or discarded according to preconceived notions of lost Aeschylean plots. How fantastic is the mass of criticism through which Earp had to wade is amusingly shown by the necessity of three pages of argument to demonstrate that the *Epinausimache* really had to do with the battle at the ships!

The author is fully aware of the uncertainties entailed in dealing with fragments. He is frank in admitting that large numbers (e. g., 11 of the 17 in *Epinausimache*) cannot be definitely placed as to position, speaker, or addressee. He admits all uncertainties of title, original, manner of Accius' dealing with his model, and relation of the original to Homer, but extracts from the whole what salvageable facts there are. Probably even Earp is not as cautious as he might be, for, like all who work long in fragments, he forgets that every citation need not refer directly to some prominent feature of the plot, or, if it does, it need not refer to it at a place where that feature is the main concern. E. g., must *Myrm.* II, merely because it refers to sailing, necessarily be Achilles' threat to sail from Troy? Probably, but the possibility cannot be denied that somebody may have had some occasion to refer to some other sailing (the Greek fleet to Troy ten years before?). Had Sophocles, *O. T.*, 61 or 260 been fragments, they would certainly have been supposed to be after the anagnorisis of Oedipus.

Earp's method is good. He first argues convincingly for the separate existence of the three plays. Each is then taken up with a critique of opinions on its scope and original. Each fragment is discussed at length, conflicting views presented, the wheat separated from the chaff, and the author's conclusions offered. A sketch of the plot concludes each section. All is done with so much caution that the meagre conclusions seem disproportionate to the voluminous discussion. Those on the *Achilles* are inconsequential; concerning the *Myrmidones* Earp is in general agreement with Ribbeck; and for the *Epinausimache* he can offer only the most general outline which almost any scholar would accept. The dissertation is a sound piece of criticism based on an immense bibliography, and the author has done all that could be done with material so scant that more

complete results could not be expected. It should clarify the tragic atmosphere and warn newcomers against the false blandishments of a "vivid imagination."

Two faults of composition mar the readability of the work. The discussion is highly repetitious and over-annotated (cf. thirty foot-notes on pp. 74-5 referring to discussion so recent as pp. 68-74). Rarely does Earp succumb to the temptations which he justly criticizes in others. Ribbeck carried the *Myrmidones* from *Iliad*, IX (beyond which no fragment goes) to the death of Patroclus in order to contain sufficient *tragischer Gestalt*. This idea, Earp explains, is based on a study of Greek tragedy. But Earp then argues that, because the ancients considered Accius a great tragedian, he must have lived up to Aristotelian canons and therefore, since there is no dénouement in *Iliad*, IX, the plot can reach a proper "end" only with the death of Patroclus! Perhaps so severe a critic of the "vivid imagination" may be permitted a flight or two of his own as his reward.

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GISELA SCHMITZ-KAHLMANN. Das Beispiel der Geschichte im politischen Denken des Isokrates. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939. Pp. xii + 130. RM. 8. (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXI, Heft 4.)

Isocrates draws upon the whole complex of past history, including legend and myth, for his illustrative *exempla* and he uses them as an important means for educating his followers, the citizenry of Athens and the Greek world generally, in practical political thinking and action. It is worth while pointing out that Isocrates placed great emphasis upon the educational value of illustrations from the historical and legendary past, and Schmitz-Kahlmann has done this clearly and effectively but, as it seems to me, at unnecessarily great length. There is nothing startlingly new in the thesis that the Greek orator and political philosopher shared the sentiment of Patrick Henry when he said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided and that is the lamp of experience; I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." The appeal to the precedent of the past is a commonplace of Greek literature and lies at the base of ancient Greek education. It has not remained unobserved until this study appeared "... dass zwischen der Erscheinung des *Paradeigma* in der Beredsamkeit und seiner Erscheinung in der älteren griechischen Dichtung eine innere Beziehung bestehen muss," nor can a hard and fast distinction be drawn between the *paradeigma* as a stylistic device (*Stilform*) and as a mode of thought (*Denkform*). The distinction the author is apparently driving at is the employment of the *paradeigma* with little or no "pointing of the moral" on the one hand in order to incite listeners and readers to emulation of glorious deeds or as a means of entertainment alone, and, on the other hand, in order to instruct by analyzing and interpreting the true inwardness of the incident. It is in this latter

manner that Isocrates employs the *paradeigma* as a laboratory demonstration in political thinking. But the distinction here made is only a convenient method of emphasizing the importance assigned by Isocrates to one set of ethical values in the experience of the past in comparison with another group of ethical values, for it needs no demonstration that politics was by Greek thinkers of this period considered a part of ethics.

The three parts of the monograph take up, 1) the illustration from historical experience as a means of political instruction; 2) the use of the myth in political propaganda; 3) the appeal to ancestors as a guide to action. The author analyzes each of the principal illustrations in Isocrates and finds that they were employed as a means of training in political thinking and in the formation of political judgments and as a means of propaganda (but this term is not clearly defined) and of transmitting ethical concepts. Characteristic of Isocrates is his consistency of thought regarding policies and political ethics and the realistic, rather than theoretical, manner in which he approaches the problems of the state. He shows himself not only a political orator but an educator in political science. In an excursus the author decides against the genuineness of the ninth letter because it uses material from the speech to Philip, although the letter purports to have been written in 356.

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REVEREND MARTIN J. HIGGINS. *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602). Part I: The Chronology, with a Brief History of the Persian Calendar.* Washington, Catholic Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. xii + 85. (The Catholic University of America, *Byzantine Studies*, I.)

The study of which this dissertation is the first part is one of the results of Professor Ernst Stein's recent membership in the faculty of Catholic University. The remainder of the study (Part II, *The Sources* and Part III, *Narrative of Events*) is announced as ready for publication and may be expected shortly.

The Persian War, which had been dragging on since 572, entered a new and final phase when, in 590 A. D., the recently crowned Chosroes II was defeated by a revolting general who usurped the throne as Bahram VI. Chosroes fled to Maurice, who received him and aided him to regain his throne.

Chapter I is concerned with fixing the date of the coronation of Bahram VI. The date is given by Theophylactus Simocatta and by the Persian epic poet Firdausi. The establishment of a concordance between the two accounts leads the author to an examination of the Persian calendar and the discovery that in 590 A. D., while the religious calendar was left untouched, in the civil calendar the five epagomenae were suppressed. The accuracy of this conclusion is confirmed by a really surprising number and variety of chronological data which are cleared up on this basis. In addition, Higgins is able

to offer a plausible reason for the suppression of the epagomenae: "the intercalary days were regarded by the Persians as of very ill omen" (p. 11), and the battle between Chosroes II and Bahram took place precisely during the intercalary period. The author correctly considers that this first chapter contains "the most important results of the dissertation" (p. 71).

The rest of the dissertation is devoted to various details in the chronology from the accession of Maurice in 582 to the restoration of Chosroes II to the throne of Persia in 591. The most important results here are the fixing of Maurice's rejection of the Persian peace offer and the ensuing military action beginning with the Roman victory at Solachon in 585 (as against Dölger's 586), and the fixing of the mutiny of the Roman army in Syria in 588 and its reconciliation in 589 (as against Dölger's 587 and 588, respectively). The volume concludes with a "Chronological Table of the Persian War" from 582 to 591, presenting in graphic form the results of the preceding pages, a bibliography, and an index.

It is surprising to find, in a work devoted exclusively to chronological matters, no comment on the accession date of Maurice. It is true that this date does not affect the study of the Persian War, but the date which Higgins gives, August 14, 582 A.D., demands some explanation, for it seems to be a compromise effected by Higgins himself between August 13, the date given by the *Chronicon Paschale* and now generally accepted, and August 15, the date given by other chroniclers (cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III, p. 549).

For the rest, however, Father Higgins has worked carefully and well, and the results have amply repaid his efforts.

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ELIZABETH C. EVANS. *The Cults of the Sabine Territory*. Horn, Nied.-Donau, Buchdruckerei Ferdinand Berger, 1939. Pp. xiv + 254; 7 plates. (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, XI.)

Miss Evans' work is similar to two previous volumes of the series of *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, Peterson's *Cults of Campania* (1919) and Taylor's *Local Cults in Etruria* (1923). The book consists of preface, table of contents, table of plates, select bibliography, abbreviations used in citing periodicals, four chapters (The Sabini, Local Cults of the Sabine Territory, Cities and Areas associated with the Sabini, and Varro's List of Sabine Divinities with an appendix on the Ludi Taurei and the Lupercalia), conclusion, index, and seven plates (Pl. I is a map of the Sabine territory, the rest are concerned with the temple at Villa S. Silvestro, except for Pl. III, 1, a photograph of the Titulus Mummius from Reate).

The objectives of this monograph were twofold, 1) a presentation of the evidence for the local cults in Sabine territory and 2) an ex-

amination and analysis of Varro's list of divinities which he regards as having been introduced from the Sabine territory into Rome. Miss Evans has achieved these objectives with admirable thoroughness and scholarship. It is, however, regrettable that there is so little inscriptional and archaeological evidence from the Sabine territory. What exists affords evidence for the cult of the emperors, of Mars, Hercules, Vacuna (identified by the Romans with Victoria), Feronia, Silvanus, Salus, Quirinus, Diana, the Lares, Dea Dia, Neptune, Mercury, Ceres, Minerva, Fortuna, Di Penates, Liber, Libera, Jupiter Liber, Charites, Venus, Spes, Praestita, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Pater Reatinus, Aesculapius, Cybele, Apollo, Isis, Serapis, and Fortuna Redux.

This list of deities has little in common with Varro's roll of Sabine divinities. The evidence, however, except for a very few inscriptions, belongs to a period later than Varro's time and the material bearing on local Sabine cults is extremely incomplete. Miss Evans studies each divinity classified by Varro as "Sabine" and attempts to determine whether he was correct and also the reasons which may have induced him to make such a classification. The author finds that a few of the gods on Varro's list are certainly Sabine, and she demonstrates very convincingly that most of the other divinities on the list are "Sabine," in other words that Varro was in the main correct, since he apparently considered as "Sabine" those cults, largely agricultural, which came from central Italy from a group of people more extensive than the actual "Sabines."

In her discussion of Minerva Miss Evans might have noted the extraordinary devotion shown by Domitian, of Sabine stock, to that goddess. This devotion is attested by literary tradition and by numismatic evidence.

KENNETH SCOTT.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Professor Harold Cherniss and Professor Henry T. Rowell are now on active duty with the armed forces of the United States. The Editorial Board announces the election to its membership of Richard M. Haywood and the temporary appointment of Benjamin D. Meritt as Managing Editor. By vote of the Academic Council Professor David M. Robinson has been elected Honorary Editor.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under Books Received. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Colson (F. H.). Philo. With an English Translation. In ten volumes, volume IX. Cambridge, Mass., *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann Ltd.*, 1941. Pp. x + 547.

Dowdell (Victor Lyle). Aristotle and Anglican Religious Thought. Ithaca, *Cornell Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xi + 103. \$1.50.

Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1940-1941. Washington, D. C., *Smithsonian Institution*. Pp. 13.

Forbes (Clarence A.). Teachers' Pay in Ancient Greece. Pp. 60. (*Univ. of Nebraska Studies*, May, 1942. *Studies in the Humanities*, No. 2.)

Graeff (Arthur D.), Kollmorgen (Walter M.), Stine (Clyde S.), Wood (Ralph), Shryock (Richard H.), Buffington (Albert Franklin), Musselman (G. Paul), Reichard (Harry Hess). The Pennsylvania Germans. Edited by Ralph Wood. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. x + 299. \$3.00.

Hatcher (Anna Granville). Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French. Baltimore, *Johns Hopkins Press*; London, *Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press*; Paris, *Société d'éd. "Les Belles Lettres"*, 1942. Pp. 213. (*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, XLIII.)

Kleberg (Tönnes). Catalogus codicum graecorum et latinorum Bibliothecae Götoburgensis. Göteborg, 1941. Pp. 48; 6 figs.

Lattimore (Richmond). Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. Urbana, *Univ. of Illinois Press*, 1942. Pp. 354. \$3.50 cloth; \$3.00 paper. (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXVIII, Nos. 1-2.)

Lehmann-Hartleben (Karl) and Olsen (Erling C.). Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore. Baltimore, published jointly by *The Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ.* and *The Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1942. Pp. 82; frontispiece; 44 figures.

Needler (G. H.). John Galt, Dramatist. Reprinted from the *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XI, 2 (January, 1942), pp. 194-208.

Pollock (Thomas Clark). The Nature of Literature. Its Relation to Science, Language, and Human Experience. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xxiv + 218. \$3.00.

Prentice (William Kelly). Those Ancient Dramas Called Tragedies. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. 194; 2 plates. \$2.50.

Pritchard (John Paul). Return to the Fountains. Some Classical Sources of American Criticism. Durham, N. C., *Duke Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xiii + 271. \$3.00.

Renard (Marcel). Initiation à l'Etruscologie. Préface d'Albert Grenier. Brussels, *J. Lebegue & Cie*, 1941. Pp. 93; 14 plates.

Selden (Elizabeth). China in German Poetry from 1773-1833. *Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology*, XXV, 3 (1942), pp. x + 141-316.

Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1940-1941. U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1942. Pp. vii + 95; 1 plate.

Shipley, Frederick W.: Studies in Honor of . . . By His Colleagues. St. Louis, 1942. Pp. xi + 314; frontispiece. (*Washington Univ. Studies*, New Series, *Language and Literature*, XIV.)

Thomas (Ivor). Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics. With an English Translation. In two volumes, volume II: From Aristarchus to Pappus. Cambridge, Mass., *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann Ltd.*, 1941. Pp. xii + 683.

Verlaine (Paul). Sagesse. Cambridge, *University Press*; New York, *Macmillan Co.*, 1942. Pp. xii + 750. \$1.00!

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE NO. 254

CORN AND COIN:

A NOTE ON GREEK COMMERCIAL MONOPOLIES.¹

The appearance of J. Hasebroek's *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*² struck a severe blow at that school of historians which sought to find the mainspring of Greek international activity in commercial relationships. Indeed, the "economic" view of Greek history had probably advanced too far. So complex is the pattern of history that continued emphasis upon any one idea in its interpretation must usually be misleading. For this very reason Hasebroek's thesis, that "the so-called commercial policy of the ancient state was not concerned with trade, but with the supply of necessities, such as grain and timber, and with the enrichment of the treasury by means of tolls and dues," is itself inevitably suspect for its obviously dogmatic note.³ This is, moreover, a statement which can be reconciled with much of the ancient evidence only with extreme difficulty. Nevertheless, Hasebroek rightly emphasized certain points: in general, trade was certainly the result of individual (not of state) enterprise; the individuals concerned were frequently of metic, i. e. foreign,

¹ This paper was originally read to the Oxford Philological Society. In its present form it owes much to the constructive criticism of Dr. J. G. Milne, as also of Mr. Russell Meiggs. My thanks are due also to my pupil, Mr. W. H. Plummer, for valuable help.

² Translated from the German by L. M. Fraser and D. C. Macgregor (London, 1933).

³ *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. vii. "The collection of tolls and dues was of course very important in ancient economy (cf. *B. d. G.*, II, p. 213 on P. Greder at Corinth) in which anything like direct, organized taxation—apart from its extreme application in the form of *liturgies*—was

status, and the metics, while not very poor on the one hand, were not necessarily capitalists on the other; the whole background of ancient politics and economics was undoubtedly force; "trade-leagues" cannot be postulated in the full and perfect form in which they have sometimes been conceived;⁴ and the primary cause of Greek colonization was overpopulation in the parent cities.⁵

In one respect, however, Hasebroek's survey is woefully incomplete. His neglect of Greek coinage, as an index of national expansion and even—though he would deprecate the words—of national policy (in a sense which he appears not to have perceived), results in an analysis of Greek trade which is truncated from the start. To quote once again from his book:⁶ "Similarly we must hesitate to speak of Greece in this period [i. e. the archaic period, before the Persian Wars] as having a money economy. The precious metals were, indeed, practically everywhere the standards of value,⁷ but the coins into which they were made, starting from the seventh century, had at first a purely local currency, and it took a long time before they became the media of international⁸ payments." Greek coins, in this and other passages, are summarily dismissed or ignored: in all the many footnotes, scarcely a reference occurs to numismatic evidence; and we are left with the impression that Greece, in the archaic—and even the classical—periods, knew money mainly as

⁴ Though the whole weight of ancient evidence suggests their vigorous existence: cf. A. R. Burn in *J. H. S.*, XLIX (1929), pp. 14 ff., and A. A. Blakeway in *B. S. A.*, XXXIII (1935), pp. 170 ff.

⁵ But these cities cannot be credited, as Hasebroek (pp. 106 f.) credits them, with a happy insouciance in the selection of colonial sites. Sufficiency might be the need of the moment, but a future surplus—and favourable commerce—was surely the dream of the shrewd colonist.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁷ Aristotle (*Politics* I, 1257 a) does not support this view: "as the necessities of nature were not all easily portable, people agreed, for purposes of barter, mutually to give and receive some article which, while it was itself a commodity, was practically easy to handle in the business of life,—some such article as iron or silver, which was at first defined simply by size and weight." Only later, he says, were metals visibly stamped as a convenient indication of τὸ πᾶν. Cf. A. A. Trever, *A History of Greek Economic Thought* (Diss., Chicago, 1916), pp. 103 f.

⁸ Does this mean inter-state dealings in commerce? For Hasebroek everywhere denies (cf. pp. 47 f., 99 f.) national development of commerce or interest in it.

a useful commodity confined to the walls of the individual states which coined it. It is our present purpose to show here that possession of a reputable coinage was among the first necessities for a vigorous and progressive Greek state, and that a state, once it was happily possessed of a good coinage, engaged immediately in what was actually, if not openly, a national commercial policy designed to supply her with the essentials of life; and that, so far from being restricted in their circulation (as Hasebroek postulates), Greek coins—of the sixth and fifth centuries especially—travelled very widely outside the cities in which they originated, exactly as they were intended to do.

With the establishment of Greek coinage we are not immediately concerned. It is sufficient to note certain essential facts. Coinage begins when the maximum period of genuine Greek colonization is over.⁹ The world has been enlarged; discoveries have been made; overcrowding at home has been relieved, as each colonizing city projects outwards a remoter fragment of itself; and so communications lengthen out, and intercourse is more complex. In such conditions coinage was developed, and its development lay mainly (so far as can be judged) with those who could enforce the acceptance of the new-fangled idea. Even if it was the Ionians who had, towards the end of the eighth century, conceived the plan of impressing a recognizable punch-mark on the electrum lumps which had been in vogue since Mycenaean times,¹⁰ yet the chief centres of original production were respectively in Lydia (controlled by the Mermnad kings), Aegina (controlled by Pheidon of Argos), and Corinth (controlled by the Cypselids). Pheidon, as we know, officially revalued the Peloponnesian currency of iron spits in terms of silver, which was to be accepted by law;¹¹ we may infer that Cypselus or Peri-

⁹ That is, colonization designed to remedy overpopulation at home, as distinct from the obviously commercial or imperialist enterprises of the late sixth and of the fifth centuries (Dorieus and Histiaeus; and the affairs of Ennea Hodoi, Amphipolis, and Thurii).

¹⁰ For Mycenaean metal lumps cf. A. J. Evans, "Minoan Weights and Currency," in *Corolla Numismatica* (London, 1906), pp. 336 ff., especially pp. 338-9.

¹¹ This does not necessarily mean that the Aeginetan silver currency started only with Pheidon (ca. 675 B.C.). Some numismatists hold that the first Aeginetan stater may well be a quarter of a century earlier; and Pheidon may have done no more than extend Argive control over

ander made analogous arrangements in Corinth;¹² and coinage struck with the Lydian royal badge must, similarly, have had legal backing to guarantee its acceptance.¹³ It is more than coincidence that true coinage was first instituted in three areas of the Greek world which were traditionally most active in the post-colonizing era,—Lydia with Ionia, whence came the lead in thought, philosophy, and political experiment; Aegina, representing the renascent vigour of the north Peloponnese under Pheidon, with his dreams of Temenid empire; and Corinth, rising to such brilliance under her fostering tyrants.

The first true coinage thus implies the supreme authority of king or tyrant and originates in areas conspicuous for activity and progress. From these introductory considerations we may pass to others more important. Superficial study of Greek coinage tends to overlook a point of vital consequence, namely that coinage was the prerogative of the sovereign state. It was, indeed, in this respect that the earliest marked electrum coins of Ionia differed from the first issues of Lydia, Aegina, or Corinth. For Ionian electrum bears no one specific "type": the pictorial devices which succeeded the primitive punch-marks vary over a wide field.¹⁴ By contrast, the coinages of Lydia, Aegina, and Corinth start with a stock type from which no subsequent variation is made except in terms of artistic expression; each of these three coinages exhibits a type which, by its very permanence and familiarity, comes to signify the issuing authority. A decade of

Aegina, take over the currency as a going concern, and force its acceptance against iron in the Peloponnese.

¹² Corinth may already have experienced something of the iron hand of the tyrant in her economic affairs if, between ca. 700 and 650 B. C., the Bacchiads were reduced to vassalage under Argos: cf. H. T. Wade-Gery in H. G. Payne, *Perachora*, I (ed. T. J. Dunbabin), pp. 256 ff., and schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1212; Nicolaus Damascenus in *F. H. G.*, III, p. 378; Plutarch, *Mor.* 772. We may note that the fabric of the earliest Corinthian coins was very closely modelled on that of the Aeginetan.

¹³ Hence the aetiological explanation of the story of the ring of Gyges,—the coin marked on one side with the royal badge,—the seal which stood for his personal authority, and with the other side lacking the royal badge: cf. P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 145 f.

¹⁴ Cf. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Pt. III (Plates I-LXXXV) (Paris, 1907), pls. I-III.

"turtles" can only spell Aegina; the pegasus is firmly associated with Corinth; and the lion with Lydia. The "type" of these coins was, in fact, a city-badge which clearly indicated the issuing authority and stood as a guarantee of value backed by that authority.¹⁵

If the badge indicates the supreme authority of the state, then, given a tyranny, it was the tyrant who guaranteed the state-coinage, as at Aegina (under Pheidon) and Corinth; with an oligarchy, the responsibility lay with the oligarchs; and similarly, in a democratic state, the city-badge stood for popular control of the state-coinage. This latter condition is most clearly illustrated by the coins themselves. For when, towards the end of the fifth century, the custom grew up of adding a full and unabbreviated inscription to the pictorial type, that inscription (when it is not an adjectival ethnic, qualifying some such noun as ἀργύριον, νόμισμα, χαρκτήρ, κόμμα, παῖμα) is most frequently in the genitive plural, i. e. with a proprietary sense.¹⁶ The coins inscribed ΙΜΕΡΑΙΩΝ, ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ, ΜΕΝΔΑΙΩΝ, ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ, ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ, ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ, ΘΙΩΝ—if we take examples at random—are, in fact, the coinages of these various communities, produced at their order, on standards which they fix, from metal which they procure, and bearing types applying only to themselves. This should be no surprise: the control of currency has almost always been vested in the sovereignty of the civilized state. Nevertheless, the fact has not always been appreciated; and failure to do so must necessarily

¹⁵ With the difficult question of the choice of distinguishing types we are not here concerned: see G. Macdonald, *Coin Types, their Origin and Development* (Glasgow, 1905), and, for an instructive summary, J. G. Milne, *Greek and Roman Coins and the Study of History* (London, 1939), pp. 56 ff. It is now agreed that there was no one governing factor (such as commerce or religion) to determine choice, but that religion, myth, commerce, and literal or general aptitude were variously invoked—religion at Elis, myth at Corinth, commerce at Selinus, literal aptitude at Phocaea, general aptitude at Aegina, and so on.

¹⁶ See G. Macdonald, "The Original Significance of the Inscription on Ancient Coins," in *Pr. verbaux et mémoires du congrès international de numismatique tenu à Bruxelles, 1910* (Bruxelles, 1910), pp. 241-2, and especially pp. 241-2, 243-4, 246-7, 249-50. The word is also used in the coin illustrated by M. P. Vlasto, ΤΑΡΑΧΟΚΙΝΤΗΣ (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, No. 15 [New York, 1922]), p. 120, with ΤΑΡΑΧΙΝΩΝ and ΤΑΡΑΧΙΝΩΝ.

be hopelessly misleading in any treatment of commercial affairs in Greece.

We may briefly reconstruct the steps which Greek states were bound to take in order to issue a coinage, taking as examples the three chief cities of Greece proper, Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, for these all used silver, and they are closely linked in time. Aegina, once the need for coined silver had (for one reason or another) shown itself, must obtain her silver from an external source,¹⁷ since she possessed none of her own. The silver, when bought, must be made up into coin. How much silver must the staple unit contain? Already, perhaps, even before Pheidon's time an unofficial ratio between silver and other metals or commodities had been established (see note 11 *supra*); but this ratio, roughly recognized in general dealing, was fixed officially when Pheidon demonetized the iron spits of the Peloponnese, iron being to silver as 400:1.¹⁸ Thus the "handful" of iron came out as a token "handful" of silver, weighing about 6 gm.¹⁹—an amount which, as it was small to hold (and Greeks, used to spits and ingots, liked larger lumps), was duplicated so as to make a unit (*στατήρ*, or "weigher") of *ca.* 12 gm. A 12 gm. stater, therefore, was an economic possibility for the Aeginetan state after the costs of buying silver, transporting it home, striking it, and marketing it had been met. Corinth, like Aegina, had no private supply of silver, which she was therefore obliged to obtain elsewhere, possibly from Illyria or Paeonia.²⁰ Obviously, her transport-costs, whether by the Adriatic or the Potidaea route, must be much heavier than those incurred in the journey from a Cycladic source to Aegina. As a result, the Corinthian token "handful" of silver weighed only *ca.* 3 gm., and, since a 6 gm. stater would be almost laughably small, the drachma was triplicated into a stater of rather less than 9 gm. The Athenian

¹⁷ Probably from Siphnos: cf. Herodotus, III, 57-9 for the interrelation of Aegina and Samos with regard to Siphnian wealth.

¹⁸ See C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1902), I, p. 62; C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1933), pp. 34 f.

¹⁹ 6.03 gm. x 400 = 2418 gm. (app.) = the weight of 6 well-preserved spits—an equation not invalidated by the arguments of A. M. Woodward in *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, ed. R. M. Dawkins (London, 1929), pp. 392 f.

²⁰ Cf. J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion* (London, 1939), pp. viii f., though the evidence must be accounted as conjectural.

story was more varied. Until Solon's reforms, Attica had almost certainly been using Aeginetan staters, imported against Attic exports.²¹ Solon abandoned the Aeginetan standard and began the production of silver coins on the standard which prevailed in Euboea, i. e. staters of 2 drachmae each weighing *ca.* 4.25 gm., making a unit of *ca.* 8.50 gm. Whence did Athens obtain her silver? It is true that the "Solonian" staters are rare; yet, allowing for a high proportion of coins now lost or vanished,²² we cannot safely allow that Laureium was even now yielding enough metal for their production.²³ The silver came probably from Euboea, with the standard; and Solon purposely struck 6300 (not 6000) drachmae to the talent, thus allowing a 5% margin to cover costs of purchase, transport, and minting:²⁴ this was henceforth the "Euboic-Attic" standard.

Thus the very principle of variety in Greek coin-standards (so vividly illustrated by Solon's change from one to another) proves that each standard was dictated by an individual set of local circumstances. The state, whether by this we mean tyrant, oligarchy, or democracy, was responsible for the original choice of standard and for its subsequent preservation or modification—no light task, as the Abderites were to find.²⁵ State-control of coinage meant also, of course, ultimate control of silver-values in the home-market; a drachma was a drachma's worth of silver, as even momentary consideration of the Pheidonian and Solonian reforms will show; and face-value was thus maintained in the home-markets. Home-values were not, however, prominently emphasized until the late sixth century, when minor denominations were only just becoming general.

Abroad, other considerations were active from the first; and it

²¹ Seltman (*op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.: see also the same author's *Athens, its History and Coinage* [Cambridge, 1924], pp. 14 ff.) has assigned to pre-Solonian Athens some very early amphora-bearing coins of Aeginetan weight; but this attribution cannot be considered as more than hypothetical.

²² See the figures quoted by J. G. Milne in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress 1936* (London, 1938), pp. 87 f., and cf. the same author's *Greek and Roman Coins*, etc., pp. 69 f.

²³ Cf. E. Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1897), Pt. II, chap. VII, especially pp. 132 f.

²⁴ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 10; cf. J. G. Milne in *J. H. S.*, L (1930), pp. 179 ff., LVIII (1938), pp. 96 ff.

²⁵ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford, 1911), pp. 253 ff.

is here that those who minimize the national importance of Greek trade must tread warily. For it is a fact now generally acknowledged that Greek silver currencies had a dual function, viz. that of specie in their home-markets (where their face-value might be controlled), and that of bullion abroad (their value being fixed variously in the various markets). This dual interpretation of Greek coinage, which owes so much to the work of Dr. J. G. Milne, is easily supported. First, the principal silver currencies of Greece were usually kept at a high level of purity. A coinage restricted to a local market needs no such purity: like the silver of the Roman Empire, or of modern England, a coinage current only in areas of state-control and guaranteed by state-credit will soon become a token currency, of base quality. If, however, a coinage is to pass outside that area, it will win acceptance only by its purity. Thus a base coin of Lesbos might be backed by state-credit within Lesbos; its only chance of travelling abroad would lie in its acceptance by someone ready to trade it back at once to Lesbos; and this chance was possibly lessened by the operation of discount-rates. Purity is therefore essential for the "travelling" coin; and Greek coins *were* pure. Secondly—and *pace* Hasebroek—Greek coins certainly travelled; and they travelled widely.

Very noticeable in this respect are the coins struck by the semi-Greek, semi-barbarian communities north of the Aegean—the Bisaltæ, Derrones, and Edoni—with others from uncertain mints.²⁶ The student who cares to work through the hoard-material so admirably tabulated by S. P. Noe²⁷ will quickly see that, whereas these coins are scarce in the areas of their production, they occur commonly in hoards in Egypt and the near East, one of the most recent and conspicuous examples being that found at Ras Shamra.²⁸ We can scarcely postulate a regular and direct trade in goods between Thrace and Macedonia on the one hand, and Egypt and Syria on the other hand, in the sixth century (see p. 144 *infra*). These hoards are rather the sign of the southern fondness for silver (sharpened by its absence in

²⁶ *Id.*, pp. 194 ff.

²⁷ *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*² (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, No. 78 [New York, 1937]).

²⁸ C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Une trouvaille de monnaies archaïques grecques à Ras Shamra," in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I (Paris, 1939), pp. 461 ff.

Egypt and the Levant) satisfied by its northern abundance. Such Thraco-Macedonian coins were, in fact, struck for export from the rich silver-bearing regions in which these mints lay: they were so many ingots made up in specie form. No doubt, they were generally melted down on their arrival in southern markets: lump silver (found at Ras Shamra) is not uncommonly found in Egypt too, either with or without Greek coins;²⁹ and we may therefore infer that what Egypt and the Levant needed was silver—not silver *coin*. Thraco-Macedonian silver coins were supplying that necessity in the sixth century B. C.

Having noted the early operation of a trade in silver bullion, we may now observe the wide distribution, in the sixth and fifth centuries, of the coins of Greece proper,—especially those of Aegina, Corinth, and Athens. According to the records collected by Noe,³⁰ silver of Aegina is a component of some thirty known hoards. Of these, nearly half were found in central Greece and the Peloponnese; the remainder are distributed in Egypt (7), Persia (1), the Cyclades (2), Thessaly (2), and Italy (1)—these hoards being, so far as can be judged, mainly of sixth or fifth century date. In short, for every instance of Aeginetan circulation in “home” or nearly adjacent areas there is also an instance overseas, with an emphatic insistence on Egypt. Equally clear is the evidence concerning Corinth.³¹ Nearly 50 hoards buried outside the Corinthian “home” area include Corinthian coins. Of these hoards, 22—nearly half—were found in Sicily, about one-third of them being of date not later than the early fourth century; 9 came from Italy, 6 from the Adriatic, 5 from Egypt (all distinctly early), and 1 or 2 each from Spain, Euboea, Crete, and Asia Minor. The emphasis on Sicily, Italy, and the Adriatic, and—in a lesser degree—on Egypt, is unmistakable. In the case of Athens,³² analysis is much less easy. Nearly 80 “external” hoards may be listed in which Athenian coins are present: yet the area of distribution is much more general. Sicily supplies 11 (of which 10 are not later, apparently, than fourth century); Italy 5 (of sixth to early fourth century date); Egypt 8 (mainly of the sixth or fifth century); the Aegean Islands and Thrace supply 11, or various dates; while 2 fifth-century examples come from Africa and 1 from Spain. One

²⁹ Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 315, s. v. “Amorphous.”

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

³¹ Noe, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

³² *Id.*, p. 318.

would say that Athenian coins flowed mainly to three areas—the central Aegean complex, Sicily-Italy, and Egypt, with thinner trickles running elsewhere.

Obviously, therefore, Greek coins travelled widely. Yet there is other evidence to confirm that of hoards. Aeginetan coins were, it seems, common enough in Crete to inspire the production of an imitated class of "turtles":³³ the link between Aegina and Crete was so close as to be proverbial.³⁴ In the west, much may be learned of the routes along which coins travelled through their use as "blanks" for re-striking at individual town-mints—a habit frequently adopted in Italy and Sicily. In many cases the "overstruck" types were not completely obliterated, and we can thus tell at a glance which cities habitually absorbed alien currencies and note the coin-standard to which they adhered.³⁵ Meta-

³³ E. S. G. Robinson, "Pseudaeginetica" in *Num. Chron.*, series 5, VIII (1928), pp. 172 ff.

³⁴ *Κρῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτην*, "hand in glove."

³⁵ Overstrikes, though frequently alluded to (cf. G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.*, series 5, II [1922], pp. 12 f.; E. Babelon, *Traité*, etc., I, 1 [Paris, 1901], cols. 938-9), have not yet been systematically listed or analysed. I here give a representative but by no means exhaustive list of nearly 60 coins overstruck in Italy and Sicily, drawn from the following publications: E. Babelon, *Traité*, etc., II, 1 (Paris, 1907); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, I, 1 (London, 1931), I, 2 (London, 1936), II (London, 1933), III, 1 (London, 1938), III, 2 (London, 1939) = *S. N. G.*; G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, I-III (Glasgow, 1899-1905) = Hunter; S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, I-III (Cambridge, 1923-1929) = McClean; Brit. Mus. Catalogues, *Italy and Sicily* (London, 1873 and 1876) = *B. M. C. It. and Sic.*; J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, I-IV (Paris, 1924-1936) = de Luynes; G. F. Hill in J. Ward's *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities* (London, 1901) = Ward; Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, I (Naples, 1870) = Fiorelli; S. P. Noe, *The Coinage of Metapontum*, Pts. 1 and 2 (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, Nos. 32 and 47 [New York, 1927 and 1931]) = Noe, *Met.* 1, *Met.* 2; M. P. Vlasto, *ΤΑΡΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ* (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, No. 15 [New York, 1922]) = Vlasto; K. Regling, "Terina" in *Winckelmanns Program* (Berlin, 1906) = Regling; W. Schwabacher, "Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Selinunt" in *Mitt. der Bayer. Numism. Ges.*, XLIII (1925), pp. 1 ff. = Schwabacher; E. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin, 1929) = Boehringer.

A. ITALY:

CAMPANI. *On Cumae*; McClean, nos. 212-3.

pontum, for example, very often re-struck Corinthian staters; she also employed coins of Croton, Gela, Acragas, Himera, Selinus, Syracuse, Corcyra, and Thasos for a like purpose. She thus drew her silver mainly from Corinth, also from Sicily, and in a lesser degree from the north Aegean. We find Corinthian coins overstruck also at Tarentum, Caulonia, and Locri; nearly all the Italian cities were on the Corinthian standard, as these facts imply, though it has been observed how the average weight of the stater sinks minutely yet steadily, by the wear and tear in its journey from Tarentum up the coast to Poseidonia and Nola.³⁶ Only at Rhegium was Athenian silver absorbed for re-striking.

CAULONIA. *On Corinth*; *S. N. G.*, III, pl. X, 585; de Luynes, no. 696.

On Corcyra; *S. N. G.*, III, pl. XI, 587.

CROTON. *On Metapontum*; McClean, no. 1647 (?). *On Acragas*; *B. M. C. It.*, p. 343, no. 16; Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, cols. 1449-50, no. 2159.

LOCRI. *On Corinth*; McClean, no. 1799.

METAPONTUM. *On Corinth*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. XII, 366; McClean, no. 951 (?); *B. M. C. It.*, p. 239, no. 20; de Luynes, no. 457; Noe, *Met.* 1, nos. 234, 261; Noe, *Met.* 2, nos. 310, 512, 513 (?). *On Croton*; Noe, *Met.* 2, no. 321. *On Acragas*; *S. N. G.*, III, pl. VI, 370, pl. VII, 401; de Luynes, no. 455. *On Gela*; *B. M. C. It.*, p. 240, no. 25; de Luynes, no. 458; Noe, *Met.* 1, nos. 253, 255. *On Himera*; de Luynes, no. 459. *On Selinus*; Noe, *Met.* 1, no. 182 (?). *On Syracuse*; Noe, *Met.* 1, no. 234. *On Corcyra*; de Luynes, no. 460 (?); Noe, *Met.* 1, no. 233. *On Thasos*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. X, 315; Noe, *Met.* 1, no. 242.

POSEIDONIA. *On Cumae*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. XIV, 435. *On Metapontum*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. XIV, 429. *On Acragas*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. XIV, 428.

RHEGIUM. *On Athens*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. XXII, 678; de Luynes, no. 791.

TARENTUM. *On Corinth*; *S. N. G.*, III, pl. III, 177; de Luynes, no. 273; Vlasto, pp. 50, 78. *On Macedonia*; *S. N. G.*, II, pl. IV, 112.

TERINA. *On Neapolis*; McClean, no. 1959. *On Selinus*; Regling, no. 36.

B. SICILY:

ACRAGAS. *On Himera*; Hunter, p. 159, no. 45. *On Syracuse*; Fiorelli, no. 4041.

CATANA. *On Selinus*; de Luynes, no. 894; Schwabacher, p. 88 (three).

ENTELLA. *On Rhegium*; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.* (Paris and Leipzig, 1883), p. 17, no. 15.

GELA. *On Selinus*; Ward, no. 149.

HIMERA. *On Syracuse*; de Luynes, no. 457.

MESSANA. *On Selinus*; Schwabacher, p. 88 (three).

SYRACUSE. *On Metapontum*; Boevinger, no. 497.

³⁶ Cf. J. G. Milne, *Num. Chron.*, series 5, IV (1921), pp. 29 f., for a table of weights.

The cities of Sicily drew their silver most probably from two sources, absorbing either Corinthian staters (as witness the hoards), or, if they were so situated, the metal mined by Carthage in Spain and shipped to the western ports in Sicily.³⁷ The extensive practice of overstriking is itself probably the cause of the curious "incuse" fabric which is peculiar to certain mints in Italy, and which was adopted for a time in Sicily by Zancle.³⁸ This fabric, from the point of view of mint mechanics, provided the surest possible means of obliterating the old types on a re-struck coin. Here again, then, is evidence for the travelling of coins—in this case, as we can scarcely doubt, of Corinthian coins.

We thus see how the silver of three main city-mints, Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, spread over certain areas—Italy and Sicily, Egypt, and the central Aegean complex. It may be asked why the evidence of hoards is, comparatively, rather slight, and why more of the relevant coins are not found hoarded in these areas. The answer is that Egypt, having no use for silver currency, melted down her Greek coins; elsewhere, if they were not melted down, they were re-struck. Our evidence is only a fragmentary survival; yet it is, comparatively, of great importance.³⁹ It is, moreover, strongly supported by the marked scarcity of certain staters, as casual finds, within the areas of the cities which issued them (and this is a fact hitherto neglected): if the "foreign" absorption of Greek silver was only exceptional, and not habitual, then surely such cities as Corinth would show more than a negligible percentage of their own staters.⁴⁰

Each of our three cities, Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, was a conspicuous naval power. Aegina, owing to her ships, was able to import silver; and one reason why Pheidon contracted out his silver coinage to Aegina may have been his ability to market these coins abroad by means of the Aeginetan navy. We know

³⁷ J. G. Milne, "The Early Coinages of Sicily," *Num. Chron.*, series 5, XVIII (1938), pp. 36 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ See note 22 *supra*.

⁴⁰ See Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth* (Excavations . . . by the American School . . . at Athens), VI (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 13 f., and the same author in *Hesperia*, VI (1937), p. 251; cf. D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Pt. IX, *The Chalcidic Mint*, etc. (*Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, XXVI [Baltimore, 1938]), pp. 221 f.

that Aegina's naval contacts were considerable. As we have seen, they extended to Crete;⁴¹ and Aegina was the one state in Greece proper which owned a separate "concession" at Naukratis⁴²—the very name of which is significant. In the early fifth century Aegina was importing corn from the Pontus;⁴³ her naval strength at this time may be measured by her implied superiority in the wars against Athens *ca.* 500-480, and by her prominence at Salamis. Her wealth was a matter of common knowledge;⁴⁴ and all the time her staters were going out to the ends of the earth. And with the decay of her navy she sank into insignificance. At Corinth, likewise, naval strength and material wealth had long appeared inseparable: Thucydides emphasizes her contributions to naval progress.⁴⁵ Her favoured site on the isthmus was not enough; she could remain no static toll-collector; and the brilliance of her colonizing attests the shrewdness of her resolve to extend her influence abroad. Like Aegina, she must produce a coinage; and, in order to keep open her communications and to carry her Balkan silver, she must be a naval power. Modern archaeology has shown how immensely wide was the spread of her pottery in the west,⁴⁶ where her contacts were strong enough to survive the ultimate hostility of Corcyra. Indeed, the sixth century saw the development of something like a Corinthian colonial empire in the Adriatic, later linked by a uniform and parallel currency, some of which may have been struck at Corinth itself.⁴⁷ Salamis attests the strength of the Corinthian navy in the fifth century⁴⁸—a navy which, as Athens later reckoned,

⁴¹ Herodotus, III, 57-9; cf. note 33 *supra*.

⁴² Herodotus, II, 178.

⁴³ *Id.*, VII, 147.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, IX, 80.

⁴⁵ Thucydides, I, 13.

⁴⁶ The late A. A. Blakeway's Lectures on Greek History, preserved in typescript in a volume in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, show an impressive list (pp. 55 f.) of sites wherein Corinthian pottery of Cypselid date has been found.

⁴⁷ Jean B. Cammann, *The Symbols on Staters of Corinthian Type* (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, No. 53 [New York, 1922]), *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 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would be fatal if ever that of Corcyra joined it. It was still strong when, as the mercantile spokesman of the Peloponnese, Corinth made her stand in the Congress and urged Sparta to resist the domination of Athens.

For Athens, the growth of naval strength was impeded by the social, economic, and political upheavals of the sixth century. Abroad, too, her stock was low. Megara and Aegina were hostile neighbours; and acquisitions like Sigeum and Salamis were but weakly held. During this century it seems that Athenian pottery may have been marketed abroad by Corinth;⁴⁹ the Athenian navy was still small and had no reserve with which to meet Aeginetan onsets *ca.* 498.⁵⁰ Yet the resources of Athens were growing: her pottery was famous in many markets; and with the rise of Peisistratus, remarkable alike for social progressiveness at home and wide friendships abroad, her fortunes were assured. In his time the Attic coinage was transformed. The standard unit was henceforth a piece of four (instead of two) drachmae—a coin weighing *ca.* 16.50-17.00 gm., and popular in most markets for its “solidity,” as well as its unfailing purity.⁵¹ Moreover, Peisistratus now drew upon the veins of Laureium, as well as obtaining silver from Thrace.⁵² We may note that, though the cost of Athenian coinage was now obviously less than when silver had all to be bought abroad, nevertheless the standard was not changed; the value of silver was kept at its former level, and thus the profit on each exchange of goods against Attic silver abroad was henceforth greater, reckoned in terms of the home-market. The exploitation of Laureium was soon followed by Themistocles’ naval programme: the Athenian navy, once established, causes the birth of the Delian League, itself the prelude to wide Athenian domination in matters of politics and economics. The first Athenian

⁴⁹ The suggestion is developed in A. A. Blakeway’s *Lectures*, pp. 63 f.

⁵⁰ It was forced to borrow twenty ships from Corinth, probably in 498 or soon after; cf. Thucydides, I, 41.

⁵¹ The tetradrachm was especially popular in the Levant and further south; cf. for example the “copies” illustrated by E. T. Newell, *Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India* (American Numismatic Society’s *Notes and Monographs*, No. 82 [New York, 1938]), pp. 54 ff., 59 ff.

⁵² Herodotus, I, 64—an important passage: it is virtually certain that Peisistratus established an Attic mint in Thrace (C. T. Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage* [Cambridge, 1924], chap. VIII), and the equation in Herodotus’ phrasing thus implies the minting of silver from Laureium.

steps to control world-coinage occurred perhaps in 449;⁵³ its purpose was certainly to call in the coins of Aegina—now subject—at a profit. Slowly local coinages ceased or were merged; Melos was perhaps recalcitrant in this respect and paid the penalty in 416.⁵⁴ The Athenian navy was now world-famous, and its sailors were an integral element in Athenian politics.

Three main conclusions are now established: 1) Greek coinage is the prerogative of the state, being controlled by those in whom state sovereignty is vested; 2) coinage of the principal Greek states spread far from home, certain coinages being associated with certain areas; 3) the states concerned are conspicuous naval powers. We might add that, although Athens perhaps included in her population a considerable number of peasant-farmers,⁵⁵ not even Athens, and probably not Corinth,—much less Aegina,—was able to produce enough food to feed a large, cosmopolitan population comprising artisans, metics, slaves, and other non-agricultural elements. Of food corn was by far the most important item, especially in an age when *razzia*-warfare encouraged the destruction of enemy crops as the first thrust of invasion. Hence we come to our main postulate, based on the preceding arguments, viz. that state-control of coinage went hand in hand with constant efforts to establish state-monopoly of the corn supply.

The arrival of sixth and fifth century Athenian and Aeginetan coins in Egypt is well established; and their numbers may be said to have been large, like those of the semi-Greek mints of the north Aegean as well. What does Egypt sell in return for this silver? No doubt, there were various lesser commodities—some linen, scarabs, and votive objects, alum, and perhaps papyrus.⁵⁶ Yet this scarcely explains Aegina's foothold in Naucratis. As the proverb teaches, the chief product of Egypt was corn; and nothing was likely to prevent its overproduction and export under the philhellene Saïtes. We cannot doubt that the silver of Aegina

⁵³ See M. Segre, "La legge ateniese sull'unificazione della moneta," *Clara Rhodos*, IX (1938), pp. 151 ff.

⁵⁴ J. G. Milne, *The Melos Hoard of 1907* (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, No. 32 [New York, 1911]).

⁵⁵ Some 15,000, according to Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁵⁶ Cf. the Egyptian objects found at Perachora, attested by A. A. Hetherington's *Lectures*—page 660 (in this connection see Payne, *op. cit.*). For alum, cf. Herodotus, II, 180.

and of Athens in fact bought Egyptian corn. The semi-Greek silver of the north Aegean was not, however, traded directly; there is not evidence for a direct link between the two areas. It is much more probable that Ionian Greeks, who were themselves dependent upon external sources for silver, shipped their woollens and other made-up commodities to the Thraco-Macedonian districts, receiving in exchange Thraco-Macedonian silver coins which they then traded to Egypt in return for corn and any other things which they wanted.⁵⁷ If we now look west, we see that Sicily, later to be the granary of Republican Rome, is the repository of thousands of Corinthian staters. Even to ancient historians (not as a rule interested in economic or commercial affairs) this connection was obvious: the Corcyreans successfully emphasized it, and the Athenians were not to forget it.⁵⁸ Egypt and Magna Graecia were thus corn-producing areas of primary importance to a complex of infertile Greek states.

Let us suppose an Aeginetan ship to sail to Naucratis, and its owner to possess a consignment of Aeginetan staters, with which he then buys corn—at cheap rates, as suits a land rich in corn but lacking silver. The Aeginetan staters are thus exchanged at a high value. The cargo is shipped home to Aegina, whither the lesser of her neighbouring maritime states are obliged—by threat, convoy, blockade, or worse—to come for the corn which they too need. To these states Aegina may now sell—and sell *dear*—what she has just bought *cheap*; Aeginetan merchants can effect this through their ability—by means of thalassocracy—to control the market-price of silver in their “home” area: their silver buys much in Egypt (which needs the silver), yet buys little when exchanged in Aegina by neighbour states who wish for “Aeginetan” corn. In this we see clearly a joint Aeginetan monopoly of corn and coin. And, since the corporate state controls the coinage, and guarantees its values (through its navy and otherwise), this joint monopoly is part of the policy of the state as a whole: each stater traded to Egypt for corn, or received in Aegina against corn there retailed, enriches the state in the person of the individual trader concerned; and he, with his

⁵⁷ See J. G. Milne’s “Trade between Greece and Egypt before Alexander the Great,” *J.E.A.*, XXV (1939), pp. 177 ff. Samian need of silver is shown by Colaëus’ voyage to Tartessus: Herodotus, IV, 152.

⁵⁸ Thucydides, I, 36, 44; III, 86.

fellows, has a constitutional share in the direction of the state administration.

Much the same may be assumed of the western market, in which Corinthian monopoly was for a long time probably well secured. Most famous of all the corn markets, however, was the Pontic area, the ultimate Athenian control of which stands as a clear model for our hypothetical Aeginetan retailing of Egyptian corn.⁵⁹ Communities in the Pontic area, such as Panticapaeum, were used to gold as currency (through its abundance in South Russia) and not silver; if they accepted silver, it was only to trade it back against Greek exports. Now gold was not struck at Athens; and it is not doubted that, in her hey-day, Athens relied upon the electrum staters coined at Cyzicus and Lampsacus (plainly allowed by her authority) for dealings in the Pontus. These staters are very commonly found in the Pontic area,⁶⁰ and, since they were each equated with a gold stater, would form a satisfactory payment for purchases of Pontic corn. Athenian monopoly of this corn was perhaps never complete; yet its increasing strictness is vividly illustrated by concessions which Athens was obliged to make in times of stress.⁶¹ For, as a general rule, those who owed to Athenian domination were not allowed to buy corn direct from the Pontus: all Pontic corn must be shipped to Athens—whether in Attic or other vessels—and there re-sold at Athenian valuation, being paid for in Athenian money⁶² itself previously traded away at Athenian valuation. Here, in fact, is a double monopoly of corn and coin.

Athenian interest in the fifth century was not, however, limited to Pontic corn. Though Cambyses' conquest of Egypt doubtless caused a temporary interruption in Greco-Egyptian commerce, the successful outcome of the Persian Wars seems to have stimulated fresh enterprise in that direction. It is sufficient to mention

⁵⁹ Cf. the Methone decree: M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1933), no. 61. The work of the Hellespontophylaces is clear. See also Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 51; and in general G. Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work* (London, 1926), pp. 297 f., and Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁶⁰ Cf. Nee, *Bibliography*, pp. 224 and 230.

⁶¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 51, and Glotz, *op. cit.* p. 297. The records of a presumably unlawful exception.

⁶² Or—more lucrative still—in the customers' own coinage accepted only at a discount.

the Athenian expedition to Egypt—no light or thoughtless undertaking, the bounteous gift of Psammetichus, and the subjection of Aegina (so closely connected with Egypt), with the chance of calling in the Aeginetan silver at a profit. Athens by then was predominant in the Pontus and was fast becoming Egypt's chief customer; already, perhaps, she was looking to the last remaining corn-centre in which her interests were not supreme—Sicily. The story is coherent: corn and coin are certainly found in dual monopoly; and it is by no mere coincidence that Xenophon places together the corn supply and Laureium among the subjects which the would-be statesman must master,⁶³ for the statesman was but one citizen of a number by whom the coinage and the corn supply were controlled.

It is easy to overemphasize our case and to fall into errors of which the Hasebroek school would rightly disapprove. In the strict modern sense, indeed, there was no state-undertaking in commerce. Private—and frequently metic⁶⁴—enterprise supplied the initiative which the state may now give; and, though mercantile services must often have been financed by the wealthier elements among the better-born citizen-class,⁶⁵ mercantile corporations in the proper sense were probably lacking. It is true that commerce was banausic: commercial factors—deep at the roots of most social activities—were not stressed by historians. Herodotus sketches them in as a minor part of his history of human relationships; Thucydides, clearly conscious of them, either ignores or forgets them, as he ignored or forgot the re-assessment of tribute in 425. Nevertheless, commerce was vitally important in the economy of Greek states. Metic enterprise, backed by state-control of the market-value of silver, ensured cheap and abundant corn and commodities; every coin spent

⁶³ Xenophon, *Mem.*, III, 6, 3 ff. An interesting example of the difficulties to be faced in the corn-trade is furnished by Cleomenes, governor of Memphis in the late fourth century, who shrewdly forced up the price of Egyptian corn by forming an artificial "corner": cf. Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 364; Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁶⁴ Cf. Glotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 f. Plato, *Laws* 850, would recommend the departure of all metics from the state after twenty years, i. e. when by his trade-turnover the metic has consistently cheapened commodities in the home-market and before it is time for him to settle permanently in the city of his adoption in his old age.

⁶⁵ Some such activity may perhaps be predicated of the Alcmaeonidae—seldom at a loss for money; and Nicias' capital reserve is well known.

abroad in a monopolized area bought more than it might have done in a freely competitive market, owing to the implications of naval control. The "Old Oligarch" knew the meaning of naval control: *naval force* (and this is the qualification to Hasebroek's plain *force*) compelled the acceptance of both corn and coin by weaker communities at the valuation of the stronger.⁶⁶ Hence commercial rivalries, undertaken by traders individually, using corporate coinage, in order to feed and supply overpopulated cities endowed with insufficient agricultural and manufacturing resources of their own. It may well be said that the Greek city-state, while it did not undertake commerce, yet fostered commercial undertakings.

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⁶⁶ Cf. Hasebroek himself, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.: "The ruling state, then, has all the food supply in its hands (*σιτοπομπίας κύριος*, Dem., xviii, § 87), and thus has weaker cities entirely at its mercy." It may be conjectured tentatively that the extortionate re-assessments of tribute in 425 and 417 similarly represent not merely a desperate grasping after money by a meddling and greedily imperialist power but also a deliberate intention of seizing by force supplies of money which, if not thus extorted, might be exploited by anti-Athenian interests—another aspect of imperialist monopoly.

PAPYRUS HERCULANENSIS 831.

This papyrus, which unfortunately has been only fragmentarily preserved, was restored and interpreted, so far as possible, by A. Körte with the help of Usener, on the basis of the two published copies, those of Naples and of Oxford. The text was published by Körte as the "Pars Altera" of his *Metrodori Epicurei Fragmenta*.¹ To improve on Körte's restoration it would be necessary to consult the original papyrus.² That task I must leave to others. Yet I believe that I can make it appear probable that the character and the author of the work, which has lost the subscription containing name of author and title, are different from what has hitherto been supposed. Crönert explained the work as a protrepticus,³ and E. Bignone concurs in this opinion.⁴ It seems to me that the contents point to a different conclusion. Körte himself has pointed out that the expression *μετεωρισμός* and words of similar meaning constantly recur in this work. Actually they appear in the majority of the nineteen preserved columns.⁵ It must be observed, moreover, that we possess only the latter part of the papyrus, and this only in fragments, that cols. IX-XI form a digression, col. XV is personal, and that col. XIX, which is probably the end of the work, is damaged at the end. Therefore I believe that the subject and indeed also the title of the work was *Περὶ Μετεωρισμοῦ*; and I am pleased to see furthermore that Sudhaus proposed this title in a thesis of his Bonn dissertation, and that Crönert considered it possible.⁶ The work admonishes the reader to avoid this evil; hence it is a *parainesis*. Since Isocrates, for example, in *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα* uses *παραινέειν* (25 c) and *προτρέπειν* (16 c) as synonymous, our work could, in a broader sense, be called a protrepticus. But in the

¹ *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (Fleckeisen), Supplementband XVII (Leipzig, Teubner, 1890), pp. 578-91.

² See W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Leipzig, Avenarius, 1906), p. 107, n. 507.

³ *Loc. cit.* Later, on p. 183 in the note to the above passage, he qualifies this judgment.

⁴ *Atene e Roma*, Series III, I (1933), pp. 58-62; cf. his *L'Aristotele Perduto* (Florence, "La Nuova Italia," 1936), I, pp. 151-55.

⁵ See especially cols. IV, V, VII, VIII, XII-XIV, XVII, XVIII.

⁶ See Crönert, *Kolotes*, p. 183.

narrower, i. e. Aristotelian, sense a protrepticus is a work which demonstrates that one must study philosophy. Our author, on the contrary, as we shall presently see, recommends philosophy as only one, though to be sure the principal, means of combatting μετεωρισμός.

This term, which we can perhaps translate by fickleness (Flatterhaftigkeit), in Latin *exsultatio*,⁷ is described in col. XII, 4 as frivolity (ῥαθυμία), and in IV, 4 it is defined as a kind of fiction of the imagination (ἀναπλασμός τις διανοίας), which pursues all kinds of pleasures because of its empty desires (XIV, 2).

The manner in which our work discusses this moral error is in full accord with the method exhibited universally by the numerous popular treatises of Roman times on vices and passions; for example, the treatises of Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and especially Philodemus. Thus the method was used even by an Epicurean. I can here select only a few distinguishing marks of this method, as it appears in our work. Chrysippus had divided his work on the emotions into two parts, a theoretical (their definitions and natures) and a therapeutic (their cure). This division remained prescriptive. I have shown elsewhere how it is used in Books III and IV of the *Tusculans*.⁸ It appears clearly also in Seneca's *De Ira*: 1) I, 4, 1 *quid esset ira satis explicatum est*.⁹ 2) II, 18, 1 *Quoniam quae de ira quaeruntur tractavimus, accedamus ad remedia eius*. Likewise I was able to demonstrate its use in Philodemus' work *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*.¹⁰ Although that work is very fragmentary and its beginning is lost, yet one can still recognize that in the first part the nature of anger was treated, and in the second part its cure.¹¹ Just so we can still discern that our work discussed first the nature of μετεωρισμός. The discussion of cures began in col. V, 11 ἀλλ[ὰ δέ] ἀπεύειν (τὸ προειρημένον παράλλαγμα).

The first part, on the nature of the evil in question, includes a definition, as in Cicero, *Tusc.*, III, 24 f., IV, 11 and Seneca, *De Ira*, I, 3.¹² In Philodemus, *Περὶ Ὁργῆς* the first fragments

⁷ Cf. Seneca, *De Ira*, II, 21, 5.

⁸ *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), pp. 245-94.

⁹ Cf. also I, 5, 1 and II, 2, 1.

¹⁰ *Rh. Mus.*, LXXI (1916), pp. 425-60.

¹¹ See *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*, col. IV, 18, 24 *eis therapēai*; V, 9 *tῇ therapēai*; X, 22 *oi therapēvontes*.

¹² In Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, 17.

refer to the essential nature of anger. In the same way our work introduces in col. IV, 3 the definition of μετεωρισμός. Next in these treatises the symptoms of the emotions in question are always mentioned,¹³ with their antecedent and external signs.¹⁴ So I should restore in our work, col. II, 11, [σημ]εῖον.¹⁵ Furthermore it is clear from col. II, 7 (παράκοπα κινήματα) and the passage immediately preceding that the emotion under discussion is compared to insanity.¹⁶ This comparison appears in many treatises on the πάθη.¹⁷ There is a noticeable similarity in the reference to the eyes in Philodemus, Περὶ Ὁργῆς, frag. 1, 3 ff. and Seneca, *De Ira*, I, 1, 4. Most remarkable, however, is the agreement between our col. II and Plutarch, Περὶ Ἀνοργησίας, 6 (455 e). In Plutarch the facial expression which serves as a sign of an angry man is compared to the expression of an insane man, and Hippocrates, *Prognosticon*, 2 is referred to for corroboration. It is exactly the same in our col. II, 1-6; but it is significant that our author quotes the passage from Hippocrates *verbatim*. I shall return to this point again.

The second part of our work agrees with those treatises no less than the first part. Philodemus begins the second part of the Περὶ Ὁργῆς in col. I, 12, where he grants that a certain older Epicurean is correct to the extent that he disapproves of the mere censure of an angry man. Just so our author says in col. V, 9, at the beginning of this part, [ἄτοπον] δὲ λοιδορεῖν τὸ πρ[οειρημέ]νον παράλλαγμα, ἀλλ[ὰ εἰ θερ]απεύειν. The preceding passage, recognizable from col. II on, describes the detestable forms, both external and internal, in which this παράλλαγμα appears, the τερατώδεις τε καὶ ταραχώδεις ἀναπλασμοί.¹⁸ It ends with the exhortation, τ[ὰ] μὲν δὴ κακὰ τὰ μετεωρισμ[άτ]ων τοσαῦτά τε καὶ τ[οι]αῦτα κα[τα]τ[ι]δ[όν] ἐφίεσθω μηδενός. We find the counter-

¹³ The *motus animorum* in Seneca, *De Ira*, II, 2, 5; the κινήματα τῆς διαβολῆς in our papyrus, col. II, 7.

¹⁴ Seneca, *De Ira*, I, 1, 3 *indicia*; I, 1, 5 *praecurrant notae*; I, 1, 7 *signa, posse praenosci*; Plutarch, Περὶ Ἀνοργησίας, 6 (455 e) *ὁλον εἰκόνα τοῦ πάθους*; Philodemus, Περὶ Ὁργῆς, frag. G, 9 (*Rh. Mus.*, LXXI [1916], p. 431) *προῖόν σ[ημείον]*.

¹⁵ EION is the reading of the Oxford copy.

¹⁶ Cf. also IV, 1 *τῶν μεμνόντων*.

¹⁷ E. g. Philodemus, Περὶ Ὁργῆς, XVI, 26-32; XLII, 5; XLIV, 10; Cicero, *Tusc.*, IV, 75 (*amor*); 77 (*ira*).

¹⁸ Col. V, 3 ff.

part of this in the very same context in Philodemus, *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*, col. I, 8-27. Philodemus grants his Epicurean opponent, as we saw above, that mere censure of emotions, such as occurs in Bion and Chrysippus, is ineffectual; *νῦν δὲ τὸ καθόλου τὰ παρακολουθοῦντα κακὰ τιθέναι πρὸς ὁμμάτων* is useful, and so he portrays them in detail (in agreement, of course, with the Cynics and Stoics). Compare with that our work col. III, 6-8 *ἐμοὶ μὲ[γ] γὰ[ρ] καὶ τὸ] γε[ι]τν[ι]ῶν τινι κακῷ [φαίνε]ται φε[ν]κτόν*. The preceding lines indicate that this "neighboring" evil is the shameful state that is linked with the emotions. Seneca also refers to this state.¹⁹ See further in our work col. IV, 12-13, which should be restored somewhat as follows: *[τὸ] δ' εἰς αἰκ[ίαν πίπτειν φεύγουσι κ]α[ὶ] πα[ιδ]ες*.²⁰ *Μαίνεσθαι* also was often included among those evils bound up with the *πάθη*; and col. IV, 1 of our work refers to this, as has already been mentioned.

If we turn now to the specific cures and disregard for the time being philosophy, the first cure, appearing in col. VI, is the thought of our mortality.²¹ The introduction to the column is lost, but it is clear that this thought was to serve as a means for averting fickleness. The meditation on mortality is not properly Epicurean, for it is a form of *praemeditatio*, which was rejected by the Master.²² On the other hand it occurs in almost all consolations and exhortations.²³

In the following column other distractions²⁴ are mentioned which *as such* are foreign to Epicurus, but which occur in a similar way in the popular ethical treatises. I have pointed out elsewhere that Cicero and Ovid, to whom I can now add Lucretius, owe to such a treatise their agreement on the cures for the madness of love. These cures are for the most part distractions.²⁵

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 36.

²⁰ Cf. also Philodemus, *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*, frag. d, 3-7 (*Rh. Mus.*, LXXI [1916], p. 140) *[διὰ] γὰρ τῆς παρ' ἡμ[ῶν] ὁδηγίας] πα[ιδ]ες*, ὅτι κα[κόν] γέ] ἐστιν . . . *[μαθῆσκονται]* and col. XXVII, 11-15 *δλεθριωτάταις νόσοις συνέ- ζευκται τὸ πάθος, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν . . . προάγει*.

²¹ In VI, 10 the term *ἐποχῇ* (*μεσολαβεῖν*) is used not in the skeptical, but in the ordinary meaning: by delay (to check a thing in its course).

²² See Cicero, *Tusc.*, III, 32-34.

²³ Cf. e.g. *Tusc.*, III, 77 *omnia (maiorum cum uolunt) de communibus conditione vitae*, and, more fully, III, 29 ff.; also Lucretius, V, 1126 *in Tartara iactra*.

²⁴ *περισπασμοί* col. VII, 1, 9.

²⁵ *Herms*, LXVII (1932), p. 291. See *Tusc.*, IV, 70 *abducendū*

Cicero points out in *Tusc.*, IV, 79 f. that anger is not natural (necessary), because different men are related to it in different ways. This same view is presented in detail by Philodemus, *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*.²⁶ A similar statement doubtless preceded our col. VII, which says (1-4), “(Fickleness is checked) by distraction (*διαστροφῇ*), by fear in the case of slaves, by *διατροπῇ* (“shame,” according to Körte) in free men, and also sometimes by some other desire and *περισπασμῶ*.” In VII, 5-10 the pursuit of wealth is recognized as such a distraction. A person who occupies himself with that pursuit remains free from *μετεωρισμός*. In the same way Philodemus approves a moderate effort to acquire and retain wealth and tries to establish this as the purpose of the founders of the school (*καθηγεμόνες*).²⁷ But the end of col. VII of our work seems to draw attention to the dangers of the pursuit of wealth, a warning which is concluded in col. VIII, 1-7. We combat these dangers, the work continues, through the teaching of philosophy. Philosophy had been previously mentioned in col. V, 13. It plays, of course, the principal rôle in treatises of this type. I refer only to *Tusc.*, III, 84, where Cicero says that philosophy performs the cure of the soul’s pains; and to Philodemus, *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*, col. XXXI, 15-18: *διό[τι φάρμακον οὐκ ἔστι] πλὴν τοῦ κανονικοῦ λόγου* (of the philosophy of Epicurus).²⁸

From this point of view natural philosophy is first discussed,²⁹ but this discussion is not entirely relevant to the sanative function of philosophy. The author gives a detailed division of astronomy, with reference to a *προκειμένη πραγματεία*, probably one of his own works. There is nothing similar in any other treatise of this kind. We shall see that the interest in astronomy is a distinctive peculiarity of our author. In col. XI, 5-9, he admits that this science leaves many problems unsolved (*ἀδιάληπτος λόγος*), a statement which refers to the doctrine of alternate hypotheses (*τὸ πλεοναχῶς*)³⁰ that Epicurus holds in astronomy.

(*amator*) . . . *nonnumquam ad alia studia*; Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 136 *fugiat otia*, 144 *res age*, 150 *da vacuae menti quo teneatur opus*; Lucretius, IV, 1064 *alio convertere mentem* (*διάνοιαν*).

²⁶ See especially *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*, frag. 3 and *Rh. Mus.*, LXXI (1916), pp. 431-32.

²⁷ *Περὶ Οἰκονομίας*, cols. XII ff.

²⁸ *Rh. Mus.*, LXXI (1916), p. 451.

²⁹ Col. VIII, 9-XI, 4.

³⁰ Diogenes Laertius, X, 78, 80, 86-87.

Then our author continues: "You are pleased that I did not let you go astray; for I indicated to you the limits³¹ of philosophic studies. Nor did the things (I said) about (these sciences) divert you from ethical insight." The beginning of col. XII should be read approximately as follows: [κωλύει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα μόνον οὐχὶ ἐπάγ[ον] ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν τῶν κυριωτά[τ]ων . . . ῥαθυμίαν. The work then continues: "You will also be protected from μετεωρισμοί by taking hold of the constant courage derived from philosophic principles through the continuous practice of philosophy in your previous pursuits."³² With these words he arrived at the most important cure, (Epicurean) ethics. In XII, 10 he refers to special ethical treatises (πραγματεῖαι), namely, those that treat education.³³

Now the cures by means of education which were introduced from the popular treatises into the following passage (unfortunately we can only partially guess what these were because of the fragmentary nature of the text) show by their agreement with the treatises that they were taken from sources that had no peculiarly Epicurean character. Because our work, as we shall see, is dedicated to a future politician, it is understandable that the author first speaks of subjects which will educate [πρὸς] τὸ δημ[όσιον].³⁴ Cicero makes a similar recommendation in *Tusc.*, IV, 75: *abducendus est (amator) . . . ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia*; and Ovid, *loc. cit.*, more clearly: 144 *res age, 151 sunt fora; sunt leges; sunt quos tuearis* (before the law) *amici, vade per urbanae splendida castra togae*. These works make certain divisions of education according to age. Compare the first book of Quintilian, which points out how to educate the artful orator, *cui . . . in media rei publicae luce vivendum est*.³⁵ According to Quintilian, grammar in the broader sense, which follows elementary instruction, is divided *in duas partes: recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarra-*

³¹ ὄσπληγας—here not "snares."

³² Read XII, 8-10: ἀν[δ]ρείωμα [πλ]ε[ι]στοῖς πρὸς ταύτην [προη]σ[κη]-μέν[ους](?) ἐπιμελή[μασι].

³³ In XII, 12 πείδων . . . ; XIII, 2 παιδείαν. Cf. Seneca, *De Ira*, II, 21, 1: *utrumque . . . propter illud* ("the cure of anger) *quodros sapiam sapientiam institui*.

³⁴ So XII, 14 should be restored.

³⁵ Quintilian, I, 2, 18.

tionem.³⁶ Joined with grammar are the other arts that are included under the *ἔγκυκλος παιδεία*, theory of music, to which poetry belongs, and mathematics with astronomy. Rhetoric follows immediately after these. With all allowance for differences, this division can help us to restore the content of the lacunae which occur here in our papyrus.

Col. XIII begins: [προβαί]νούσης ἥδη τ[ῆ]ς ἀναχύσεως εἰς ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων λύ[σει]ς τὴν παιδείαν μερίζουσιν (πραγματεῖται). Here ἀνάχυσις cannot be used in the pejorative meaning of dissipation but should mean, as a complement of σπουδὴ (see line 5), "broadening of interest." Therefore already (ἥδη line 1) other studies, which precede poetry, and to which the younger students are to be introduced, must have been mentioned, probably those of which Quintilian speaks. Rhetoric, also, may have been included among them. In col. XV, 9-10 our author says of his pupil: λόγων (rhetoric) ἐπι[μ]έλῃς εἶ. Also the Epicurean in Cicero's *De Fin.*, I, 72 regards *eruditio in poetis evolvendis*, in music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy as useless for the end of life; yet he grants that it is a disgrace to a youth not to have learned them. On the other hand, under the *ποιητικὰ ζητήματα*, which the more advanced students are to study, must be intended questions of poetical theory. Hence, according to XIII, 7 ff., people at banquets converse (on such subjects, to avoid an empty waste of time), as I would restore the contents of the lacuna. In my article "Philodemus," in *R.-E.*, XIX, cols. 2479 f. I pointed out that Philodemus also permitted such conversations at banquets. Epicurus forbade them only to kings.³⁷ In what sense, however, our author regards the occupation with aesthetic questions as useful he clearly says in XIII, 4-7: "The interest in any cultural subject will restrain us from imprudent (ἀδιάληπτοι) μετεωρισμοί."³⁸

But this remark (XIII, 4-7) shows that the author sees in the study of arts only a help, not a cure. A cure is given in col. XIV. The preceding words must have run somewhat as follows: "Everyone seeks τὸ χαίρειν. One who pursues (XIV, 1) every pleasure in every way falls into μετεωρισμός. But, if a person

³⁶ *Idem*, I, 4, 1-2.

³⁷ Epicurus, frag. 5 (Usener).

³⁸ Seneca gives a similar exhortation, *De Ira*, III, 9, 1: *artibus amoenis tradendus (iratus); lectio illum carminum obleniat.*

keeps in view and takes thought for τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, how many great goods he has, and how many great evils he has avoided (he will not frivolously seek ever new pleasures).” This passage is, to be sure, in agreement with Epicurus’ teaching, in so far as it states that a person does not entertain every desire, and that under the πλήρωμα ἀγαθῶν should be understood the highest end, freedom from every pain, and that one should remember gratefully what he has. But the characteristically Epicurean expressions are avoided by our author, as if intentionally. Thus he speaks of χαίρειν, which the Stoics also admit, instead of ἡδεσθαι. That is again a sign of the popular treatises which for the most part bear the stamp of no one school. Any school, even the Stoics, could accept both the precepts of this column. And exactly the same advice, to keep in mind the good one has and the evil one has avoided, occurs in many treatises of that kind, as in Plutarch’s Περὶ Εὐθυμίας, 9 (469 d f.), where we find the expressions ἔχειν and χαίρειν, and where the Stoic Antipater is introduced, who, when computing his goods (ἀναλογιζόμενος [see XIV, 7 ἐπιλογίζη[τα]ι] ὧν ἔτυχεν ἀγαθῶν), did not forget the danger that he had escaped on a sea journey.

Col. XV can here be passed over, since it deals with the person of the young man addressed. Only the words τὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας [ταραχῶ]δες [τοῦ] φνσ[ι]κο[ῦ] χωρίσας] contain a faint reference to Epicurus’ division of the emotions.

Col. XVI, also, is not especially Epicurean. According to Körte’s correct assumption it pictures the blessings of philosophy. In the preceding passage philosophy was recommended to the addressee. The beginning ran somewhat as follows: [διδάσκει (i. e. philosophy) γὰρ τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι λ[όγ]ω[ν] ἀνελευθέ]ρων. The gifts of philosophy enumerated here are not peculiar to Epicurus, though the phrase ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν (line 3) echoes his concept of ἀσφάλεια, external security. Even the denial of immortality (line 9) is shared by other thinkers. There is no need to collect from the treatises the numerous parallels, especially about the false fear of death.³⁰

In cols. XVII and XVIII μετewρισμός is again clearly the

³⁰ E. g. Cicero, *Tusc.*, I, 81 ff.

³¹ XVII, 5 ἀναπλάσσουσιν: XVIII, 5, 8 μετewριζόμε[νοι].

³² The beginning of col. XVII may be restored thus: {μηδ’ ἐνδεόμενος εὐθείᾳ {see col. i, line 1} ὥστερ ἐπιθυμίας} ἢ [λύ]παις.

Enumerated are *φθονεῖν*,⁴² *κατὰ λύπην πενθεῖν*,⁴³ and false ideas of divine providence.⁴⁴ Then the author passes in XVIII, 3 to the *ἔργα* which the *μὴ μετεωρισθόσμενος* must avoid, *ὧν ἔστι καὶ μέθη*. Seneca in the *De Ira* often warns of drunkenness,⁴⁵ Ovid mentions it,⁴⁶ and Philodemus discusses it in detail at the conclusion of the *Περὶ Ὁργῆς*. Peculiar to our author seems the thought that *μετεωρισμός* and *μέθη* mutually increase each other.⁴⁷

The last column is unfortunately mutilated at the end. It presumably gave some definite statement about the purpose of the work. The preserved lines say that (for one who is not frivolous) strength of thoughts remains, so that he can fight the shamefulness of the *πάθη*.

The foregoing discussion, which could easily be expanded, will be sufficient to show that this work, in so far as one can judge from its remains, 1) had as its subject *μετεωρισμός* and its cure; 2) that in arrangement (*κρίσις* and *θεράπεια*), as in many details, it is related to the many popular philosophical treatises that have come down to us; 3) that like most of them it regards philosophy as the most effective cure of the evil it deals with, but at the same time it keeps in view the standpoint of ordinary life; 4) that it undoubtedly reveals Epicurean doctrine, but more by suggestion than by emphasis.

The author is therefore an Epicurean and undoubtedly one of the later, or young, Epicureans. For we saw that in ethical questions he assumes the more liberal standpoint which we find in Philodemus. Like Philodemus he recognizes as correct for the addressee (XV) the inclination toward a public career (XII, 14 τὸ δημ[όσιον]),⁴⁸ the occupation with aesthetic questions (XIII, 2), and the moderate pursuit of wealth (VII, 5). Also the fact that he wrote a popular treatise on a single moral error points to the time of the later Epicureans. We know that Zeno,

⁴² XVII, 4; cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Περὶ Εὐθυμίας*, 11 (471 a); Seneca, *De Tranquillitate*, 2, 10.

⁴³ XVII, 7. Epicurus also admits moderate grief (frag. 120 Usener), but cf. also Crantor in Cicero, *Tusc.*, III, 12, 71.

⁴⁴ XVIII, 1. This is wholly Epicurean, but cf. also the Stoic in Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, II, 167.

⁴⁵ E. g. II, 20, 2, where a reference is made to Plato.

⁴⁶ *Remedia Amoris*, 803 ff.

⁴⁷ XVIII, 7-13.

⁴⁸ See *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, XXIII (1910), pp. 329 f.

the head of the Epicureans about the year 100 B. C., published disputations (σχολαί) on vices and the opposite virtues; and from Zeno's pupil Philodemus, who followed his teacher closely, many such works have been preserved, or in some cases their titles at least are known. It is significant that Philodemus, as above indicated, agreed with our author in rejecting mere censure of the passions, yet considered it wise to put before the eyes the shamefulness and danger of such vices. I have adduced other parallels, a few out of many, between Philodemus' treatises and our work. The two Epicureans must have been close together; but they are not identical. There are several important reasons for regarding Demetrius the Laconian, the colleague of Zeno and teacher of Philodemus, as the author of our work. The Herculean Library contains numerous rolls of his works.⁴⁹ First, it is noteworthy, though not conclusive, that, as Theodor Gomperz noted and Körte confirms,⁵⁰ the script of our papyrus agrees with that of pap. 1012, which Crönert ascribes with certainty to Demetrius.⁵¹ Very important, moreover, is the fact that the language of our work has several peculiarities of Demetrius' style and never deviates from it. Crönert has collected a few distinguishing signs of the Laconian.⁵² Of these we find in our work:

a) η instead of ϵ before vowels, VI, 7 $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\langle\omicron\rangle\alpha$; ⁵³ IX, 1 $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$.⁵⁴ This change, however, does not occur in the Herculean remains of Epicurus' $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\Phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ⁵⁵ nor in the two Herculean works of Polystratus.⁵⁶ In Philodemus η for ϵ is

⁴⁹ See Crönert, *Kolotes*, pp. 100-25 and V. de Falco, *L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone* (Naples, Cimmaruta, 1923).

⁵⁰ But both only on the ground of the two apographi. See Körte, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

⁵¹ Crönert, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵³ Demetrius, pap. 1055 (de Falco, p. 77), col. XX, 1 $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\omega\alpha$, 4 $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\omega\alpha\omega\alpha$; pap. 1012 (de Falco, p. 51), col. XLVIII, 9 $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\omega\alpha$.

⁵⁴ This is the reading of the apographi. Likewise, in XII, 10 f. $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha[\tau\eta\omega\alpha]$ should be restored; cf. Demetrius, pap. 1014 (de Falco, p. 91), LVI, 3 $\delta\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\alpha\alpha$; pap. 1012, XLVIII, 8 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\eta}\alpha\alpha$; and many others.

⁵⁵ See p. 1073, n. 11, 3. 2. *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903), p. 25).

⁵⁶ $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\Delta\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omega\alpha$ Καταφρονήσεως , ed. K. Wilke (Leipzig, Teubner, 1905), and *Libri Incertus*, ed. A. Vogliano (*Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta* [Berlin, Weidmann, 1928]), pp. 75-89.

so rare that when it occurs it is surely the fault of the scribe. This usage is therefore a peculiarity of Demetrius.

b) ϵ instead of τ , which is common in Demetrius, always occurs in our papyrus in $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and its derivatives. Yet this spelling appears often in Philodemus and it is therefore no proof of the Laconian.

c) Again, Demetrius uses the unattic $\sigma\sigma$ for $\tau\tau$; while Epicurus, Polystratus, and Philodemus avoid this usage.⁵⁷

d) Of the peculiarities in the use of words (technical terms) which Crönert lists under d) there appear in our work: XI, 5 and XIII, 7 $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$; XVIII, 3 $\pi\rho\acute{o}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$; IX, 1 [$\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\kappa$] $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ (?).⁵⁸

e) Further, Crönert's statement, "Der Hiat wird kaum beachtet. Dadurch unterscheidet sich Demetrios wohl am deutlichsten von Philodem," is true of our work also. It contains several hiatuses, as XI, 7 $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ and the harsh XVI, 9 $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$. If one therefore reflects how little of pap. 831 has been preserved, he will consider as important its agreements with Demetrius in the form and use of words. And what Crönert says in praise of Demetrius' style⁵⁹ also applies to our work, which expresses itself with clarity and simplicity, though the language, in accordance with the nature and purpose of the work, is more elevated than that found in the ordinary school books of the Laconian.

But the contents speak even more decidedly for Demetrius as author. Theodor Gomperz⁶⁰ thinks that pap. 1012, proved by Crönert to be written by Demetrius, is the work of a scholar who was both philosopher and grammarian. In this papyrus not

⁵⁷ E. g. pap. 1014 (de Falco, p. 94), LXV, 7 $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$; 8 $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\sigma\omicron]\nu$; 10 $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\eta$. So in our papyrus XIV, 1 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$; XVII, 5 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ (XVII, 8 $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau[\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota]\nu$ doubtful); cf. Crönert, *Mem. Gr. Her.*, p. 134. Pap. 1044 writes XII, 5 $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma[\omicron\nu]$; XVI, 8 $\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$. This supports my conjecture in "Philonides," *R.-E.*, XX, col. 63, that the work was written by Demetrius. From Crönert, *Mem. Gr. Her.*, p. 134, n. 4, I see that he had already made this conjecture.

⁵⁸ Compare also XIII, 2 $\xi\eta\tau\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ and 10 $\sigma\upsilon\nu\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon[\iota\varsigma]$ with Demetrius, pap. 1006 (de Falco, p. 59) $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\nu\omega\nu$ $\Sigma\upsilon\xi\eta\tau\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ [κ] $\alpha[\tau]\acute{\alpha}$ $\Delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\nu$.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 122 f.

⁶⁰ De Falco also agrees, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

only questions of the text of Epicurus but also many passages of poetry were critically discussed. So it is understandable that our author prescribes in XIII, 2 λύσεις ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων, under which must be understood philological and aesthetic questions in the Alexandrian sense. In addition fragments of several of Demetrius' books on the art of poetry have been preserved for us.

It is certain that Demetrius composed also a work analyzing Hippocrates' terms.⁶¹ So the quotation from Hippocrates in col. II is a probable indication of Demetrius, and also the use of the word μετεωρισμός, which Hippocrates first used in a psychological meaning. In addition a discovery of Diels in Lucretius is pertinent.⁶² Though Lucretius in describing the plague at Athens in Book VI follows closely the account of Thucydides, he introduces in lines 1180-1196 a foreign insertion, which describes the signs of death in accord with the prognostic writings of the Hippocratic Corpus. At the end he introduces the symptoms from *Prognosticon*, 2 (II, p. 114 Littré). This Lucretian passage has been interpreted as a reflection of Hippocrates. In verse 1195, however, the words *iacens rictum* (which Diels writes conclusively) come from a different source from the rest. Now this inappropriate insertion appears sometimes in inferior MSS of the *Prognosticon*. Diels conjectures, therefore, that it was Demetrius who corrupted the passage in his commentary on Hippocrates, perhaps because of a poor source. He appears to have made similar mistakes in other places also. It is therefore very plausible that Lucretius, who in my opinion reveals no other connection with the later Epicureans, was here influenced by Demetrius. This view is contrary to that of Körte, which, surprisingly, Diels accepts, that Metrodorus or some other older Epicurean was the author of pap. 831. Because of the quotation from Hippocrates in the work it is more probable that the author was Demetrius, the commentator on Hippocrates. I have already pointed out that Plutarch in his treatise Περὶ Ἀνοργησίας referred for the visible symptoms of anger to the same passage from Hippocrates as our author for μετεωρισμός.⁶³ These treatises tend to borrow *topoi* from each other. Therefore this reference to Hippocrates speaks as well for the stamp of the treatise in our work as for the Hippocratean scholar Demetrius as its author.

⁶¹ See Crönert, *Kolotes*, p. 107.

⁶² H. Diels, "Lukrezstudien II, III," *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1920, pp. 12-18.

⁶³ P. 150 *supra*.

That our Epicurean, like Philodemus, does not reject rhetoric unconditionally I inferred from col. XV, 9-10.⁶⁴ If in the Herculanean *Index Stoicorum*, LII, 11 Δημητρίῳ τῷ [ε] ῥη]τορικῶι is restored and the Laconian is meant, then we should assume according to Crönert⁶⁵ that he also wrote books on rhetoric, such as those we possess in large number from Philodemus.

But my conjecture becomes all but certain through the long digression, cols. IX-XI, on astronomy. Its details have scarcely any meaning in respect to the theme of the work, but for that reason have all the more significance for the identification of the author with Demetrius. For one should conclude from this passage the author's preference for this science. Now Strabo calls Demetrius a pupil of Protarchus, who likewise was an Epicurean and a mathematician.⁶⁶ Like the Laconian he also attacked the Stoic mathematician Dionysius of Cyrene.⁶⁷ Further, we possess fragments of six geometrical works by Demetrius.⁶⁸ That he, moreover, like Philonides,⁶⁹ wrote on astronomy, is indicated by his pap. 1013 on the size of the sun.⁷⁰ So then the surprising digression on astronomy is understandable if Demetrius was the author of our work. Col. IX, 1 refers, now, to a "work in hand" from which he borrowed the following division of astronomy. It probably originated from our author himself and was then in the hands of the addressee.⁷¹

⁶⁴ P. 154 *supra*.

⁶⁵ *Kolotes*, p. 108.

⁶⁶ Strabo, XIV, 20 (658 C); see Crönert, *Kolotes*, p. 88.

⁶⁷ Crönert, *Kolotes*, p. 102. Demetrius was also probably a younger friend of the Epicurean mathematician Philonides; see my article "Philonides," *R.-B.*, XX, cols. 63 ff., where I also explained how these younger Epicurean mathematicians perhaps sought to unite their standpoint with that of the Master.

⁶⁸ Crönert, *Kolotes*, pp. 109 ff.; de Falco, pp. 96-108.

⁶⁹ Crönert, *Kolotes*, p. 181.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114; cf. our work, col. IX, 8 *περὶ μέγεθος ἄστρων*.

⁷¹ Körte (*op. cit.*, p. 576) correctly points out the similarity of the words VIII, 10-12 τὸ ὕψος τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐπαίρον τὴν διάνοιαν with Metrodorus, frag. 37 ἀνέβης τοῖς περὶ φύσεως διαλογισμοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα. But he wrongly infers from that that Metrodorus is the author of our work. For nothing prevents the assumption that the author thought of Metrodorus' expression, just as Lucretius did in I, 73 *processit . . . moenia mundi*. But our author has the loftiness of the stellar world before his eyes and thus differs from both the others, who are thinking of the endlessness and eternity of the all.

In col. XI there was also a reference to the limits of this science, in the sense of Epicurus' *πλεοναχῶς*. The author emphasizes that he has warned the addressee not to concern himself too much with it, but has told him that philosophy and ethics (*ἡ φρόνησις*) remain always the main concern. It is clear from this statement that the author stood to the addressee in the relation of teacher to pupil, whom he has introduced to the doctrines of the Epicurean philosophy (VIII, 7 ff.). The pupil was therefore a young man and probably a Roman. Accordingly, we think not of a contemporary of Epicurus but of an Epicurean of Roman times. In col. XV it is said of the young man that he has inherited from his forefathers the inclination to practical (political) activity, and (9-10) that he has set his heart on rhetorical education. This points to a descendant of the Roman aristocracy, just as col. VII, 5 ff. does, which admits the pursuit of wealth although at the same time its dangers are made apparent. As Cicero, at the exhortation of his father, was first intrusted to the Epicurean Phaedrus, and as Piso joined himself with Philodemus, so our young Roman, also, might have been introduced by his father to the Epicurean Demetrius. Accordingly, it is possible that Demetrius composed the work before us at the request of the father for the son, to warn him against a frivolous life, especially as, according to XV, 5-7, the addressee does not seem to have been of very good health.⁷²

But even the name of the person addressed can be conjectured. In the final columns of three papyri Demetrius gives the names of those to whom he has dedicated the respective works. Now in pap. 1014, lines 11-15 of the last column⁷³ according to my restoration, he says πολλὰ δέ σοι χάρις, [ὧ φίλ]τατε Νέρων, [ο]ὐ μόν[ον] ὑπομ[νημά]τιόν μοι [συν]τ[ελού]ντι πλείσ[τον σ]υμ[β]αλλομένωι The roll contains the second book of the *Περὶ Ποιημάτων* of Demetrius and treats of λύσεις ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων, which the author of our work recommends to his pupil even for conversations (*συνδιατρήσεις*) at banquets. So it is natural to see in this Nero, who paid Demetrius very much for his book on the art of poetry, the young Roman of our work. Perhaps he was named in the text like, e. g. the son of . . . The cognomen Nero belonged to a branch of the aristocratic gens of the Claudii. The youngest son of Appius Claudius Cæcus first had this cognomen.⁷⁴

⁷² See Körte, p. 588.⁷³ De Falco, p. 95.⁷⁴ Drumann, 11², p. 152.

TYPES OF SELF-RECOGNITION AND SELF-REFORM IN ANCIENT DRAMA.¹

There is a certain spiritual experience which appears to have been shared by all men in all ages but which never fails to excite their bewilderment and awe. It is the flash of inspiration by which a man suddenly beholds his own true and better nature.

In the Christian age this has been called "seeing the light," for it can take the form of a moral illumination which is like the death of the old self—a phenomenon often so striking that a man appears, according to another mystical religious conception, to be "born again." The conversion of St. Paul is an instance which can rightly be regarded as one of the most dramatic moments in human history.

Browning has given eloquent expression to such experiences in his *Cristina*:

Oh, we're sunk enough here, God knows!
But not quite so sunk that moments,
Sure tho' seldom, are denied us,
When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out plainly from its false ones,
And apprise it if pursuing
Or the right way or the wrong way,
To its triumph or undoing.

He was inspired with the same idea when he wrote his *Halbert and Hob*.

The process may be described as moral regeneration or as the discovery of the better self: on a lower plane it may be no more than the sudden revelation that one has been acting wrongly, accompanied by a resolution to alter one's course of action.

Now it should be realised at the outset that, although this experience can be regarded as a recognition of one's own true self and although it is a familiar dramatic theme, it is not an *anagnorisis* in the Aristotelian sense. The rigid limitations of this technical term as defined and illustrated in Aristotle's *Poetics* are accordingly to be remembered.

Professor D. S. Robertson has very kindly read this article and offered valuable suggestions and criticism which have enabled me to improve greatly upon its original form.

Anagnorisis par excellence, according to the theory of Aristotle, involves recognition of the identity of persons. The recognition of objects and places and even the recognition of deeds done seem to be regarded by him as in some way less commendable (*Poetic*, chap. 11). In chaps. 14 and 16 of the *Poetic* he gives further cases in which all the stress is laid on personal identification.² There is little doubt that on this matter his theory coincided with the general practice of Greek playwrights.

One surprising fact emerges: Aristotle is interested in recognition of one's own identity, but he does not mention recognition of one's own character, and yet we should regard this as both interesting and important. I will endeavour to discuss the chief examples occurring in ancient drama, with particular attention to those in which the theme is both psychologically and dramatically vital. Obviously, this is the highest type.

The first case which leaps to mind is the personage of Admetus in Euripides' *Alcestis*. Here is a man who is not fundamentally base in character but merely pompous and self-centred to an almost criminal degree. After allowing his wife (as he thinks) to die for him, he feels a sense of loneliness and realises how contemptibly selfish he has been. He would now willingly change places with her. No speech in Greek drama is better known (*Alcestis* 935 ff.), and yet its true implication seems to have escaped notice. Admetus has perceived his error and is now ready to reform, but even in his reformation he still remains himself. His repentance is natural, amiable, and sincere, but he is not fundamentally changed! Softly intruding on the speech can be heard a note of self-pity and of envy for his wife's glorious end. It is characteristic of Euripides to sound this gentle note of irony (which the uninitiated can easily overlook or mistake for bathos) in a speech which is at the same time dignified and pathetic in tone.

Structurally speaking, it is not the repentance of Admetus but the resolution of Heracles (833 ff.) which marks the climax of the *Alcestis*. Yet the recognition of past error is essential to the plot of the play. It will be noticed that Admetus' flash of insight *follows* Heracles' resolve to save Alcestis, and with such dramatic effect that it forms a psychological climax which is more

² On the five types listed in chap. 16 see especially Gudeman's detailed notes (pp. 287-302 of his edition).

magnificent than the preceding one which was merely practical. In this effect we behold the work of a genius.

Professor Gilbert Norwood put the *dénouement* of the *Alcestis* at the first moment when the audience becomes aware of Heracles' resolution to save Admetus' wife. He regards Admetus' change of heart as the climax properly so called. I spoke of Heracles' resolution as a kind of practical climax, but the whole question of the relation between climax and *dénouement* is very difficult and often disputable.³ Differences of interpretation are probably permissible in cases like the *Alcestis* according as one stresses the practical or the psychological approach to drama. There is also the question of the relation between Heracles' resolve and its accomplishment: this is where I differ (but only tentatively) from Professor Norwood.

As usual, Homer had forestalled the tragic poets. In the nineteenth book of the *Iliad*, both Achilles and Agamemnon repent of their quarrel. This is a dramatic climax, for it produces a complete change in the situation and prepares the *dénouement*.

One of the most majestic examples in drama must have been the spiritual experience of the central figure of Aeschylus' *Prometheia*. In this great work of the imagination, as is well known, Aeschylus portrayed the gradual clarification of the system by which Zeus claimed to order the whole universe for good.⁴ *The revelation of this purpose to Prometheus* must, however, have been the central theme.

Prometheus, guilty of bringing fire from heaven to mankind (presumably in the first play of the trilogy) was punished in the manner familiar to us from the extant play.

We learn from Athenaeus (XV, 672e and 674d) that in the *Prometheus Unbound* (generally taken to be the final play of the trilogy) Prometheus repented of his former rebellious attitude, having recognised at last that Zeus had been directing all things for good. This change of heart made his pardon possible, and, being reconciled to the will of Zeus, he was triumphantly freed

³ A discussion of this relation, with reference to the *Alcestis* among other plays, can be found in the brilliant last essay of Norwood's *Studies in Greek Tragedy* (London, 1921).

⁴ An inspiring and imaginative discussion of the *Prometheia* will be found in Norwood's *Greek Tragedy*, pp. 91-98. Cf. also H. D. F. Kitto in *J. H. S.*, LV (1934), pp. 14-20.

from disgrace and bondage. The dramatic importance of Prometheus' change of character is obvious. Its function is more direct than the change implied in the character of Zeus himself, whose government of the universe had evolved from brutal tyranny to righteous power. The birth of Athena is known to have been a turning-point in the development of the king of the gods. Great moral and religious importance must be attached to this imagined evolution of Zeus himself, as being part of the titanic symbolism in which Aeschylus depicted the evolution of universal order from moral chaos to moral cosmos. But I would insist that the spiritual experience of Prometheus has dramatic priority, and it will be seen to belong to the type of moral enlightenment which I am specially discussing, and as being a climax which makes the *dénouement* possible.

The *Oresteia* exhibits the same colossal conceptions of universal and human destiny but lacks the individual personal revelation.⁵ I find certain cases in Sophocles and Euripides which at first sight appear important and relevant but on closer examination become less so. These are: *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Oedipus and Jocasta); *Trachiniae* (Deianira); *Philoctetes* (Neoptolemus); *Ajax* (Ajax)⁶; *Hippolytus* (Theseus); *Ion* (Creusa); *Hercules Furens* (Heracles); *Bacchae* (Agave). Some of these are very striking and lend themselves to classification—for example, *Ajax*, *Hercules Furens*, and *Bacchae* together form a distinct and interesting class, that is, hallucination and return to consciousness. The incident in the *Philoctetes*, where Neoptolemus undoes his past action by returning the bow and arrows, has great charm in itself, but it does not form the mainspring of the plot. Creusa in the *Ion* has a remarkable revelation, but, whatever be its implications, it is a revelation of identity, i. e. *anagnorisis* properly so called. The revelation of identity is likewise the most startling part of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. In the *Hippolytus* and the *Trachiniae* the recognition of past error has something mechanical about it which robs it of psychological importance (not, of course, of dramatic interest).

⁵ On the deeper significance of the *Oresteia* see Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-117 and chap. III, *passim*; Kitto's *Greek Tragedy*, chaps. III and IV.

⁶ Cf. Kitto, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 2 against the view that a development of character is involved in Ajax's change of mind—the resolve not to kill himself after all.

Special mention may be given to the *Antigone* (Creon) and the *Medea* (Jason). Creon's recognition of his past error is used by Sophocles with magnificent effect: the cruel and self-righteous king suffers a revelation of his own spiritual blindness. But here the damage is beyond repair, and there is nothing left but lamentation.

The *Medea* (Jason) belongs to the same class: it begins like the *Alcestis* but ends like the *Antigone*, with horror for the person concerned. Compared with *Alcestis*, *Medea* is a figure of melodrama: her husband is far less likeable than Admetus. Yet the similarity of theme in the two plays, combined with the satiric purpose common to them both, shows that Euripides was merely working out the same idea in a different way. I would insist very strongly upon this interpretation of the *Medea*, often wrongly called in question. The real and essential difference between the *Alcestis* and these two tragedies which I have classed together is that Admetus repents, whereas Creon fails to repent in time and Jason does not repent at all. Professor D. S. Robertson has reminded me, however, that only a miracle differentiates Admetus from Creon: they both (humanly) repent too late. This is a subtle observation and most illuminative of Euripides' methods. Sophocles made Creon swallow a bitter draught of tragic grief; Euripides, being in a kindlier mood than usual, let Admetus off with a heavy dose of satire.

In three of Aristophanes' comedies, *Knights*, *Clouds*, and *Frogs*, we find a special Aristophanic application of moral enlightenment—the disillusionment of Demos, Strepsiades, and Dionysus, who had been imposed upon respectively by three men whom Aristophanes takes as types of the political, philosophic, and literary charlatan-innovator. These are Cleon (Paphlagon), Socrates, and Euripides. The method of the comic writer is to discredit the charlatan, among other ways, by exhibiting the credulity and disillusionment of his dupe.

The structure is vaguest in the *Knights*. In the *Clouds*, Strepsiades receives his moral lesson in the form of blows from his son, justified on philosophic grounds—a painful revelation to him of the fact that "all the way education is a good remedy" of the *Frogs*: "The peripeteia is technically akin to those of tragedy" (*Euripides and Shaw*, p. 184). This observation is exact. There is no muddling about the change of mind in the *Frogs*,

none of the farcical accretions which blur the outline of the *Knights*. Here the decision of Dionysus to take Aeschylus instead of Euripides comes like a bombshell (line 1471: ἡ γλῶττ' ὁμώμοκ', Αἰσχύλον δ' αἰρήσομαι). Dionysus can be said to have received a sudden moral illumination leading to a reversal of his purpose, and at the same time dramatically powerful.

But what of the *Wasps*? Philocleon's change of character in this play may carry some moral for Bdelycleon or the audience, but it is farcical in its abruptness. It is hardly dramatically justified and merely forms part of a bold general effect. Yet the brilliance of the farce is in no way impaired: it rises above criticism like an iridescent bubble. To analyse and then condemn its dramatic structure, as some have tried to do, is like discussing the function of the various coloured pieces in a patch-work quilt.

In the New Comedy we find several close parallels to the *Alcestis*—confirmation of the accepted belief that the poets of the New Comedy loved to borrow situations from Euripides. Even in the small portion of Menander which has come down to us, we have three examples of self-recognition accompanied by self-reform and translated into dramatic action. And all three concern the relations between man and wife (or mistress).

In the *Perikeiromene* Polemon has misjudged his mistress and ill-treated her under the influence of baseless jealousy. His repentance (in conformity with his character) is powerful in expression (*Perik.* 406 ff., Koerte³):

οἶμοι, Γλυκέριον,
ὥς κατὰ κράτος μ' εἴληφας. ἐφίλησεν τότε
ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ μοιχόν· ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ
καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκῶν
εὐθὺς ἐπαρώνουν. τοιγαροῦν ἀπηγχόμην
καλῶς ποῶν.

Is this a case of *anagnorisis*? It is based on the identification of a person whom he had thought to be an adulterer but who turns out to be his mistress' brother. But the situation recalls the *Alcestis*, inasmuch as Polemon receives a revelation concerning the true nature of his past behaviour (one could have said "a revelation of his own true character," but see *infra*). And his repentance is in effect like that of Admetus.

Yet, whatever dramatic importance we allow to the change in Polemon's behaviour, it can hardly be called *anagnorisis*. This point, I think, is made so much clearer by the fact that the real *anagnorisis* (and climax of the play from the practical point of view) had already taken place (319 ff. and 338 ff., Koerte³), when Pataecus recognised, by the articles preserved in the chest and casket, that Glycera was his daughter.

There is some humour in the fact that the eavesdropping Moschion discovers at the same time that Glycera is his sister (344 ff., Koerte³). What a painful shock for the young philanthropist! Hence for him as for Polemon, a revelation of his own folly.

Thus it will be seen that the resemblance in structure between the *Alcestis* and the *Perikeiromene* is very close indeed. The formal or practical climax which will lead to the *dénouement* precedes the psychological or emotional climax which is also vitally necessary for the smoothing out of the situation. We have before us two masterpieces, respectively, of the tragi-comedy and the *comédie larmoyante*. The genesis of the latter has now become clearer.

There is every indication that the character of Demea in the *Samia* was developed on similar lines to that of Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*.

In the *Epitrepontes*, also, the estrangement between Charisius and Pamphila must have been similarly treated. There are signs that it was worked out in a very graceful and romantic way. Onesimus thus describes the remorse of the young husband Charisius (*Epitr.* 574 ff., Koerte³):

“ ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀλιτῆριος ” πυκνὸν πάντα
 ἔλεγεν “ τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἐξειργασμένος
 αὐτὸς γεγονώς τε παιδίου νόθου πατὴρ
 οὐκ ἔσχον οὐδ’ ἔδωκα συγγνώμης μέρος
 οὐθὲν ἀτυχοῦση ταῦτ’ ἐκείνη, βάρβαρος
 ἀνηλεὲς τε, ” λαιδορεῖτ’ ἐρρωμένως
 αὐτῷ βλέπει θ’ ὑφαιμον ἡρεθισμένος.

³ See also, the husband who has not treated his wife properly. The situation may be taken from Euripides, but the treatment is much milder. Even in his indignation Charisius was a model of chivalrous conduct, as Menander's heroes have to be. 107

Menander is a gentle dramatist who (in response to his audience, perhaps) is far more lenient than his master Euripides in the delineation of human failings. Polemon's brutal treatment of Glycera had to be attributed to an unnatural delusion caused by the goddess Ignorance and explained by her in the Prologue to the *Perikeiromene*.

The same problem which arises between husband and wife can also arise in relations between father and son (as in Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Wasps*). And this extension of the theme occurs in two plays of Terence. The young man whose love-affairs get him into trouble with his father can hardly be the property of any one writer of the New Comedy, for this situation is just a part of Mediterranean life. But there is something about the psychology of the father in these two plays of Terence which irresistibly recalls the plays of Menander which I have just been discussing. We already know that the two plays in question (the *Hautontimorumenos* and the *Adelphoe*) are copied from him with certain alterations and additions.

The *Hautontimorumenos* ingeniously begins with the repentance of the stern father Menedemus. Though the *anagnorisis* of Antiphila is the most essential part of the plot, the father's change of mind is also an important theme which may have had a more prominent place in the Greek original. In the last scene of the play, Menedemus, having learned wisdom from his own experience, is able to address an appeal to Chremes which induces him to pardon Clitipho.

Now let us consider the *Adelphoe*. Though there is some confusion in this play concerning the identity of the music girl's lover (because Aeschinus is shielding his brother Ctesipho), there is nothing which can be called an *anagnorisis*. The recognition of Ctesipho as the true culprit could have been much more dramatic: characteristically enough, Terence makes little of it. The main emphasis is laid upon the emotional reaction of Demea. His change of character is the turning-point of the play. His brother Micio asks in astonishment in the last scene (line 984): *Quid istuc? quae res tam repente mores mutavit tuos?* For the audience, the answer has been provided in Demea's soliloquy (lines 855 ff.): even at his time of life he has learned something new about the duties of a father.

Does not the circumstantial evidence suggest that Menander

was the inventor of these character-studies? The contribution of Terence, however, still remains unknown.

The theme of self-revelation or spiritual enlightenment which is comparatively rare in ancient drama (at least, as far as we know it) becomes almost hackneyed in modern dramatists and novelists, for, when facile authors once perceive its possibilities, it becomes a favourite recipe for plot construction. Here are a few select cases of varying merit: Shakespeare: *Henry IV*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*; Fielding: *Tom Jones*, *Amelia*; Kleist: *Der Prinz von Homburg*, *Michel Kohlhaas*; Hebbel: *Agnes Bernauer*; Ibsen: *Wild Duck*, *Doll's House*; Tolstoy: *Resurrection*; Dostoievsky: *Crime and Punishment*; Dumas fils: *La Dame aux Camélias*; Labiche: *La Grammaire*; Shaw: *Candida*, *Major Barbara*, *The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet*; Somerset Maugham: *Rain*; Sir James Barrie: *Quality Street*, *The Admirable Crichton*; T. C. Murray: *Autumn Fire*, *Aftermath*.

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A BASIC CONFLICT IN ARISTOTLE'S PHILOSOPHY.

Readers of histories of philosophy written under the influence of Hegel will recall that the historical function of Aristotle was to remedy a defect in Platonism, the so-called "gap" which Plato left between the world of ideas and the world of particulars. The best known expression of this thesis is perhaps that of Windelband in his *History of Philosophy* (Engl. tr., p. 133):

What he (i. e. Aristotle) combated in the system of his great predecessor was only the *Eleatic assumption of absence of relation*,—absence of relation between general and particular, between Ideas and phenomena, between conceptions and perceptions; an absence of relation which, in spite of all his efforts, Plato had not overcome, even in the later phase of his teaching . . . This tearing apart (*χωρίζειν*) of essence and phenomenon, of Being and Becoming, is in addition to special dialectical objections, the object of the chief reproach which Aristotle brings against the doctrine of ideas. While Plato had made two different worlds out of the general which is known by the conception, and the particular which is perceived, the entire effort of Aristotle is directed towards removing again this division in the conception of reality, and discovering that relation between Idea and phenomenon which shall make conceptional knowledge able to explain what is perceived.

Historians of this persuasion usually point out that the gap between the ideas and the particulars was filled by the Aristotelian doctrine of potentiality, that the idea is immanent in the particular and appears as the realized form when the particular has completed its development.

We are not in this paper concerned with the success of Aristotle in explaining the relation of the universal to the particular, for a study of his presuppositions will show, we believe, that it was never one of his major problems. It will show, on the contrary, that Aristotle assumed a system of philosophy—presumably because of his having studied under Plato—in which the same gap remained. Not only did it remain, but it was accepted by Aristotle to explain away difficulties which he could not account for otherwise, so that Aristotle, *as far as this question was concerned*, simply carried on the Platonic tradition, filling in details

which were missing in Plato's dialogues, expanding his research into fields which were for reasons unknown not treated by Plato.

Every philosopher takes something for granted. If one examines his arguments, one will naturally discover what his assumed premises are. We have made such an examination of Aristotle, the partial results of which have already been published,¹ and here undertake to gather together some of his pre-suppositions into logical form. The result brings out clearly what might have been suspected, that Aristotle has in the back of his mind what we might call a "protophilosophy" of whose truth he is so convinced that he never argues about it. The conflict which gives the title to this paper can be found in this protophilosophy and may be traced to his acceptance and peculiar elaboration of the Platonic theory of ideas. We shall consider the conflict under the following headings: 1) Nature and Chance, 2) The Goodness of Nature, 3) the Priority of the Natural, 4) Value-assumptions.

I.

NATURE AND CHANCE.

That Aristotle believed in something called "chance" needs no demonstration; just what he meant by the term is perhaps less clear. It should first be noted that he never seeks to prove its existence; he assumes it.

In the second place, chance is contrasted with nature. Whatever nature is, it is something which does not contain chance or operate by chance. Thus we find the following assertions which are used as premises in the Aristotelian corpus.

Nature leaves nothing to chance (*De Caelo* 290 A 31). In this place the axiom is used to prove that stars would have organs of motion if they moved. *Nature is no wanton or random creator* (291 B 14); therefore if the stars moved they would have a shape adapted to motion. *No natural fact can originate in chance* (301 A 11).²

¹ Cf. "The pre-suppositions of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*," *A.J.P.*, 1930, pp. 36 ff.; "The Pre-suppositions of Aristotle's *Physics*," *A.J.P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 21 ff.; "The Pre-suppositions of Aristotle's *Psychology*," *A.J.P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 275 ff.

² "Nature" is used in various senses by Aristotle. I here discuss only one of them.

In these assumptions "by chance" means clearly enough "without a purpose," "in vain." They therefore mean about the same thing as the famous Aristotelian phrase, *Nature does nothing in vain*. They do not, however, imply that chance events do not occur. On the contrary, Aristotle is emphatic that they do occur. But they are not "natural" events. Thus we find him stating, in the *Physics* (188 A 31 ff.), that the only random events are accidental. This is what rhetoricians call "granted matter" and, as a matter of fact, contains material for a definition of chance events. Every event for Aristotle is the realization of a form. We may define a natural event as an event in which the final cause is identical with the essence; an unnatural event as one in which the final cause is an accident. Among accidental events, chance will be found; no purpose is realized which could properly be called a natural purpose. Just what a natural purpose is will, I hope, become clearer later on in this paper.

The classification of chance events with accidental events—in the technical sense of "accidental"—is justified by Aristotle's own definition of "chance" (*Rhetoric* 1369 A 32 ff.), "Those things that happen by chance are all those whose cause cannot be determined, that have no purpose, and that happen neither always nor usually nor in any fixed way."³ Though this sentence in itself would suffice to establish the sharpest distinction between natural and chance events, it can be strengthened by others. Thus the opening of the fifth chapter of *Physics* II makes the distinction between those things which happen always in the same way or for the most part and those which do not. The second class is chance events. Continuing the distinction, Aristotle points out how chance events are always incidental (*κατὰ συμβεβηκός*). This passage in connection with the definition of *συμβεβηκός* in the "Philosophical Lexicon" in *Metaphysics* IV, chap. 30 or *Metaphysics* 1065 A 1 ff. should remove any doubt which may exist about this identification. In fact the chance as the accidental is also used in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Magna Moralia* (cf. 1206 B 38) and *Eudemian Ethics* (1247 A 32), which leads one to believe that it became part of the Aristotelian tradition. It thus appears clear that Aristotle is asserting the existence of two kinds of events, one of which occurs in a constant fashion, establishes a rule or what we should call

³ The Oxford translation is used throughout.

a law; the other of which occurs irregularly, only once or at most twice. The former are called "natural," the latter "chance." If an event occurs but once, then its cause cannot be determined, for there is no knowable cause of a particular event; knowledge is possible only in the case of classes of things. We may, then, observe or perceive or feel particular events, but we cannot have knowledge of them. This is exactly the Platonic distinction between knowledge and opinion, knowledge in both authors pertaining only to universals, opinion to particulars.

If the world were perfect, there would presumably be no particular events in it. All things would fall into classes whose general traits would permit the formulation of laws. But the world is imperfect since universals are incorporated. Matter presumably individualizes them. How it performs this function is nowhere explained, nor could it be explained satisfactorily since matter is unknowable. Be that as it may, an incorporated essence is not only unknowable, it is also imperfect, approximating, but never attaining, its ideal form. The question consequently arises how we can know the forms in their incorporated condition, since every incorporation is a corruption of the form. The answer should be that we never can know them, but, as readers of the *De Anima* will recall, Aristotle is himself in conflict on this point. He believes 1) that sensory objects are particulars (*De Anima* 417 B 22) and the objects of understanding (*ἐπιστήμη*) universals and 2) that sensation is the receptacle of "sensible forms without their matter" (424 A 18; 425 B 23-24). But a form, sensible or not, without matter cannot be a particular and, if it is not a particular, then sensation cannot be change ("alteration") as he maintains it is in still another passage (415 B 24; cf. 416 B 34). What this amounts to is that Aristotle is faced with the problem of the *Meno*. That problem may be stated, How can one know—in the Aristotelian sense of "know"—what one is observing? To know it requires knowing its form at least, and the form is a universal. But one is confronted in perception with particulars. The problem might be expected to have been solved by the doctrine of potential forms, and no doubt Aristotle thought it was so solved, but since the forms are corrupted by incorporation, one never knows what one has before his eyes, however well he may perceive it.

II.

THE GOODNESS OF NATURE.

The order of Nature may be considered to be a name for the logical hierarchy of classes from *infima species* up to *summun genus*. Theoretically, if one knew the *summun genus* and had the proper logical technique, one could know, by logical processes alone, everything else which was natural. But no logical process could divide even the *infimae species* into particulars or existing things; to use the language of logicians, only an existence-postulate could establish a material world of observation and an existence-postulate is logically gratuitous. Over against the order of Nature is the disorder of perception, chance, aimlessness, perversion, corruption, change, particularity. So much is simple description and although some of the terms still have unpleasant connotations, the disagreeableness is not logical, but psychological.

To Aristotle also the idea of Nature carried along with it a connotation of value. That is an assumption, not a deduction. Its clearest form is perhaps that given in *De Caelo* (288 A 2-3) :

Nature always does the best possible thing.

He uses this assumption here to explain the direction of heavenly motion. Having stated the absoluteness of directions (*De Caelo* B, 2), and the superiority of up to down, right to left, front to back, he attributes to the heavens the better direction. That certain directions are inherently better than others is a dogma which recalls the Pythagorean table of opposites as given in the *Metaphysics* (986 A 22-26) :

limit	unlimited
odd	even
one	many
right	left
male	female
resting	moving
straight	curved
light	darkness
good	bad
square	oblong ⁴

⁴ For the historical background, see Ross' commentary on this passage, in *Aristotle's Metaphysics* (1924), I, pp. 150 ff.

It is next to impossible to discover why Aristotle accepted this list and thought that the left-hand side of the table should be good and the right-hand bad. It is possible that the right-hand side lists privations, which are of course evil, privations of the characters listed in the left-hand side. It will be remembered that St. Augustine and some of his Stoic predecessors—one might, with some reason add Plotinus also—reasoned to the unreality of evil from this very point of view: it was the privation of goodness and nothing more. To interpret them as privations would put a strain on our verbal sense, but Ross has suggested how the words with bad connotations can be listed as “indefinite” terms, and the indefinite is clearly the privation of limits. That beings who are marked by privation are evil is clearly seen in such passages as *Politics* A, 5 and 6, where Aristotle justifies natural as opposed to legal or conventional slavery: the natural slave is deprived of his reasoning powers and is therefore an unnatural man.

There is, however, in the *De Caelo* (286 A 23) a presupposition which cannot be reconciled with this acceptance of the Pythagorean table. I refer to the assumption, “If one of the opposites is natural, the other must be natural too.” Aristotle uses this to prove that if Earth exists, Fire must also exist, since Fire is the opposite of Earth. This would mean that if good is natural, then evil must be equally natural; if the one is natural, so must the many be. The bad qualities, then—unless they are privations—, must be as natural as the good. Moreover, Fire, we must remember, is somehow more real than the other elements. It is that element which corresponds to form while Earth corresponds to matter, being respectively the absolutely light and the absolutely heavy (*De Caelo* Δ, 4). Form is better than matter and, if both contraries are natural, then evil is as natural as good and we cannot explain it as a simple privation. We thus find that there is an equation between the natural and the good, the unnatural and the bad; we also find that both opposites are natural if one is and yet that in some cases one opposite is bad and the other good. We have also the theory noted in the *Ethics* and elsewhere, that, regardless of the naturalness of two opposites, both are bad and only the mean is good.

Though there is an extended discussion of the nature of goods in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1096 A 11 ff.) and the *Rhetoric*

(1362 A 15 ff.), the most useful presentation of this problem, useful, that is, for our present purpose, occurs in the *Politics*. For in that treatise are to be found several presuppositions which clearly assume the existence of non-human goods resident in the natural order whose value is independent of mankind. The following are the most important:

- 1) The superiority of the final cause and end of a thing (*Politics* 1252 B 34) ; cf. *Metaphysics* (982 A 14-17)
- 2) The superiority of the self-sufficient (1253 A 1)
- 3) The superiority of the whole to the part (1288 A 26-27)
- 4) The evil of things which are contrary to nature (1325 B 9-10)
- 5) The goodness of the mean (1295 B 3-4).

If the natural is the purposive and the unnatural the random, then the first of these presuppositions becomes clearer, for purpose always strives towards an end and the end is the final cause. The fourth assertion clearly states that the unnatural is evil, and, since the purposeless is the unnatural, the random would be evil. Thus in the *Politics* (1323 B 27 ff.) Aristotle argues that external goods which come "of themselves" and by chance are inferior to happiness, and in the same treatise later (1332 A 30 ff.) it appears that the alternatives to chance are knowledge and purpose. In accordance with this principle that chance is worse than the purposive, he maintains (1252 A 31-32), that "that which can foresee by the exercise of the mind is by nature intended to be lord and master." The only logical process, if one eliminate natural rhythms and cycles, by which one can foresee anything is implicated in the linkage of classes. Thus one can predict that, if a member of a species has certain characters, then any future members of the species will have them and any members of sub-species will have them too. For of course the characters of more inclusive classes are shared by the members of included classes. But it is also true that the characters of the species are the final cause of the members of the species, just as the characters of the genus are the final cause of the species within the genus. Thus in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, when Aristotle is discussing the end of man, he indicates first the distinguishing character of humanity which alone will determine the final good of all men. The problem of the man

who would be virtuous becomes the problem of realizing his human—not his personal—character, that which he shares with all men and which neither unnatural, immature, or perverted men nor animals nor plants manifest or can in the nature of things attain.

If my reasoning is correct, then numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 can be absorbed into one assertion,

The good is the natural,

where “natural” will mean “that which is in accordance with logical order.” But this principle would account neither for the goodness of the left-hand side of the Pythagorean table nor for the 5th of our presuppositions of value, the goodness of the mean.

Aristotle has probably accepted the idea that the mean is better than the extremes from proverbial philosophy. He uses related standards—excessive size, symmetry, regularity—in quasi-aesthetic discussions: e. g., political revolutions spring from a disproportionate increase in any part of the state (*Politics* 1302 B 34 ff.); extreme democracy and oligarchy are self-destructive (1309 B 23 ff.); the necessity of limiting the size of a population (1326 A 31-32); city planning (1330 B 22 ff.). That the mean is more natural than the extreme could not be proved, for the Aristotelian logic with the law of excluded middle would seem to preclude the natural existence of means. Yet in *De Generatione et Corruptione* (318 B 27 ff.) there is a hint of the hierarchy of reality which was to be carried out in neoplatonism, and Water and Air, which come between Earth and Fire, are held to be more real than Earth, though less real than Fire, and in the biological treatises there is mention of zoophytes which are between plants and animals.⁵ But in general it may be said that the mean is found only in the ethical treatises and ethics is not a subject admitting of exact reasoning; Aristotle in fact even there introduces his discussion of the mean with a sort of apology (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1104 A 10). Good behavior is of course a kind of art; it is not instinctive; and consequently the value of the mean might be more properly treated as pertaining only to artificial change. We may here, however,

⁵ There is a hint of the hierarchy in *De Part. Animal*, 611 B 18-20, where Aristotle asserts that celestial bodies show more order than terrestrial beings do.

point out that it cannot be reconciled with the rest of Aristotle's system.

We have then identified the good with the natural as a general principle. (Other criteria of value will be discussed below.) This identification proves to have been used by Aristotle on several occasions. Thus he argues from the rightness of the natural to there being some justification for self-love (*Politics* 1263 A 40 ff.); again he will argue from the self-sufficiency of the state and the dependence of the individual when isolated to the greater naturalness of the state and its "priority" to the individual (*Politics* 1253 A 25 ff.). In the third place, he can prove that tyranny, oligarchy, democracy are bad because they are perverted, unnatural forms of government (*Politics* 1287 B 40). At the same time we must point out that he is not entirely self-consistent. In *Politics* A, 6 (1255 B 2-4) he asserts that nature does not always accomplish her purposes and in the same treatise later (1259 B 1-4) he grants that there are exceptions to the order of nature. This is simply an admission of chance in the sphere of political philosophy. But, when he is discussing the three things which make men good and virtuous, he points out clearly that nature is not sufficient (*Politics* 1332 A 38 ff.). In fact, in at least one place he reasons that "men do many things against habit and nature, if rational principle persuades them that they ought" (1332 B 6-8). In this passage he means by "nature" the specific innate psycho-physical equipment of the individual and not human nature in general. It is possible for a man's personal nature to be in contradiction with human nature and yet for him to be rational and to pursue human rather than personal ends. There is no inconsistency in the existence of a conflict between individual character and human nature; it is analogous to that between nature and chance. What requires explaining away is the apparent contradiction between an individual's being able to control his own nature and orient it in the path of reason—Nature—when it is innately set on a diverging path.

We thus see that in his normative, as in his descriptive, concepts the two ideas of the structure of Nature are in discord: Nature as a system of fixed species in which the principle of excluded middle rigidly obtains; and Chance as a realm of disorder. Man's ethical problem is to make his life which is partly lived in the latter approximate that of the former. Since the

former concept is confused with a second picture of Nature as a hierarchy in which there is mediation between levels, there is no possibility of reconciliation.

III.

THE PRIORITY OF THE NATURAL.

The simplest statement of this principle occurs in *De Caelo* (286 A 18):

The natural is prior to the unnatural.

If we define the "natural" as the orderly, in the sense of the logical hierarchy, this presupposition would read: *The orderly is prior to the random* or even: *The purposive is prior to the purposeless*. The full meaning of the axiom does not appear, however, until the meanings of "prior" are clarified.

Priority may be of the following kinds:

1) *Natural priority.*

In *Metaphysics* 1010 B 37 f. is to be found the phrase: the mover is prior by nature to the moved. The phrase is used to prove that there must be something prior to sensation which will be the object of sensation. Later in the same treatise (1018 B 9 ff.), Aristotle equates natural priority with "absolute" priority and speaks of things which are "nearer some beginning" in the various natural series, such as time or movement. Yet natural priority does not mean temporal priority, for the Prime Mover has natural priority and yet must not be earlier in the temporal series than that which it moves. It has of course no place in the temporal series at all. It is, in Aristotle's words (*Metaphysics* 1072 A 25), "eternal, substance and actuality." The mover in a temporal series may or may not cease to exist after the series has been initiated by it; its analogy to the Prime Mover lies merely in its function as mover. Natural priority therefore would seem to mean proximity to the mover.

In the *Categories* (14 B 12-13) the cause of a thing "may reasonably be said to be by nature prior to the effect." The examples given are the existence of a fact which is the cause of the truth of a proposition correctly expressing the fact. This example is especially interesting in that here the naturally prior is not temporally prior. Similarly in the *Physics* (265 A 22-23)

the completed is said to be prior to the incomplete in the order of nature as well as in other ways including that of temporal order; the completed is temporally prior to the incomplete only in the case where the latter is an individual event of which the form must have existed before its incorporation. In such cases even the Prime Mover—who is not in time—is nevertheless temporally prior to the existence of individual events (*Metaphysics* 1050 B 4 ff.). As is stated in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1112 B 23-24), "What is last in the order of analysis seems to be first in the order of becoming."⁶

If these remarks are just, then the naturally prior would appear to be absorbable into the logically prior, for the natural order is fundamentally a logical order.

2) *Logical priority.*

The definition of the kinds of priority which is given in the *Categories* (14 A 26 ff.) provides no clear idea of what logical order is. The order of the number series is not given as an example of logical order but of the order of a "sequence of being." "If 'two' exists, it follows directly that 'one' must exist, but if 'one' exists, it does not follow necessarily that 'two' exists." To us the order of the cardinal numbers is determined by certain logical considerations among which are definitions of precisely the relation subsisting between the numbers, which determines their sequence. But for Aristotle logical order is classified with rhetorical order, as simply a kind of order, as if there were no peculiarly important characteristic of it which ought to be distinguished. The relation between the elements and propositions of geometry is compared first to the relation between the exordium of a speech and the narrative and, second, to the relation between the letters of the alphabet and the syllables composed of them. The logical order which characterizes the order of nature is not analogous to that between premises and conclusion but rather to that between genus and species or actuality and potentiality.

3) *Epistemological priority.*

Epistemological priority is much more important in Aristotle's writings than logical priority. Aristotle assumes that the world is intelligible, but its intelligibility has never exactly the same

⁶ Cf. *De Part. Animal.* 646 A 25-27.

limits as the natural order. The natural order is, as we have seen, limited by the imperfections of the material world, which presumably are the conditions of chance, corruptions, perversions, failures in the process of realization. In so far as the world is imperfect, in so far as it exhibits change (*Metaphysics* 1010 A 8-9) we cannot know it; we can observe it, but we cannot know what we are observing. Knowledge is knowledge of the four causes (*Metaphysics* 994 B 29-30), among which is matter, and complete accuracy is to be found only in the field of the universals—where there is no matter.⁷

Among the subjects which have epistemological priority are first the changeless (*Metaphysics* 1063 A 13 ff.). Attacking the sensationalists, Aristotle points out that there are some things in nature which do not change and that knowledge should begin with them rather than with the flux. The flux exists, to be sure, and enters into man's experience, but it cannot be known. The essence of things is revealed by the qualities (*Metaphysics* 1063 A 27) and not by quantity, and the flux is explicable only to the extent to which it is a flux of qualities. These, once they have arisen, may disappear, but their quality never increases nor diminishes; such terms simply do not apply to qualities. Since all change is reducible to the realization of forms, even in the case of local motion, there is a changeless factor in all change—the forms which are in process of realization. One cannot by the very nature of things observe the form during the process of realization, for 1) the process may through accident cease before it reaches its termination, 2) the form does not appear until the process is completed. One must therefore know *a priori* what kind of process is being observed. Presumably we should know the things necessary for knowledge if we began our education with philosophy, for philosophy is absolutely true. Its truth arises from the fact that it has to do with eternal, not temporal, things. But Aristotle does not explain how man living in time can reach eternity. It probably does not appear to him to be a problem. For he identifies man with the reason and the reason is the home of the eternal. Presumably, when a man thinks, eternal beings make their presence felt simultaneously.

⁷ There is a possibility that they have *noetic matter*. For an interpretation of this difficult concept, see Ross' edition of the *Metaphysics* (II, p. 199 on *Metaphysics* 1036 A 9-10).

To know what is epistemologically prior is to start building on a safe foundation. Such knowledge will eliminate at once all unnatural events, for nothing unnatural is eternal (*De Caelo* 286 A 17-18); it will eliminate all incapacity, for incapacity is unnatural (288 B 24-25); it will not eliminate all motion, for some natural things move (*Physics* 185 A 12-13); it will eliminate the imperfect, for the eternal is perfect (*Metaphysics* 1051 A 19-21). It ought to make all science purely deductive. It could never occur to one who deals exclusively with the eternal, then, that there could be a material world, a world in which chance might be found, in which any process would go wrong, in which anything might happen "contrary to nature." Such information would arise from perception, though how one would know what was going wrong or contrary to nature is not explained.

Yet Aristotle does not hesitate at times to call upon perception as evidence of science. He calls upon it to disprove other people's theories and to prove his own. In fact, in one place he maintains that "to gain light on things imperceptible, we must use the evidence of sensible things" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1104 A 13-14). Thus Empedocles is criticized for not adducing observed cases of the alternation of Love and Strife (*Physics* 252 A 27 ff.); Melissus for not following sense-perception when he denied motion and asserted the limitlessness of the existent (254 A 24); the Pythagoreans for twisting observations to suit their theories (*De Caelo* 293 A 25 ff.); Plato, for stating in the *Timaeus* certain theories of heaviness and lightness which are contradicted by fact (*De Caelo* 308 B 13 ff.). He himself adduces sense-perception as evidence in the *De Anima* (421 B 18-19) of the necessity for man of inhalation to the sense of smell; in the *De Caelo* (295 B 19-21) when he appeals to it to show that the element Earth remains at the center and moves towards the center. His formal proof of the earth's sphericity (*De Caelo* 297 B 23 ff.) is corroborated by sensory observation and he appeals to fact to establish the existence of alteration (*De Generatione et Corruptione* 314 B 12 ff.). But the most extraordinary case of this "empirical" side of his thinking occurs in *De Caelo* (279 B 18-19) when he says, "We should assert with reason only what we see occurring in many or all cases." He is here falling back on his rough and ready rule of procedure (*De Caelo* 301 A 7-9), "The nature of things is the nature which

most of them possess for most of the time." This is of course what everyone does as a matter of fact and no one has as yet developed a purely deductive science whose conclusions are strictly according to fact. But, though we may accept this as the case, we cannot maintain that Aristotle has exhibited any methodological elegance in accepting it. He has given no reason why he should have to fall back on sense-perception, and the presuppositions of his system are such that such a relapse into "empiricism" ought to be unnecessary. We of course today face the same problem. The facts approximate laws but do no more than approximate them; the laws can be refined into quasi-mathematical principles, but only at the cost of exact applicability.

So far we have named three types of priority. Sometimes Aristotle speaks of the prior without qualification. Thus, to recall a passage already referred to (*De Caelo* 286 A 18-19), the natural is prior to the unnatural; in the *Metaphysics* (1010 B 37) the mover, the essential (1065 B 2), the changeless (1063 A 13-15), the form (1084 B 5) are all prior. In the *De Caelo* (286 A 25-26) the positive is prior to its privation, the one to the many within a genus, the simple to the complex (286 B 16 ff.). In all of these cases Aristotle is speaking about epistemological priority, though he does not say so, and asserting that one cannot know the unnatural, the moved, the accidental, the changing, the privative, the many, the complex, until one has known the natural, the unmoved, the essential, the unchanged, the positive, the one, the simple. But, when we speak of "knowing" these things, we cannot mean by "know" "knowledge of the four causes," for none of them has any causes. They are themselves essences which serve as causes for other things, final and formal causes, not efficient or material. They must be known otherwise, and the only other way of knowing anything is contemplation.

That Aristotle believed in the mind's power to contemplate universals needs no argument. But, if one desires a clear statement of what such contemplation would be like, one has only to turn to the third book of the *De Anima*, chap. 7. Where actual knowledge, as differentiated from potential, is asserted to be identical with its object. In his own words, "In every case the mind which is actively thinking is the objects which it thinks" (*De Anima* 431 B 17). This is similar to the mystic vision of

God, in its identification of subject and object. There can be no falsehood here, for falsehood occurs only in synthesis (*De Anima* 430 B 2). Synthesis is effectuated through the power of reasoning (*dianoia*), but why the reasoning power should make false syntheses is unexplained. For contemplation could not be mistaken about a complex intelligible.

We must leave this problem as we find it and turn to the final aspect of priority. The term which so far has appeared to be purely descriptive is also normative. We have seen that the things listed as prior are all good, but Aristotle also maintains that "where one is better and another worse, the better is always prior" (*Metaphysics* 999 A 13-14). Here he is thinking of the forms or genera, and, since the genera are susceptible of a hierarchical arrangement, it was possible for Aristotle's successors to read into the logical hierarchy a hierarchy of value. On that basis the neo-platonists were to equate the *ens realissimum* with the *ens perfectissimum* and goodness was to be identified with actuality. The only good for anything was to be itself, not, however, as an individual thing with all its peculiarities but as an exemplification of a class. The eternal—the forms—, being the standard of perfection, could not be bad. Perversions, however, just because they were not anything completely, were intrinsically evil (*Metaphysics* 1051 A 21). Thus we are to assume, he says (*Physics* 260 B 22-23), that the better exists in nature. It explains why he said in the *Politics*, "The final cause and end of a thing is the best" (1252 B 34) or came out flatly with the principle, "Nothing that is contrary to nature is good" (*Politics* 1325 B 9-10). (Therefore retail trade, which is contrary to nature, is bad.) The principle had been used before, notably by the Cynics; it was of course part of Greek proverbial philosophy; but in Aristotle its meaning had become the very reverse of what it had been to the Cynics and other primitivists. In them it meant frequently: Follow the animals or savages; seek the natural in the undeveloped, the source. In Aristotle, on the contrary, it meant: Follow the gods, seek the Prime Mover, the end. For to him the contrary to Nature was bound to be either that which does not achieve its purpose (i. e. that which does not realize its potencies) or that which realizes an accident rather than its essence, and evil becomes identifiable with the incomplete.

IV.

VALUE-ASSUMPTIONS.

Nature is not only a system of logical order but a purposive system. It is when Aristotle speaks of natural teleology that his assumptions about value appear most clearly. Thus we find him saying that, when Nature achieves its purposes, it always follows the best course (*De Caelo* 288 A 2 ff.); that Nature is better and more exact than any art (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1106 B 14-16); that nothing contrary to Nature is good (*Politics* 1325 B 9-10). These three sentences are used by him as premises of arguments to prove respectively that 1) the heavens follow a circular path, because a circular path is the best path,⁸ 2) that virtue must aim at the mean, just as good artists do, avoiding excess and defect, 3) that the rule of a really virtuous and wise man ought to be followed, for to follow virtue and wisdom is natural.

It is interesting to observe that the first two of these statements are aesthetic in their connotation and are proposed as self-evident truths. No reason here is given⁹ why circularity is better than any other shape; its superiority is stated along with that of the upper region and forward movement, as if it were part of general knowledge—knowledge which is, I suppose, preserved in English in the use of such a term as “superior” for “better.” The third statement also had become by Aristotle’s time a bit of popular philosophy, so that it was of little importance whether anyone knew what the word, Nature, meant.

The goodness of a logical order, in which the achievement of purpose could at a minimum be predicted, appears clearly in an argument in the *Politics* (1323 B 27 ff.) in which the equating of this kind of order with Nature is indubitable: Things which come of chance are not so good as things which come of knowledge and purpose. For this reason external goods—which come by chance—are worse than happiness which, according to the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1099 B 20) comes from study—wherefore neither animals nor children can be happy. Aristotle is willing to accept any blessings which chance may confer, but he insists

⁸ He uses this argument with a certain hesitation.

⁹ *Metaphysics* 1016 B 16-17 gives a reason for the perfection of circularity, but it merely substitutes one ultimate term, unity, for another, circularity.

(*Politics* 1332 A 30 ff.) that virtue and goodness in the state are not a matter of chance but the result of knowledge and purpose. It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. If virtue is an end, the final cause of something, it fits into the natural order and the technique of discovering the end of mankind is to discover his "natural" final cause. Since the only way of knowing the natural order is through the reason, the only way of pursuing virtue would be first to learn its character through rational inquiry. The intellectualistic slant of Aristotle's thinking is of course an old story, but it sometimes makes itself felt in unsuspected ways. Thus, when he is discussing slavery, he points out the uselessness of studying corruptions; we can find the intentions of nature only "in things which retain their natures" (*Politics* 1254 A 36 ff.). But it is clear that such things could be discovered only by rationalistic, rather than empirical, methods. And these methods could at best show one simply what logical genera of things existed and from that knowledge one might deduce what the purpose of the various members of the genera were. But it could not show one whether any such genera were to be found anywhere on earth so that "nature's intentions" might, as a matter of hard fact, never be actually discovered in corporeal form. It must be noted that Aristotle himself seldom uses the rationalistic technique of discovering what is according to nature and what not; he seems to know the natural, or, at any rate, he states what is and is not natural without research, as if no problem were involved. For instance, in the passage just referred to, we learn that the rule of the soul over the body and of the intellect over the appetites is natural; that tame animals are superior to wild animals, that men are superior to women. Whether he saw that any methodological problem was involved or not we have no way of knowing, but it is worth observing that he goes as far as to say that Nature "would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making one strong for servile labor, the other upright" (*Politics* 1254 B 27). But he does not explain why her desires are not satisfied. That they are not satisfied is only too clear (see also *Politics* 1255 B 2-4; 1259 B 1 ff.). The answer is that the material world impedes the fulfilment of the natural order and the old inner conflict in Aristotelianism, which we have seen operating in other situations, makes its presence felt again.

The recourse to observation, which should be unnecessary, appears above all in such passages as those which deal with pleasure. There is no systematic reason why good deeds should be pleasurable; good deeds are simply those which realize man's essence as man. But Aristotle observes (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1157 B 16-17) that Nature seems above all to avoid the painful and to aim at the pleasant. This can be nothing more than an empirical induction. It is given as a reason why old people and sour people do not make friends easily. But one might argue that old people might be expected to have realized rational animality more completely than the young and that therefore, whether their society is pleasant or not, one ought to cultivate their friendship, especially since Aristotle also maintains (*Politics* 1329 A 14 ff.) that "the order prescribed by nature" has "given to young men strength and to older men reason."¹⁰ If they actually are unpleasant, their disagreeableness ought to be a sign of something due to chance, not nature. Now Aristotle does not say in this place that Pleasure is a sign of goodness and that one ought to seek the pleasant and avoid the painful. But he does nevertheless elsewhere use the pleasant as a norm. For instance in the *Politics* (1263 B 5 ff.), when he is arguing against communism, he maintains as one of the more conclusive arguments that a communistic régime would deprive a man of the pleasure of making gifts to his friends. Again in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1119 A 22), when he is discussing self-indulgence and cowardice, he graduates the amount of reproach which these sins deserve by the amount of pleasure they offer. There is, to be sure, in Aristotle a difference between psychic and bodily pleasures (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1117 B 28 ff.). The bodily pleasures are worse than the psychic because they bring us closer to the brutes (1118 B 2 ff.) and therein, we may assume, they cause us to descend the scale of beings and obstruct the realization of our human form. Psychic pleasures are not opposed by Aristotle. They appear to accompany voluntary acts and voluntary acts are precisely the subject-matter of ethics. Pain is in fact the consequence of compulsion and praise and blame are properly given only to voluntary acts (*ibid.* 1109 B 30 ff.). Thus Aristotle is not indifferent to the hedonistic coefficient of behavior but hesitates to use it as a standard of good and bad.

¹⁰ Cf. *Problemata*, XXX, 5; 955 B 22 ff.

devised for the attainment of ends: we drink to quench our thirst, we eat to sustain life, we carve to make statues, and so on; therefore, since the means would not be what they are were it not for the ends, the ends contain, so to speak, the value which justifies the means. Psychologically, however, people become interested in certain processes, take pleasure in them—or a more edifying term, if one prefers—and the means become of value in themselves, whether they reach their destined end or not. Here we have Lessing's choice of the search for truth rather than its attainment, Novalis' search for the ever-retreating blue flower, yearning for the Infinite, the pursuit of El Dorado. This possibility, as we have said, did not apparently occur to Aristotle. On the contrary, he flatly asserts that actions do not differ as honorable or dishonorable in themselves so much as in the end and intention of them (*Politics* 1333 A 9-11), though this opinion is somewhat qualified in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1110 A 13-14) by the assertion that the end of an action is relative to the occasion on which it is performed. Aristotle's use of this qualification shows that he is thinking of occasions in which a greater end is substituted for a lesser, thus causing a shift in the criticism of the action. His example is the justifiable throwing away of goods during a storm at sea to lighten the ship's load. There must have been Greeks who anticipated the German Romanticists in preferring means to ends. Why did Aristotle find it possible to neglect them but not the Greeks who believed in the superiority of leisure?

The least indefensible answer is that no man ever doubts the truth of his presuppositions; he presupposes them because they are self-evident to him. The fact that other people accept them too is added proof of their self-evidence. If there are human beings who do not accept them, they will tend to be obscured in the crowd of witnesses to the truth or to stand out as misguided heretics. Aristotle's presuppositions were the structure of his master's philosophy. They would have been accepted by all the thinkers whom he respected. How fully he accepted this structure is seen when one asks the question: How can one tell what ends are good and what bad? Strictly speaking the answer ought to be: There is only one good end for anything, the realization of its form. If the natural order were always fulfilled, there would be no interruption to the achievement of goodness. And when Aristotle comes to consider the highest good of mankind,

he finds it precisely in the peculiarly human, wherefore his definition of happiness. But at the same time he does not rely entirely on this argument but takes over an additional Platonic—and dominantly Pagan—criterion. When he introduces the concept of human happiness in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, instead of defending it as the realization of rational animality, he justifies it on the ground that it is not only final but also *self-sufficient*¹³ (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1097 B 7). So in the *Politics* (1253 A 1) it is asserted that “to be self-sufficing is the end and the best.” Thus the state must not be so unified that it is reduced to families or individuals, for the city is more self-sufficing than either families or individuals, and if self-sufficiency is to be sought—and it is to be sought—then a lesser degree of unity is desirable (cf. *Politics* 1261 B 10-15). But there are many forms or final causes or ends, as one chooses, which are not self-sufficient. In fact, when Aristotle is thinking of nature as a hierarchy, all ends below that of man become means to the attainment of man’s end and it is indeed possible so to interpret Aristotle that only one end will be self-sufficing, namely the realization of the form of the world. This is moreover in keeping with other critical principles of Aristotle: 1) that the whole is superior to the part (*Politics* 1288 A 26-27), 2) that change is bad (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1154 B 26-31), 3) that unity is better than variety (cf. *Politics* 1252 B 1-5), 4) that to act is better than to be acted upon (*De Anima* 430 A 18-19). The only complete whole is the universe; the only thing which does not change is the natural order; the only complete unity is the cosmos; the only agent which is never acted upon is the Prime Mover. If one followed this second set of criteria, one would become a sort of Plotinian mystic. But the one good being would even in that case transcend the realm of existence, not as Plotinus’ One transcends it—that is, metaphorically—but literally. For the world of chance is not a part of the world of nature in Aristotle nor an emanation from it. The problem of evil could therefore be translated into the problem of the existence of chance. And that problem, as we have seen, I hope, does not occur to Aristotle’s mind.

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¹³ For the definition of this concept see *Politics* 1326 B 29-30.

SPEECHES IN HERODOTUS' ACCOUNT OF THE IONIC REVOLT.

The almost complete absence of direct speeches in the earlier books of Herodotus contrasts with the free use of them in Books VII-IX. The reason may have been solely one of convenience and style. The great quantity and variety of materials in Books I-VI may have precluded such compositions. But another explanation seems at least possible. The speeches Herodotus inserted in the later books are, as I hope to show, his means of passing judgments, conveying opinions, in short of interpreting the events which he reports. The relative strangeness of the materials treated in Books I-VI, their remoteness from the historian's own experience, may have prevented his formulating opinions and passing judgments as he does in the later books by the direct speeches. This explanation is, I think, supported by the fact that Herodotus inserted speeches similar to those in Books VII-IX, that is speeches which accompany the narrative and interpret it, in the account of the first historical event near to his own time, namely in the account of the Ionic revolt. In this account we have a number of direct speeches attributed to different characters who are concerned with the direction of events. Precisely these speeches have been a stumbling-block to modern historians. They have objected to them as improbable and have put forward even severer criticisms in single instances, as we shall see later. When such criticisms are leveled at a writer like Herodotus it is at least worth while to reëxamine the case to be sure that they are not due to false interpretation. In what follows, then, we shall review the context in which these speeches are placed and attempt to see whether they do not after all serve a definite purpose.

Herodotus starts his narrative of the Ionic revolt by reporting the removal of Histiaeus from Miletus to Susa (V, 23-24), as is consistent with his view that the removal of Histiaeus was one of the causes of the revolt. For, as he says (V, 35, 4), the longing for his former position and influence leads Histiaeus to conspire with Aristagoras and thus to become the other instigator of the revolt. Each of the three stages of the removal is presented in a set of direct speeches: Megabazus' speech in V, 23, 2 opens

Darius' eyes to the dangerous influence of the position of Histiaeus and suggests the removal; Darius' message in V, 24 brings Histiaeus to Sardis, and his address in V, 24, 3 acquaints Histiaeus with Darius' wish for his constant presence in Susa and thus effects the removal. Thus a close connection between speeches and events is seen to exist. Because of this connection it has been suggested that these speeches (V, 23-24) are inserted merely to dramatize the events.¹ Yet a closer observation of their content shows that they have another purpose, namely to stress the importance of Histiaeus and of his removal to Susa.

The central figure of these speeches is Histiaeus. The first sentence of Megabazus' speech describes emphatically the position of this Greek *ἀνὴρ δεινός τε καὶ σοφός* who rules over countries of immense wealth, the population of which, Greek and barbarian, is ready to follow his command under all circumstances. The subsequent advice to remove this man only heightens the impression of his dangerous power. Darius' speeches do not lessen the effect of Megabazus' description. His courteous invitation, the flattering and courteous tone of his speech clearly reveal the concern felt about this dangerously powerful subject. Here too not the immediate aim, the removal to Susa, but the way in which this aim is attained determines the effect of the speech and makes the reader once more feel the importance of Histiaeus who is the subject of so much concern.

Next Herodotus deals with the event which in his opinion is the other cause of the Ionic revolt, the unsuccessful expedition undertaken by Aristagoras, the governor of Miletus, against Naxos (V, 28-35). Herodotus first gives a short survey of the situation in Miletus itself (V, 28-29) and then relates the origin of the expedition, the request for help by the refugees of Naxos (V, 30), and the arrangement made between Aristagoras and Artaphrenes (V, 31). In this part of the narrative a set of direct speeches is inserted. Aristagoras is the principal speaker addressing first the refugees and afterwards Artaphrenes. The short reply of Artaphrenes is not more than a delighted consent. The request and the demonstrations of the refugees are given in a few lines each. These speeches attract the attention from Aristagoras' speeches; they also are contained in the same three chapters.

¹ Felix Jacoby, *RE*, Suppl. II, s. v. "Herodotus," col. 193

The first speech (V, 30, 4) is a reply to the request of the refugees. Aristagoras starts by pointing out the implications of the enterprise. Aiding the refugees to return would mean war with the well-armed Naxians. For that Miletus' forces are not strong enough. Nevertheless Aristagoras does not decline the request but proposes to acquire the help of Artaphrenes. In the second part of the speech he explains why he means to approach Artaphrenes: he, the brother of Darius and governor of a wide territory, is the right man for organizing the expedition. The approval and further demonstrations of the refugees are indirectly reported. After that the scene shifts to Sardis and Aristagoras addresses Artaphrenes in another direct speech (V, 31).

The first part, praise of the advantages of Naxos, is given indirectly. The direct discourse starts with the request now made to Artaphrenes to back the cause of the refugees by sending an expedition to Naxos. The main part of the speech is taken up with pointing out all the favorable consequences which will result from the enterprise. And indeed it is an astonishing enumeration: since much wealth lies ready in Miletus, the expense will not be great for Artaphrenes, while the spoils will be the possession for the Persian king not only of Naxos but also of the neighboring islands, of Paros, Andros, and the Cyclades. From there an attack will easily be launched on Euboea, an island not smaller than Cyprus and not at all difficult to take. To conquer all that nothing is required but one hundred boats. Artaphrenes' answer is a delighted consent. His only doubt concerns the number of boats required and he proposes to send two hundred instead of the hundred requested by Aristagoras.

In V, 49 Herodotus inserted another direct speech attributed to Aristagoras. This speech has many qualities in common with the Aristagoras speeches which we have just reviewed and therefore it seems best first to turn to the speech in V, 49 and only afterwards to attempt to discern the purpose which Aristagoras' speeches have in Herodotus' account of the Ionic revolt.

The speech of Aristagoras in Sparta has been the subject of much discussion among students of Herodotus and yet, I think, an appropriate appreciation has not yet been given. The speech has generally been separated by its interpreters from the narrative in which Herodotus inserted it and thus, I feel, an under-

standing of its function has been rendered more difficult. Several interpreters have concentrated on the geographical content of the speech, the description of Asia Minor, and have suggested that Herodotus inserted the speech to introduce his description of the royal highway from the Ionic coast to Susa, which he presents in V, 52-54, with a vivid geographical and ethnographical account of Asia Minor in accordance with the map of the world mentioned in V, 49, 1.² This interpretation concentrates attention solely upon one side of the speech and neglects other features which, I think, make the speech a perfectly understandable part of the context in which it is inserted. Aristagoras came to Sparta to persuade Cleomenes to send support to the Ionic insurgents. Thus the speech ought to be persuasive, and we can consider it as extraneous to the events of which it is a part, as Deffner and Jacoby do, only if its content does not meet this demand of the situation. But the speech does comply with this need. Aristagoras pleads his case from point to point using all his persuasive power, as a short investigation will easily show.

The picture of the distress of the Greek kinsmen in Asia put at the beginning of the speech makes the requested support seem a kind of moral obligation. After that the persuasion is based on bright hopes for the easy success of the undertaking and for great gains from this success: 1) The Persians, inferior in fighting spirit and military equipment, will be easily defeated. 2) The countries of Asia Minor are full of riches which will be at the disposal of the Spartans if they take part. This point is much strengthened by the enumeration of the chain of wealthy places and countries stretching from the Ionic coast to Susa, the residence of the king. 3) These rewards are contrasted with those from the constant wars Sparta fights against her Greek neighbors whose small and poor countries offer nothing worth

² Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III (Stuttgart, 1901), p. 303; Felix Jacoby, *op. cit.*, col. 439; cf. also cols. 349 and 390; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912), ad V, 49; A. Deffner, *Die Rede bei Herodot und ihre Weiterbildung bei Thukydides* (Diss., Munich, 1933), p. 66. W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot* (Göttingen, 1921), pp. 145-146, understands the scene as a *royce complete* in itself, the point of which was the contrast between the eloquent Ionian and the ignorant Spartan. A similar interpretation is given by A. Maury, "Herodote et les Ioniens," *Rev. Et. Gr.*, I (1888), pp. 279-280.

sion of Asia must have seemed a striking example of the wild exaggeration of the Ionian imagination." I too think that the speech conveys an impression of exaggeration, but I think also that it was Herodotus' aim to convey just this impression, not, however, as an example of the working of the Ionian mind in general but as an example of the working of Aristagoras' mind, of his proneness to exaggerations and his lack of judgment. The importance of this representation of Aristagoras we realize fully when we consider the spirit of Herodotus' account of the Ionian revolt.

Herodotus' report of the Ionian revolt has been criticized since the time of Plutarch. The complaint has been made again and again that the report is falsified by a strong anti-Greek or anti-Ionian bias. The causes of this supposed bias are explained in different ways, none really convincing. And indeed it is, I think, not a bias by which Herodotus is influenced but a conviction.⁹ He does not see the revolt in the glorifying light of a struggle for freedom; he sees it only as the αἰτία of the Persian invasion of Greece and of all the κακά connected with it, as the ἀρχὴ κακῶν.¹⁰ The Persian-Greek struggle is part of the old struggle between Asia and Europe of which the earlier stages are enumerated in the proem chapters of the first book, but this time the Greeks are the cause of all the misfortune. This interpretation of the Ionic revolt as the starting point of a sequence of unfortunate events for all Greeks explains Herodotus' attitude towards the separate events of the revolt and towards its leaders. Such an unfortunate action cannot have been started by wise and well-judging men; it is the work of the ἀγνωμοσύνη of the Ionians

⁹ Cf. G. B. Grundy, *op. cit.*, p. 93: "The tale of the Ionic revolt is that part of Herodotus' history in which he allows his personal views most clearly to be seen. To him it seemed the great mistake of the century." Cf. also H. Berve, *Griechische Geschichte*, I (Freiburg, 1933), p. 220; Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci dalla Origine alla Fine del Secolo V* (Firenze, 1939), p. 211; A. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, p. 205 and *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, I (1888), p. 258. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III (Stuttgart, 1901), approves of Herodotus' attitude towards the revolt, but cf. his *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle, 1899) where he stresses the unheroic attitude of Herodotus' account, his failure to appreciate a war of liberation.

¹⁰ Karl August Pagel, *Die Bedeutung des aitiologischen Momentes für Herodots Geschichtsschreibung* (Diss., Berlin, 1927), pp. 25 ff.

as a whole¹¹ and especially of their leaders. The "hero" of the revolt is Aristagoras and against him Herodotus directs his heaviest wrath as is proved by the light in which he puts before us Aristagoras' part. The revolt is the work of his blindness. Finding himself in the catastrophe of one enterprise started on account of his ill-judged exaggerations, he has not the courage to face the consequences of his failure but starts the revolt to save his face. And, as if that were not enough, he goes to the Greek motherland and gains the support of Greek cities by the unfounded hopes he awakens by his exaggerating persuasion. Thus he becomes the cause of misfortunes for all the Greeks. In handling the strategical plan of the revolt he sets aside the wise counsel of Hecataeus.¹² And, when in consequence of many unwise moves the failure of the revolt is in sight, he again has not the courage to face the catastrophe but arranges his own escape and leaves his countrymen alone to bear the consequences of his actions (V, 126). That is the picture of Aristagoras which Herodotus conveys to us. In that picture the speeches he attributes to Aristagoras are of great importance. They give us the strongest impression of his character, clearly demonstrating his lack of judgment and clear-sightedness, his exaggerations and unfounded optimisms, to which the absence of any sensible plan for handling the revolt forms a sad contrast.

While Aristagoras directed the outbreak of the revolt Histiaeus stayed quietly in Susa. His connection with the revolt is mentioned only once, in V, 35. But this connection ought to be in our mind when we read the scene between Darius and Histiaeus in V, 106. The scene consists of two speeches. The first, made by Darius, serves as an introduction to the speech of Histiaeus. Darius' speech contains first a short résumé of the events reported in the preceding chapters, Aristagoras' rebellion, his stirring up of the revolt in Asia Minor, his connection with the European Greeks, and the sacking of Sardis. In the second part he accuses Histiaeus of conspiracy with Aristagoras. The accusation is, however, not put forward directly. It is contained in a number of rhetorical questions which reveal strongly enough the suspicion on which the accusation is held. Against that suspicion Histiaeus attempts to defend himself in his speech. As Darius has not

¹¹ VI, 10.

¹² V, 36.

formulated the accusation directly Histiaeus does not directly repudiate it but takes a more indirect way of arguing. He first wonders how a man enjoying a position like his could be brought to do such a thing. Next he assures Darius that Aristagoras acted on his own responsibility. Further he doubts the whole report of the revolt. From this he turns to a new argument. If the report is true the fault lies not with him but with Darius who caused his removal from Miletus, as a result of which the Milesians got the chance to do what they had long wanted to do but had not dared to undertake as long as they felt his vigilance. This argument forms for him the basis for proposing his own return to the coast as a remedy. This brings a new tone into the speech. Histiaeus is now no longer engaged in dispelling Darius' suspicion but is pursuing another aim. In V, 35 Herodotus had pointed out that it was the desire to return to the coast which led Histiaeus to participate in the insurrection. Thus, proposing his return as a remedy, Histiaeus is promoting his own interests. To persuade Darius to grant this wish Histiaeus points out two favorable prospects from his return, the pacification of Ionia and the conquest of new territory. This is why Sardinia is mentioned.¹³

Herodotus recalls the above scene in VI, 2, 2 when he contrasts Histiaeus' promises to Darius with his treacherous sedition after his arrival at the coast. By this action the duplicity of Histiaeus in the previous scene is brought to light. Histiaeus' open sedition is caused, as Herodotus puts it, by the reception he got from Artaphrenes (VI, 1). For, questioning him about the revolt of the Ionians, Artaphrenes realizes that Histiaeus does not answer but *τεχνάζων* formulates excuses for not answering. He therefore makes Histiaeus understand that his conspiracy with Aristagoras is seen through and thus forces him to open rebellion.

The scene between Artaphrenes and Histiaeus corresponds to the Darius-Histiaeus scene in V, 106. Even the very short report

¹³ I cannot follow R. W. Macan who in his commentary suggests that this passage was intended to be "sardonically comic." I feel rather inclined to think that Herodotus for the sake of the balance of the speech wanted to add another argument to Histiaeus' pleading for his return and, in order to avoid all implications which the naming of any Aegean island would have involved, mentioned Sardinia which more than once figures in his work as a well-known and much-aimed-at subject for colonization (cf. I, 170; VI, 24).

Herodotus gives in VI, 1, 1 brings out the similarity of the situation in both scenes and especially the similarity of Histiaeus' tactics both times. Each time he takes refuge in the same art of round-about speaking, *τεχνάζων* as Herodotus calls it. In speech V, 106 another feature is added which exposes impressively Histiaeus' art of playing a double game, when he forwards his own aim of returning to the coast by proposing it as a remedy in the existing situation. But I wonder whether we should confine the impression of Histiaeus' duplicity, thus conveyed, to his betrayal of Darius, as Grundy does.¹⁴ Darius is not the only person on whom Histiaeus uses his art. Others are Artaphrenes and the Ionians of Chios (VI, 3). Indeed, all through the story of the revolt as told by Herodotus scheming and duplicity are characteristics of Histiaeus. That Herodotus created the scene V, 106 with the aim of conveying to us an impression of these qualities of Histiaeus I think we should not doubt. Thus Histiaeus' speech in V, 106 can be considered complementary to Aristagoras' speeches in so far as it brings out the character of the second leader of the Ionic revolt in the light in which at least Herodotus saw and judged it.

Herodotus inserted another set of direct speeches into the chapters VI, 9-12. These chapters contain an important picture of the situation of the Ionians before the battle of Lade. Thus the appearance of direct speeches in these chapters should at once attract our attention. But so far the purpose of these speeches placed so close to the decisive battle has, I fear, not been recognized.

Speech VI, 9, 3 is an address made by the Persian generals to the Ionian tyrants serving with the Persian forces, asking them to induce their former subjects to separate from the Ionian forces. To that end a Persian message to the Ionians is formulated which consists of promises and threats,—promises of a general pardon and good treatment in case of obedience to the message, threats of all kinds of punishment in case of a prolongation of the fight and a Persian victory.

VI, 11 is a speech made by the Phocian leader Dionysius in the council of the Ionians. The speech has the form of the well-

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 101: "It (the scene) served also to bring into relief the duplicity of this Ionian tyrant towards a master and friend who trusted him but too implicitly."

known exhortation speech of epics, a connection which is well stressed by the quotation of *Il.*, K, 173 at the beginning of the speech. The Ionian choice lies between δουλεία and ἐλευθερία. Which lot they draw will be a matter of their own attitude. Discipline and training will promote victory, whereas disorder and quarrelling will endanger it. The speech concludes with an appeal to the Ionians to submit to the leadership of Dionysius. VI, 12, 1-2 describes the training which Dionysius makes the Ionians undergo. VI, 12, 3 reveals the reaction of the Ionians to that training. This speech of the Ionians is generally understood as a representation of Ionian cowardice and for this reason has met with the strongest criticism. R. W. Macan¹⁵ sees in the whole scene a satire on the Ionians and at the same time a justification of the later Athenian supremacy, a connection in which I cannot follow him. G. B. Grundy¹⁶ confronts the speech with the report of the courageous fighting of a part of the Ionian fleet and considers the speech an attempt to represent the Ionians in the worst possible light. He suspects behind the whole account a Samian source which had the tendency to justify the treacherous behavior of a part of the Samian ships in the battle. For the same reason F. Jacoby¹⁷ is convinced that the whole account is based on Samian sources.

By all these critics the speech is separated from the preceding two. An attempt to see the speech together with the preceding ones I cannot find. And yet it is my impression that the speeches in VI, 9-12 form a unity which must not be dissolved. In looking at them it is good to have in mind Herodotus' general hostile attitude towards the Ionic revolt. As I have pointed out, the revolt was in his opinion not an admirable fight for liberty but an unfortunate and ill-judged undertaking. The battle of Lade decided the struggle and the decision was catastrophic for the Ionians. But just before the battle, in Herodotus' opinion, a last chance to avoid the catastrophe was offered to the Ionians by the Persian message (VI, 9, 3). How seriously Herodotus took this offer and how much he disapproved of its rejection are shown

¹⁵ *Ad* VI, 12.

¹⁶ G. B. Grundy, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 and 127.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, col. 440; cf. also M. Cary, *C. A. H.*, IV, p. 215; T. R. Glover, *Herodotus* (Berkeley, 1924), p. 233, who follows G. B. Grundy and R. W. Macan, *ad* VI, 12.

by his much discussed remark in VI, 10 on the ἀγνωμοσύνη of the Ionians.¹⁸ As this chance of an honorable compromise was missed, the only hope for the Ionians lay in their fighting superiority. This is the line taken in Dionysius' appeal. But his address is not merely an appeal for courage and brave fighting. At the same time it points out the vital conditions for any superiority in the coming fight, namely the discipline and good training of the forces. To secure both Dionysius offers to command the Ionians. Thus another chance is offered to escape the final catastrophe. But again it is wasted by lack of common sense and judgment. For the speech Herodotus attributes to the Ionians is not, I think, a document of their cowardice but a record of their revolt against Dionysius' leadership and a picture of the lack of unity in the Ionian camp. The speech as such is just an example of the discontented talk going round the Ionian camp directed against the leadership of Dionysius. "He, a boastful, unimportant Phocian, who contributed not more than three ships, wants to command all the Ionians and make them undergo a strenuous training." These considerations put at the beginning of the speech are at the bottom of the revolt. What follows is just exaggerated talk, typical of a discontented mass. The language in which it is put makes clear the exaggeration of it all: *λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισι, . . . πολλοὶ μὲν . . . πολλοὶ δὲ . . .* And the following, too, is typical of the situation: "Nothing can be worse than the present and even the menacing slavery is to be preferred to the one we are suffering under now." This is discontent speaking and not cowardice. And the conclusion it all comes to is not to give up fighting and to bear the consequences but just no longer to endure Dionysius' command. The unity of the Ionian forces is lost, however, and the hopes held out in Dionysius' speech vanish. It is one of the consequences of this change that the Samians start secret negotiations with the Persians. The default of the Samian ships, with its effect on other detachments, is the turning point of the battle. The damage done by it cannot be repaired, not even by all the heroic bravery shown by other Ionians.

¹⁸ Cf. G. B. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 220, II. 17-18; G. B. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 220, II. 17-18; Dowdall, "Ionische Geschichtsschreibung," *Monist.*, LVII, 1 (1952), p. 116; A. Hauvette, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, I (1888), p. 233, II. 5. Deleury, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, 1. p. 11, n. 1.

Thus I do not think that Herodotus inserted the speech in VI, 12 because he wished to construct an excuse for the subsequent Samian behavior, as Grundy and Jacoby put it, nor that there is any charge of cowardice against the Ionians in the speech. I think that it was Herodotus' wish to expose by this speech what he thought to be another decisive blunder of the Ionians, another example of their *ἀγνομοσύνη*, so often blamed in his report of the revolt. In connecting the Samo-Persian negotiations with this revolt against Dionysius and the disorder created by it, Herodotus stresses the importance of these events. Disorder and lack of unity cause the decline of the resistance power of the Ionian forces and thus start the train of events which lead to the catastrophic outcome of the battle of Lade.¹⁹ Thus the speeches in VI, 9-12 as a whole bring into relief the Ionian situation before the battle of Lade and point out the qualities which Herodotus obviously considered the cause of the final failure of the revolt: The Ionians' lack of judgment, training, and unity,—defects which could not be offset even by the greatest heroism displayed in the actual fighting.

In looking back over all the speeches which Herodotus inserted in his account of the Ionic revolt we realize that the speeches are not mere ornaments, as might be thought at a first reading, but have an essential function in the account. They are the means by which Herodotus conveys to us impressions and considerations which he obviously thought important for an understanding of the course of the revolt and of its failure. Another way for Herodotus to put forward his own judgment would have been by personal remarks and comment, interspersed in the nar-

¹⁹ If we agree that in Herodotus' opinion the lack of discipline among the Ionians is one of the causes for their defeat at Lade, the speech of Dionysius in VI, 11 gains a new interest. For in this speech the Ionians are told that disorder will mean defeat and catastrophe for them. Thus the speech forecasts the coming troubles and interprets their importance for the outcome of the battle. The speech started in the form of an exhortation speech which in epics often announces decisive events. But its second part, which pictures the consequences of discipline and disorder, is an addition to the original exhortation speech of epics. The same observation can be made concerning the speech of Miltiades before the battle of Marathon (VI, 109). This speech, too, starts in the form of an exhortation speech and afterwards becomes a forecast, this time of the importance for Athens of the victory of Marathon (cf. A. Deffner, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

native. Obviously this way did not appeal to him. Personal remarks would have repeatedly interrupted the flow of his narrative and thus would not have enhanced its artistic effect. Herodotus wrote his history, as we can easily realize again and again, as a work of art. Chapters giving a summary of events or characterizations of historical personalities were not known to him.²⁰ The method he created for conveying his judgments is that of embodying his personal views in his historical narrative by means of the speeches. The use of this method can be observed in all the later books of his work, in the speeches we read in his accounts of the battles of Thermopylae, of Salamis, and of Plataea. All these speeches are, as I hope to show at another place, the means by which Herodotus expresses his personal impressions, views, and judgments on the events which he reports.

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²⁰ The only exception is the famous chapter VII, 139.

SOVEREIGNTY AND THE AMBITIOUS HERO.

In a recent number of this Journal (LXIII, pp. 444-454, "The Sovereignty of Erin") Mr. A. H. Krappe has argued that even in Indo-European antiquity there existed in popular thought the concept of Sovereignty as a beautiful woman who must be won by an aspiring hero. As evidence for this idea he cites stories from ancient Ireland, Persia, and India. He does not find a Greek example of this motif, but shows that another, which seems to run parallel with it, a beautiful animal (fawn, lamb, ram) as a symbol of kingship, is to be found in the story of the Golden Lamb of Atreus.

There would be nothing alien to the Greek mentality in a story that represented Sovereignty, in the guise of a woman, as setting a hero's feet on the road to kingship. If such a theme were known to the Greeks of the sixth century, it would help us to understand a curious incident related by Herodotus. In Book I, 60 he tells of the scheme used by the partisans of Peisistratus to bring him back from exile—a story so strange that Herodotus speaks of it with contempt as an affair that seemed for once to put Greeks, and more than that, Athenians, on the same level with the silly foolishness of barbarians. The friends of Peisistratus dressed a tall, handsome woman in full armor and drove her to the city in a chariot, with heralds running before and shouting, "Athenians, welcome Peisistratus kindly, for Athena, who has honored him above all men, is bringing him back to her own Acropolis." Peisistratus probably stood beside the false Athena in the chariot, though Herodotus does not say so. The absurd scheme succeeded, and Peisistratus came back into power for a time. It is scarcely necessary to remark that for an Athenian the concept of divine sovereignty was naturally represented by his city-goddess, even more than by Zeus himself.¹

¹ In his *Origin of Attic Comedy* (p. 26, and n. 3), Professor F. M. Cornford discusses *Plutus* 1191-4, where Plutus, as the new king, is to be installed in the opisthodomus. He remarks that "the obvious reason for installing Plutus in this chamber is that it was the treasury of state," but goes on to support his theory that Plutus is to become the husband of Athena by reference to a conjecture of A. B. Cook's. According to Cook, the back chamber of the Erechtheum was the room occupied

Is Basileia, the divine bride of Pisthetaerus in the *Birds*, an adaptation of this same folk-theme of the hero raised to kingship by his union with a fair woman who is Sovereignty? Aristophanes' metres (at 1537, 1753) show that this bride was *Βασίλεια*, Queen, rather than *Βασιλεία*, Sovereignty; though Coulon (on 1537) holds that there is a deliberate shortening of the final vowel comparable to the lengthening of the alpha of *ὑγίεια* in v. 604; that is to say, there is poetic licence in both places, and he therefore prints *Βασιλεία* when the metre does not require the other form. To one who considers the passage in the light of popular thought the choice between "Queen" and "Sovereignty" is of little importance. Nor need we consider at length the attempts that modern scholars have made to answer Pisthetaerus' question "Who is Basileia?" (1537).² To me it seems clear that Aristophanes had Athena somewhat in mind, for the fair maid who keeps the thunder of Zeus (1538) sounds much like Athena in Aeschylus, *Eum.* 827-8:

καὶ κληῖδας οἶδα δώματος μόνῃ θεῶν
ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἔστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.

Furthermore, if Athena can be glimpsed behind the name Basileia, the close of the *Birds* would agree more closely with the folk-tale formula in which the hero marries the daughter of the (usually malevolent) king, whom he dethrones and succeeds. But even comedy did not make loose jests about Athena, and Aristophanes may have chosen the name Basileia to avoid a possible complaint of impiety. A. B. Cook's theory (*Zeus*, III,

by the divine husband of Athena. "When Peisistratus drove into the city with a woman habited as Athena at his side and re-established his tyranny, he wished the people to regard him in that light and to see the Goddess escorting her consort to her dwelling on the Acropolis." Neither Cornford nor Cook makes use of Peisistratus' return in connection with the close of the *Birds*.—Cook may have abandoned this view in so far as it concerns Peisistratus. It was communicated personally to Cornford and was not published in the volumes of *Zeus* that appeared after Cornford's work, and I have not seen it elsewhere.

² They are conveniently summarized by Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 60, n. 5. Cornford identified the figure with Athena (*Antiquities of Athens*, p. 7, cf. *Art. Zeus* [Göttingen, 1848], pp. 121 ff.). The work is not accessible to me, and I give the reference on the authority of Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 60, n. 5. Euphronius in Schol. Rav. understood Basileia to be a daughter of Zeus; perhaps, as Cook says, an inference from v. 1538.

pp. 61-68) that the Argive Hera Basileia is meant is less satisfactory.

To follow this chain of hypotheses a little further, it is possible that in planning the *Birds* Aristophanes may have remembered Peisistratus' return to power sponsored by a supposed goddess; if so, there is more to be said than most critics allow for the form Πεισέραπος, rather than Πισθέραπος. As Πεισίστρατος is "persuader of the host," Πεισέραπος, who has no host of followers, is "persuader of his companion." It is true that the manuscripts, including the sixth-century parchment fragment published by Weil,³ read Πισθέραπος, with the common variation ε:αι in the second and third syllables. The case for Πισθέραπος has been most effectively stated by E. Kapp.⁴ An inscription (*I. G.*, II, 3, 1723 = *I. G.*, II², 5347) proves that Πισθέραπος was a genuine Athenian name; it does not prove that Aristophanes gave that name to his hero.

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³ *Rev. Phil.*, VI (1882), p. 182, and *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XXXI, 2, p. 128.

⁴ *Philol.*, LXXXIV (1928), pp. 259 f.

REVIEWS.

Zenon Papyri, Vol. II. Business Papers of the Third Century B. C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt. Edited with Introductions and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, CLINTON WALKER KEYES, and HERBERT LIEBESNY. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. x + 221. \$6.00.

The second volume of Zenon papyri in the Columbia collection reveals that mature craftsmanship which is formed when a sincere desire for technical perfection is joined to long experience of the obstacles in the way of its attainment. No better edition of documentary papyri has been produced in this country, and the Columbia editors clearly have spared neither time nor energy to make the results of their labor available in an accurate and comprehensive presentation. Their achievement is especially meritorious at a time when American papyrology, still in its infancy, is called on to prove that it can stand alone.

An edition of Zenon papyri implies a long period of preparation. Since the archive now consists of about fifteen hundred pieces distributed over less than a quarter of a century, from 260 to 237 B. C.,¹ anyone audacious enough to edit Zenon papyri must obtain mastery of an extensive documentary *corpus*. Undated texts must be assigned, when that can be done, to an approximate chronological position among the hundreds that are known. When fragments are in question, the entire group must be scanned for possible mates. The editor must have a fond eye for details of the personal interests and business enterprises of Zenon and his employer, Apollonios, the financial minister of Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus, as well as of countless other figures of high and low degree who move across a vast stage while the scene shifts from a camel caravan in Palestine to the palace of Apollonios in Alexandria, to a luxurious and busy *dahabiyah* moving leisurely over the lower stretches of the Nile, to a textile factory at Memphis, to a thriving estate of ten thousand *arouras* at Philadelphia in the Fayûm.² And this is but a suggestion

¹ The latest count was made by W. L. Westermann, *A. H. R.*, XLVII (1941), pp. 65 f. The number includes the published Columbia texts and the unpublished texts in the British Museum. Westermann does not mention a group of Zenon papyri at Yale University, which C. B. Welles had taken in hand before he was called into military service. The preparation of the collection in the British Museum has been entrusted to T. C. Skeat but will doubtless be delayed by the war.

² The standard accounts of the archive make pleasant reading: Michael Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C. A Study in Economic History* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 6 [Madison, 1922]); Paul Viereck, *Philadelphia. Die Gründung einer hellenistischen Militärkolonie in Ägypten* (Morgenland. Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens, Hft 16 [Leipzig, 1928]), pp. 25 ff.; C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XXIV [Ann Arbor, 1931]), pp. 1-50.

of the intricate story that must be known in all its complexity so that a new text bearing on an old affair will not go unrecognized.³

These functions of an editor of Zenon papyri are over and above the basic task of decipherment. The finest examples of Greek writing in the third century B. C., the so-called chancery hands, might be thought easy to read and are certainly good to look at, but the cursive script of the period is no easier and is perhaps more resistant to editorial patience than the corresponding hands of the Roman era. In this aspect of their work the Columbia editors have set a very high standard of accuracy. Dr. Husselman, Dr. Pearl, and I have examined independently and with some care the seven plates which illustrate the texts, and our reward has been three or four corrections of definitely minor import.⁴ Papyrologists will know how rare it is for first editions to be reliable to this extent.

Of the forty-nine numbers under which Zenon papyri are published in this volume (60-118) the last five (114-118) are catch-alls for about fifty small fragments, most of which have no immediate value except for the record. Even among the more substantial texts which precede No. 114 some are of little moment on account of extensive mutilation, and others fall into conventional types now well known. If consequently part of the volume seems to be without significance aside from its technical importance for the Zenon archive, the blame nevertheless does not lie with the editors. "The time is past when each additional volume of Greek papyri could be counted upon to add something new and greatly surprising to our knowledge of Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule. Now it is, in considerable degree, a matter of confirmatory or corrective evidence."⁵ The papyrologist is not only an editor of historically meaningful documents; he is a palaeographer and a cataloguer as well. His primary duty is to render his collection accessible to a learned public. In *P. Col. Zen.*, II this duty has been discharged in an exemplary manner with respect to the Zenon papyri in the possession of Columbia University. Furthermore, the volume does contain many interesting texts and a number that are important for historical and legal studies. A brief description of some of these, with occasional critical comments, may not be unwelcome.⁶

³ The publication of an adequate descriptive prosopography of the Zenon papyri would be of inestimable value to students of the archive. After the war thought will have to be given also to plans for a unified corpus of the Zenon papyri and a Zenon bibliography. These suggestions will not be new to the small number of Zenon specialists, but others may not be aware of the manifold possibilities of distinguished achievement which so large and homogeneous a collection of texts offers in return for devoted concentration.

⁴ Dr. Husselman's review of *P. Col. Zen.*, II has been printed in *C. W.*, XXXV (1942), pp. 177-178. Dr. Pearl's review will appear in *C. J.* in the near future. A remarkably thoughtful and suggestive review has come from C. B. Welles, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVII (1942), pp. 432-437.

⁵ W. L. Westermann, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVII (1942), pp. 102 f.

⁶ I shall not repeat the methodological considerations to which I devoted a number of paragraphs in my review of *P. Col. Zen.*, I (*A. J. P.*, LVI [1935], pp. 176 f.). The editors continue to omit accentuation, do not suggest how an index of abbreviations without the forms of abbreviation and an index of symbols and monograms without the symbols and

No. 60 has much to say about the cultural status of the middle-class Greek in the early years of the Hellenistic age. It is what remains of a list of books sent to Epharmostos, probably by his elder brother Zenon. The two works of which the titles can still be read point to a group of books to be used for educational or practical purposes. They are a "collection of proxeny treaties (?) " by Kallisthenes, the younger relative and associate of Aristotle, and a "collection of embassies" by an author whose name is not preserved. The editors' introduction and commentary are indispensable to any future work on this text.

No. 66. A Syrian whose name is illegible complains to Zenon that he has been badly treated by subordinates of Zenon. He has not received his pay and he has been dismissed as a nuisance when he dared to complain. At one time he was compelled to go home to Syria to keep from starving. Contempt has been his lot because he is a *βάρβαρος*.

The interest of the letter bears on the problem of the relations of Greeks and barbarians in the Hellenistic kingdoms. Despite his use of the word *βάρβαρος* and his statement *ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνίζειν*, the editors take the letter itself as proof that the Syrian did know Greek. In their view a paid scribe "would have followed a better word order and would have avoided the repetition of simple phrases which is here so noticeable." They prefer the alternative that he is *βάρβαρος* because he cannot "act the Hellene." But the writer is well-versed in Greek epistolographic formulas, and scribes surely did not exhibit a uniform grade of preparation. A man out of touch with Greek modes of life and yet able to use double negatives and compound verbs as effectively as the writer of this letter might be a cultivated Oriental but hardly one of Zenon's workmen. When the Syrian admits that he is *βάρβαρος*, it is wiser to take him literally.⁷

A Hellenized Syrian certainly would have enjoyed greater esteem, but our Syrian has used a too convenient explanation of his difficulty. Delays in payment of wages were not infrequent. Cf. e.g., No. 90 in the volume under review, where a certain Zenodoros put in a claim for wages and other allowances going back three years. Especially valuable for comparison with the situation and phraseology of No. 66 is the short text *P. S. I.*, IV, 421. Here a group of *χωματοφύλακες*, complaining about their failure to receive wages, use the threat *ἀποδραμούμεθα*, which answers well to the *ἀναγκάσθην ἀποτρέχειν* of the Columbia papyrus.

The words *βάρβαρος* and *ἑλληνίζειν* are of basic importance in the history of Greek culture, but the exact shade of meaning which either word bears in a particular context cannot always be isolated. For a summary of the problems see Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1933-), s. v.

Curious is the occurrence of *διδῶι* in line 15 as 3rd pers. sing. ind. pres. of *δίδωμι*; the same form was corrected to *ἐδίδου* in line 5. On *διδεῖ* and *διδοῖ* as variant forms of *δίδωσι* see Wilhelm Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 250, n. 3.

monograms are to be employed, and reduce the utility of their general index by excluding an excessive number of words. For practical hints regarding the use of the general index see note 18 *infra*.

⁷ This is practically identical with Westermann's original interpretation given in *A. H. R.*, XLIII (1937-38), p. 274, n. 15.

neuter; a second hand, responsible for the docket on the verso, uses it as a masculine. "Equation of the second and third declension genitive endings in -ους and -ου, as seen here in $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$, is not infrequent in the papyri," but it is peculiarly satisfying to see both genitives on the same sheet of papyrus.

No. 101 is a letter not important in itself, but it has the dative of the personal name Ὁαφρῆς , which the editors have not recognized.¹⁴

No. 106 is a list of six names with a horizontal stroke below each entry at the left. The list seems to be complete, and, since the editors regard the horizontal lines as *paragraphoi*, they cannot explain the one below the last name. Doubtless the lines are check marks such as have become very familiar from tax rolls.¹⁵

No. 113 illustrates the use of flowers in the preparation of dyes and the production of rugs or carpets on a small scale on the estate of Apollonios at Philadelphia.

No. 115e is much mutilated, but one of the words preserved is $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$. Forms of uncompound $\delta\iota\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ are rare. The new Liddell and Scott lists, apart from Hesychius, only three examples between the 3rd century B. C. and the 5th century A. D.¹⁶

It is hard to give an adequate idea of the varied materials that the volume contains. No. 69 is the first Ptolemaic text to mention "Syrian" wheat; the earliest previous attestation was not earlier than 15 A. D. The terms of the lease in No. 79 bring to mind the beginnings of the great Greek enterprise which was to convert the Fayûm from a lake marsh into the most fertile part of the Nile country. No. 80 preserves definite figures on transport charges, while Nos. 75, 76, 94, 97, and 104 furnish considerable information on wages. Especially useful is the introduction to 104 with its list of papyri which throw light on the wages of farm labor. No. 103 further illustrates Zenon's private interests as an owner of bath-houses, and No. 108 adds to the meager data on house rentals available for the Ptolemaic period.

Despite the title of the book, which the authors have continued from *P. Col. Zen.*, I, the *pièce de résistance* is not a Zenon papyrus at all. Nos. 119-122 are texts of later date. No. 119 consists of only six broken lines and is seemingly without importance, but No. 120 is a magnificent document even though its right half is lost. It is a decree issued probably in the 19th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes and regulates the collection of a 2% levy on the income (?) of estates throughout Egypt. The wording implies that collections in the territory of Alexandria were allocated to the use of a group of priests unfortunately not further described. The editors have facilitated study of the document by providing a facsimile, a text left free of all but obvious restorations, and a second text equipped with numerous illustrative restorations. Notable contributions are the annotated list of $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota$ which consisted of money taxes and the historical discussion of these grants made to temples and individuals.

The "Text with Elaborated Restorations" on p. 169 is generally admirable, but a few passages are susceptible of improvement. Lines 1-6 describe the two classes of persons to whom the decree is addressed: 1) owners resident on their estates and able to make their

¹⁴ Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s. v.

¹⁵ E. g., *P. Col.*, II, 1 recto 1 a-b; *B. G. U.*, IX, 1891; *P. Mich.*, IV.

¹⁶ Cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s. v. $\delta\iota\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$.

own declarations, and 2) relatives of owners who are absent on military service or for some other reason, obviously with official cognizance, and are unable to make declarations except through the designated relatives. Since this is clearly the meaning of the introductory lines, the phrase [τοῖς ἐνδημοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς λι]ποῦσιν τὰς αὐτῶν οὐσίας (1-2) embraces a contradiction. If we substitute [ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῖς διέ]πουσιν,¹⁷ the phrase sets up the necessary distinction of "those who are in residence and manage their own estates" from those who are absent and must be represented by others.

The latter are mentioned twice, and it is useful to compare the restorations adopted by the editors:

3-4 τῶν ἐν στρατείαι] ἢ στρατευομένων, and

23 τοὺς δὲ ἀποδημοῦντ[ας τοὺς τῶν στρατευομένων.

I suggest that in 3-4 one half of the description is preserved and in 23 the other half. With this assumption, which is entirely reasonable, the restorations can be much simplified:

3-4 τῶν ἀποδημοῦντων] ἢ στρατευομένων, and

23 τοὺς δὲ ἀποδημοῦντ[ας ἢ στρατευομένους.

In line 21 πράξασθαι "exact" is not suitable; πραχθῆναι "pay" is required.

Nos. 121 and 122 are closely related to *P. Mich.*, III, 182, 183, 193, and 200. The Columbia pieces are adequately edited, important corrections are recorded for the Michigan texts, and the six documents are analyzed as a group. Their value "lies in the detailed information they give regarding the financing and the management of a normal medium-sized farm property in the Ptolemaic period."

The volume is brought to a close with a list of corrigenda to *P. Col. Zen.*, I, for which the editors have done the great service of gathering and testing all corrections proposed by reviewers, and with the usual indexes, which maintain a high standard of accuracy in reference.¹⁸

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¹⁷ The word was suggested by Prof. Alexander Turyn. Cf. the use of *διέπω* in Pindar, *Ol.*, 6, 92-93; Bacchylides, 3, 19-22; Herodotus, III, 53; *P. Oxy.*, III, 494, 24. *ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι* is borrowed from Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

¹⁸ Since editions of texts are generally consulted, after the first reading, through the indexes, a few suggestions for the use of the general index of *P. Col. Zen.*, II will not be misplaced. When compounds have more than one possible spelling, look for both. *συγκαταπλεῖν*, e.g., will be found only under *συγκαταπλεῖν*. Correct *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* to *ἀγωνιᾶν*, *ἐφέλκειν* and *καθέλκειν* to *ἐφέλκειν* and *καθέλκειν* (the present with *v* is attested only for the simple verb, and that only at a late period), *καταβρόχκειν* to *καταβιβρώσκειν*, and *φιλεῖν* to *φιλοῖ* (text has *πεφιλοῖ*). All entries under *ιερείος* and *ιερείον* pertain to the latter. To the reference given under *ἀρεστῶς* add 79, 28, which the editors have placed under the adjective. The reference under *ἐκείνη* is to *ἐκείνων* "gentl." Entered under *ἄλλα* are the following: 101, 11, 22; 111, 94, 100, 101. Under *γε* add 102, 11. Now listed under *αἰδέναι* is 66, 24, where the text has *ἰδης*, which the editors translate "see." For *προκιχρηται* see *προκίχων*. I do not understand *αἰες* on p. 213; the text has *αἰεων*.

KARL BARWICK. *Caesars Commentarii und das Corpus Caesarianum*. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1938. Pp. vi + 222. (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXI, Heft 2.)

Beginning with the old problem of the authenticity of the geographical and ethnographical excursuses in Caesar's *Gallie War*, the author builds up an impressive thesis regarding the publication of the works in the Caesarian Corpus and the formation of that Corpus itself. Since Beekman had shown that there were no important linguistic arguments against accepting the excursuses as genuine, there remained only some stylistic objections to be met. In some passages Barwick shows convincingly that these are based on faulty interpretations of Caesar's text as it stands, in others he sees evidence for two versions, one that of Caesar's original annually published commentary, the other some notes for a second revised edition which remained uncompleted at his death (*B. G.*, I, 1, 2b and 1, 5-7; I, 28, 5; IV, 10, 2; IV, 21, 7; V, 12-13 and 14). He then finds a similar situation in the *Civil War*. Hirtius at Balbus' suggestion undertook the preparation of the complete account of Caesar's wars up to the end of the Spanish war (note the word *confeci* in his preface to Book VIII of the *Gallie War*), wrote Book VIII of the *Gallie War*, the *Alexandrian War*, and had others write accounts of the African and Spanish wars in preparation for his own work, but died, leaving his project unfinished, in the spring of 43. Balbus then gathered and published all the material on hand as it stood.

This is a plausible reconstruction but is not at all points completely proved. It seems well-established that the books of the *Gallie War* were published separately each year, and Barwick's explanation of the difficulties that remain is the more attractive in that it reconciles them with the integrity of the traditional text and authorship. Asinius Pollio's statement (*existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse*, Suetonius, *Jul.*, 56, 4), however, though it suggests it, does not prove that Caesar actually intended to revise his commentaries, nor does Hirtius mention any such intention. Although Hirtius' introduction to Book VIII of the *Gallie War* looks to an account of the whole series of civil wars, we do not know what point he had reached at the time of his death, and Suetonius did not know the name of the author of the *Alexandrian War*. The connection of Balbus with the formation of the Corpus remains unattested, and if he were its creator it is strange that he should have suppressed or remained ignorant of the names of the authors of the *African* and the *Spanish Wars*. Having made these reservations, the reviewer must go on to recognize the many valuable suggestions and penetrating interpretations that are contained in this study. Students of the Corpus Caesarianum must use it and will, I believe, regard it with favor.

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HERBERT BLOCH. I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana. Contributi all'archeologia e alla storia romana. Rome, Carlo Colombo. Pp. 353. (*Bulletino della Commissione archeologia comunale di Roma*, LXIV [1936], pp. 141-225; LXV [1937], pp. 83-187; LXVI [1938], pp. 61-222.)

Dr. Bloch's work is important not merely as an original contribution of intrinsic value but because of the new methods he applies and the new program he formulates. The first part consists of a critical review of the scholarly study of brick stamps from its beginning in 1602 until the present day; the second, of analytical discussions of a series of monuments of brick construction of various periods; for the third are reserved a number of special problems as well as the author's general conclusions.

Many students of Roman Archaeology, including Lanciani, Cozzo, and Miss Van Deman, maintained a sceptical attitude regarding the value of brick stamps as evidence on which to base precise datings for Roman buildings and preferred to turn rather to criteria drawn from the types of construction in use at various periods. These at best yield inexact results and often, as in the case of the Amphitheatrum Castrense (p. 301), permit widely differing conjectures. In spite of the valuable work of Dressel in reading and dating the collections of brick stamps known at the time of the publication of *C. I. L.*, XV in 1891 this scepticism remained because of the huge and apparently unexplainable numbers of brick stamps that were supposed to date from 123 A.D. and the fact that bricks from older buildings were sometimes used again in new construction. Bloch shows that much of the supposed production in 123 A.D. was in fact distributed over a long period and that the large but not surprising remainder should be brought into connection with Hadrian's building program. The second objection is met by the way in which the author expands and corrects the methods of Dressel. He insists upon the study of the whole material together in close connection with the actual monuments, using the dated ones as fixed points, and notes precisely what stamps dated and undated buildings have in common, just where there was new construction to confuse old and new materials, and what undated brick stamps occur along with dated ones. Only after collecting a large sample of brick stamps from each monument will he venture upon a dating. These methods are applied in a series of studies of particular buildings which comprise the major portion of the work. Their validity is confirmed both positively and negatively: positively, by the additional light that is thrown upon the history of many buildings (e.g. the Atrium of Vesta is shown to be largely Trajanic, pp. 67 ff.), and upon the general character of Hadrian's building program; negatively, by the suspension of judgment to which they lead the author in the case of the two *Thermae* in the Villa of Hadrian,—the very point at which he made his investigations (pp. 132 ff.). The proof that these methods are valid suggests an important conclusion: the desirability, quite apart from the large number of stamps discovered since 1891, of re-editing Part I of *C. I. L.*, XV along different lines, taking full account of connections with the monuments and giving full topographical indications.

Bloch's researches have led him to the discovery of a great deal of previously unpublished material from buildings previously known, and in some cases, such as the Casa del Mosaico della Caccia in Ostia, he gives here the initial publication of the stamps found while excavations were in progress. He has discussed many incidental problems dealing with prosopography, the history of the workshops, and the development of the industry, and should be studied in detail by all students of Roman archaeology, topography, and economic history. Let us hope that the program he envisages may be given a chance of fulfillment in our times.

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KURT VON FRITZ. *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy. An Analysis of the Sources.* New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. 113. \$2.00.

It was a happy thought to seek a new approach to the difficult Pythagorean problem through the political history of Southern Italy. The method of the author is simple and clear. Since Aristoxenus, Dicaearchus, and Timaeus of Tauromenium were the first to ascribe political activities to Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, von Fritz tries to determine their share in the rather confused accounts given by Porphyry, Iamblichus, Diogenes Laertius, Diodorus, and other writers of late antiquity.

Chapter I (pp. 3-20) deals with the reconstruction of the original accounts as given in the lost works of Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus. As both these authors are always mentioned by name and quotations from them seem to be literal, the only question is the extent of the quotations. The analysis of von Fritz is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the lost original account in Aristoxenus. Nevertheless some passages which von Fritz considers short extracts from his original work may prove to be only compilations. For Porphyry, Iamblichus, and the other authors in whose works the account of Aristoxenus has been preserved did not use the original text of that author but took it from other authors who themselves used compilations. Thus an analysis of their sources becomes a much more difficult problem than is generally recognized.¹

¹ Von Fritz for instance attributes the whole of the following passage from Nicomachus (in Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica*, 33 = Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 21) to Aristoxenus: (Πυθαγόρας) ἐπιδημήσας Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Συκελίᾳ, ὡς κατέλαβε πόλεις δεδουλωμένας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, τὰς μὲν πολλὰν ἐτῶν, τὰς δὲ νεωστί, ταύτας φρονήματος ἐλευθερίῳ ὑποπλήσας διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἀκουστῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεργήσατο καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐποίησε, Κρότωνα καὶ Σύβαριν καὶ Κατάνην καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Ἰμέραν καὶ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Ταυρομένιον καὶ ἄλλας τινάς, αἷς καὶ νόμοις ἔθετο διὰ Χαράνδα τε τοῦ Καταναίου καὶ Ζαλεύκου τοῦ Δόκρου, δι' ὧν εὐνομώτατοι καὶ ἀξιοφύλωτοι ταῖς περιόλοις μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν. Richard Bentley long ago called attention to the chronological improbabilities of this passage (*Dissertation upon Phalaris* [1836], I, pp. 376-383). Thus, for example: Zaleucus in the passage quoted lived in the 7th century B. C.; then, also, by the pupil of Pythagoras who liberated Agrigentum can be meant only Empedocles (Timaeus in Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 54 f.) who flourished about 444 B. C.; and

In Chapter II (pp. 27-32) von Fritz investigates the sources of Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus and the reliability of their accounts; in Chapter III (pp. 32-62) he reconstructs the version of Timaeus of Tauromenium.² Confining himself to those passages which through parallels can be traced with certainty to Timaeus, he is thus justified in his suspicion of the many passages which Rostagni, Delatte, and Bertermann have assigned to him.

Having analyzed these sources von Fritz draws his conclusions as to the historical problem, dealing in Chapter IV (pp. 68-93) with the chronological questions and the numismatic evidence and in Chapter V (pp. 94-102) with the character of the "Pythagorean Rule" in Southern Italy. As Aristoxenus claims that he has personally known the "last of the Pythagoreans" and has got all his information from them (frag. 7, *F. H. G.*, II, p. 273), von Fritz accepts him as the most reliable authority and proceeds to build the whole political history of the Pythagoreans upon his account (pp. 29, 31, 66 f.), believing there can be no evidence that he or his authorities invented anything that was untrue (p. 77).³ On the correctness of this belief von Fritz's whole hypothesis depends.

finally Tauromenium did not exist until the beginning of the 4th century. The style is awkward and repetitive. There are two involved relative clauses and in each of them Catana is mentioned in such a way as to make it obvious that two different versions of the same subject are here combined. The version of the second clause about Zaleucus and Charondas as pupils of Pythagoras, impossible as it is, might derive from Aristoxenus (cf. Werner Jaeger, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1928, p. 418, note). The version of the first clause, however, has quite a different character. It manifests a particular interest in the Sicilian cities, especially Tauromenium and Agrigentum, which are considered champions of freedom against tyranny; Empedocles is regarded as the liberator of Agrigentum and as the pupil of Pythagoras; there is no allusion to Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver, or to Syracuse, etc. These are all features characteristic of Timaeus of Tauromenium rather than of Aristoxenus. Nicomachus seems to have combined the versions of both authors in this passage, using probably not their original works but compilations. Thus the versions of these older authors passed through many hands until they gained the form of our present text. The contribution of each hand cannot be determined with certainty until the fragments of the Neo-Pythagoreans, Neo-Platonists, and other later writers are collected and analyzed. Meanwhile every analysis of the fragments of Aristoxenus, Dicaearchus, and other older authors must remain provisional.

² Polybius, in his severe criticism of Timaeus in Book XII, characterizes him as a deliberate liar and says that his political prejudices warped his historical judgment. His account of Pythagoras and the political history of the Pythagoreans proves the correctness of Polybius' criticism (cf. note 1 *supra*).

³ The analysis of this account (in Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica*, 248-251 = Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 54 ff.) may indeed be questionable. Von Fritz assigns the whole passage of Iamblichus to Aristoxenus and tries to interpret it as a coherent though shortened account of three successive stages of a certain historical event (pp. 11 f. and 16 ff.), indicated by the words *ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ*, *ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ*, *ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ*. The sentence with *ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ* in Iamblichus, § 249, however, occurs almost word for word also in § 129, in an account of the same historical event given in a version which is quite different from that of Aristoxenus and is traced by Werner Jaeger, *loc. cit.* to Dicaearchus. As the common sentence can be left out in § 249 but not in § 129 without essentially impairing the

The author's confidence in the trustworthiness of Aristoxenus will bewilder the historian. For Aristoxenus is generally considered an unreliable author (cf. John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, I, pp. 124, 129; Duane R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* [1928], pp. 140 ff.; Eduard Zeller, *Griech. Philosophie*⁴, II, 2, p. 883, n. 4). For example: he regards Plato as a plagiarist who took the ideas of his *Republic* from Protagoras; he depicts Socrates as an unlettered and ignorant man of low moral standards; and in order to make these calumnies more trustworthy he represents them as told to him by persons who knew these philosophers well. Even an ancient author asked: "Who will believe Aristoxenus?" (Aristocles in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.*, XV, 2).

One may perhaps be inclined to think that his Pythagorean writings are more reliable since he is generally considered to be a Pythagorean. But that he was not is evident from his theory of music which undoubtedly represents his greatest contribution but in which he follows the phenomenological method of his master Aristotle, thus becoming an outspoken antagonist of the Pythagorean school. Furthermore, what in his *Πυθαγορικά Ἀποφάσεις* he presents as Pythagorean teaching supposedly learned from those "last Pythagoreans," above all from Xenophilus, is only his own Peripatetic ethics put into the mouth of his so-called Pythagoreans.⁴

meaning, it probably has its proper place in the second passage (§ 129), traceable to Dicaearchus. Thus at least two different versions of the same subject are here again combined by Nicomachus who seems to be the source of Iamblichus, 249. The one derives from Aristoxenus who confined himself to the events in Croton and in his native city Tarentum. The author of the other is, however, interested in the political development of the different cities which like Rhegium belong to the western part of Southern Italy near the native city of Dicaearchus. If we remove the inserted parts of this second version (namely pp. 134, 1-4; 134, 9-15; 135, 1-3, Deubner) we regain the same story we read in Porphyry (*op. cit.*, 54 f. and 57 from Neanthes-Aristoxenus), and this story is chronologically quite confused. If we understand the compilatory character of this whole passage we are no longer free to emend the text in order to make it sound more coherent as von Fritz (p. 13 and Appendix A) suggests.

In virtue of his analysis von Fritz claims that Aristoxenus' account deserves more credence than "the popular tradition represented by Dikaiarchos" (pp. 30 ff.) who in Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 56 says: *πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐγένοντο μεγάλαι στάσεις, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ περὶ τοὺς τόπους (Μεταπόντιον, Τάραντα) μνημονεύουσι καὶ διηγούνται, τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καλοῦντες*. By the "contemporary" authorities from "the region of Tarentum" who gave an account of great revolts "under the Pythagoreans (calling them such)" may have been meant, however, Dicaearchus' friend Aristoxenus who was a native of Tarentum and described such revolts in this way. Dicaearchus, whose philosophical tendencies were similar to his (see *infra*, p. 223), often made use of Aristoxenus' account (cf. von Fritz, p. 10). On the whole, however, he deserves his excellent reputation as an historian, for as biographer he followed the general tradition without inventing arbitrarily in the manner of Aristoxenus or of his later follower Timaeus.

⁴ Cf. E. Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 885. The reference to Pythagoreans or Pythagoras as philosophical authorities is a usual form of fiction. Among the last Pythagoreans whom he knew personally Aristoxenus mentioned Echeocrates and Xenophilus (Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 46 and

Among the many indefinite things generally ascribed to the Pythagoreans there is none more certain historically than the fact of their having been vegetarian. In the time of Aristotle vegetarianism was still prevalent among the surviving remnant of the Pythagoreans (*Πυθαγορίσται*, cf. von Fritz, p. 76) and it was strongly advocated by Theophrastus within the Aristotelian school itself. Aristoxenus, however, opposed the tendency of Theophrastus and flatly denied that Pythagoras ever was a vegetarian, claiming on the contrary that he loved roasted "young pigs and kids" (frag. 7, *loc. cit.*). This example is characteristic of the whole tone of his account of Pythagoras which is determined by his philosophical controversy with Theophrastus. In opposition to Theophrastus, the leader of the school who still clung to the old Platonic-Aristotelian ideal of the *βίος θεωρητικός*, Aristoxenus like his friend Dicaearchus found the real source of philosophical truth in the *πρακτικός βίος*, above all in political activity. While to Plato and Aristotle the seven wise men and Pythagoras were the protagonists of a theoretical, unpolitical way of life,⁵ to Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus they were "practical-minded men and lawgivers." W. Jaeger (*op. cit.*, pp. 412 ff.) has convincingly shown that the whole tradition about political activities of the Greek philosophers, especially of Pythagoras, derives from both these authors, Aristoxenus being the first to connect Pythagoras with the political history of South Italy and the motherland.

The question then is: Was there any older tradition of such activity? Aristotle, who a short time before Aristoxenus had gathered in his book "About the Pythagoreans" all the available traditions connected with their revered teacher, makes no mention in the few surviving fragments of any political activity. He gives only their legend of him as a "divine man" who like his master Pherecydes performed miracles, foretold the future, and revealed ethical and philosophical truths under the cover of mythical symbols, similar to those of the mysteries.⁶

In order to represent Pythagoras as a protagonist of his own philosophical ideal of practical life it was necessary for Aristoxenus to transform this legend into a realistic story of political activities.⁷

Iamblichus, *V. P.*, 251). As Echeocrates was already a young man in 399 B. C. (Plato, *Phaedo* 57 f.) and Aristoxenus hardly came to Greece before 336, it could not have been easy for Aristoxenus to meet Echeocrates. Aristoxenus seems to have been aware of these chronological difficulties, for he allowed Xenophilus to become 104 years old and to retain extraordinary mental activity until his last days (frags. 16 and 7 in *F. H. G.*, II). Cf. R. Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 421: "neither did he (Aristoxenus) reckon himself among the Pythagoreans as appears from Laertius."

⁵ Plato, *Hippias maj.* 281 B, *Rep.* 600 A f. (*idlg*); Heraclides of Pontus, frag. 78 a-d Voss; Alcidas, frag. 5 in Aristotle, *Rhetor.* II, 13, 1398 b 10 ff.; about Aristotle see W. Jaeger, *loc. cit.* and Aristotle (1934), pp. 97 f.

⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Fragmenta* (2nd ed., V. Rose), frags. 75, 191-197, 611.

⁷ We can still see how his thought of a superhuman being or the real incarnation of Apollo (cf. Aristotle, frags. 191 f.) but the son of a Pythagorean (Theophrastus, *Metaph.* I, 62) who was apparently a successful corn dealer (Neantles in Porphyry, *op. cit.*, I, evidently fol-

To accomplish this he seems to have followed Aristotle's idea that poetry is more philosophical than history.⁸ Therefore he drew upon probabilities that he considered characteristic for the *βίος Πυθαγόρεος*. For to the Greek the word *βίος* aimed to convey the idea of a typical way of life rather than the life of an individual. Because of this life of Pythagoras and his other *βίοι* which even in antiquity were famous for their narrative art (Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 1093 C), Aristoxenus is generally regarded as the creator of the form of literary biography. It would be unjust to measure his productions by the inch-rule of a painstaking historian.

Aristoxenus in that account which von Fritz takes as the basis of the Pythagorean history (see note 1 *supra*) narrates, for instance, that a revolt overthrew the Pythagorean rule in Croton and that almost all Pythagoreans burned to death in their meeting house. We know that similar revolts had often occurred in Southern Italy during the political struggles between oligarchie, democratic, and tyrannic tendencies. Plato, Aristotle, and the ancient historians, however, relate these political upheavals without any reference to the Pythagoreans,⁹ and the South Italian coins which von Fritz in

lowing Aristoxenus). Plato in a casual pun had once contrasted Pythagoras' vegetarian way of life with that of Homer and his disciple "Creophylus" whose mere name might suggest his fondness for beef (*Rep.* 600 A f.). This seems to be a reasonable explanation of Aristoxenus' choice of a descendant of this Creophylus for one of the teachers of Pythagoras to strengthen his antivegetarian position (Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 15, etc.). Plato had contrasted Pythagoras and his unpolitical teachings, on the other hand, with the law-giver Charondas (*Rep.* 599 E); Aristoxenus made Pythagoras the teacher of this lawgiver (note 1 *supra*). Aristotle had distinguished Pythagoras from philosophical statesmen such as Epaminondas (*Rhet.* II, 23, 1398 b 18, cf. J. Vahlen, *Wien. Sitzb.*, LXIII [1863], p. 502). Aristoxenus made Epaminondas a disciple of a pupil of Pythagoras (Iamblichus, *op. cit.*, 250 = Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 55). According to Aristoxenus Pythagoras left Samos because he saw the tyranny of Polycrates growing too strong and considered it unbecoming to live under such a régime (Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 9 and 16), that is to say, Aristoxenus allowed him to follow Plato's principle, expressed in the *Laws* (770 E) almost word for word, etc. In this way he cast back into the times of Pythagoras the political problems of his own period and the political ideas elaborated by Plato and Aristotle to solve them.

Following the old tradition of the Pythagoreans Aristotle had not placed Pythagoras and his master, Pherecydes, among the rational philosophers but in the period of Thales and the seven wise men, viz. in the early 6th century (frags. 3-7, 75; *Metaph.* 1091 b 4; cf. Iamblichus, *op. cit.*, 83). A half-mythical seer like Pherecydes would have been impossible in later times and the famous apophthegms of Pythagoras seemed to show a form similar to those of the seven wise men. Aristoxenus, on the other hand, wishing to connect Pythagoras with the political history of Southern Italy was compelled to give him a later date. For there were no historical events known in Southern Italy, above all in Croton, before the end of the 6th century. The fact, however, that Eratosthenes, the real founder of Greek chronology and philology, followed Aristotle in dating Pythagoras' birth in 606 B. C. (Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 47, cf. 51) may be taken as a proof that Aristoxenus' dating of Pythagoras in the time of Polycrates had no real historical foundation for Eratosthenes.

⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1451 b 5.

⁹ With the single exception of Polybius, II, 39, who, however, is here

Chapter IV sifted with great care give evidence only of Croton's predominant position at the end of the sixth and throughout the first half of the fifth century and not of any political activity of the Pythagoreans.

In the last chapter von Fritz expresses the opinion that the "Pythagorean Rule" may never have been such a centralized order as Aristoxenus and other ancient writers who followed him present it to be; that it may have been only a loose organization like the Academy of Plato and Freemasonry in the 18th century both of which had political influence only because leading statesmen incidentally were connected with them (pp. 94 ff., 100 f.). This admission seems to modify the thesis elaborated in the earlier chapters and to raise the question whether or not one is justified in recognizing in a strict sense a Pythagorean politics. Von Fritz is quite correct in saying that Archytas, for instance, "was the leading statesman at Tarentum for many years during the second quarter of the fourth century. Yet, he certainly was not *strategos* because he was a Pythagorean. If the policy of his city became 'Pythagorean' it was because he personally adhered to Pythagorean principles" (p. 97). Archytas as well as other philosophers of this group like Philolaus, Timaeus the Locrian, Echeocrates, and others might have claimed for their political or philosophical principles a Pythagorean character. Neither Plato nor Aristotle ever called them, however, Pythagoreans. How much their political convictions have to do with Pythagoras himself is quite uncertain. Aristotle saw that a solution of the Pythagorean problem was urgently needed for an adequate understanding of the development of Greek thought in which he was so much interested. He was contemporary with the "last Pythagoreans" and every first-hand source of information about their teachings undoubtedly was available to him. And yet he was evidently not able to say how far their mathematical and philosophical doctrines might be traced to Pythagoras himself. He speaks of these doctrines only as those of the "Pythagoreans," the "so-called Pythagoreans," or "the Italiots who were called Pythagoreans." With regard to their politics Aristotle makes no mention of it. And he is the only ancient author who dealt with the Pythagorean problem as a critical historian.¹⁰

Although opinions may differ as to the validity of all of von Fritz's conclusions, his penetrating analysis and careful sifting of sources are important contributions to the subject. Anyone interested in the Pythagorean puzzle will, I believe, share my experience in finding in his attractively printed, readable book a clarification of its problems and an invigorating stimulation for further study of them.

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dependent on the version of Aristoxenus-Timaeus as von Fritz, p. 65,

"The whole Pythagorean tradition there are only two main currents. The one has its origin in Aristotle and is really related to its character; the other is derived from Aristoxenus and Timaeus of Tauromenium whose accounts are at times fictitious. Later authors add only a few new inventions, confining themselves to compiling, harmonizing, and embellishing the different versions.

- A. CORDIER. *L'Allitération Latine, Le Procédé dans L'Énéide de Virgile*. Paris, Libraire Philosophique J. Vrin, 1939. Pp. xi + 112. (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lille*, III.)

In this monograph, dedicated to J. Marouzeau, the author aims to coördinate the observations made on the subject from the fifteenth century to the present time, to set forth the theory of alliteration, to establish its technique, and to study its usage.

The term "alliteration" was first used by Pontano (1426-1503), in his dialogue *Actius*,¹ who defines it as follows: "Fit itaque in versu, quoties dictiones continuatae, uel binae uel ternae ab iisdem primis consonantibus, mutatis aliquando uocalibus, ab iisdem incipiunt syllabis aut ab iisdem primis uocalibus; delectat autem Alliteratio haec mirifice in primis et ultimis locis facta, in mediis quoque, licet ibidem aures minus sint intentae." The second part of this definition confuses alliteration with assonance and with homoeoteuton and has led some writers to make it a kind of annominatio, of paromoeosis, of anaphora, and the like. Cordier adopts the definition of Marouzeau:² "la répétition, soit exacte, soit approximative d'un phonème ou groupe de phonèmes a l'initiale de syllabes (fanfare) ou de mots (bel et bien) rapprochés dans l'énoncé," and confines his study to repetition at the beginning of words.

Cordier divides the Historical Development of the subject into five periods. The first is that of Pontano, who wrote a long dissertation in his *Actius* on the examples of "alliteration" (initial, medial, and final) which he could find in the Latin writers and especially in Virgil. After him, during the fifteenth century, the subject received only brief mention, and alliteration was always taken in the broad sense of his definition and appears merely as a curiosity of style. The study of the subject was renewed in the nineteenth century.

In the second period, from 1820 to 1860, two new problems were introduced: a comparison with the Germanic *Stabreim*,³ and a study of "alliteration" in Greek poetry, especially Homer, with an attempt to find in it a model for the Latin usage. The most important work is the dissertation of A. F. Naeke,⁴ who opposed the Latin alliteration, as more generalized, to the *Stabreim*, which was confined to proverbs and similar expressions. He tried to give a better definition of alliteration, but without studying the phonetic value of initial sounds in Latin; he continued to include assonance and homoeoteuton, and believed that the Greeks, although to a lesser degree, made use of alliteration at the beginning of words.

The third period is represented by J. Maehly.⁵ He distinguished homoeoteuton from initial assonance, which is true alliteration, explaining the absence of a special term for the latter by the interest

¹ *Actius Dialogus* (Aldus, 1519), fol. 128; or *Pontani Opera* (Bale, 1556), II, pp. 1372 ff.

² *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* (Paris, P. Geuthner, 1933).

³ So called because proverbs and similar expressions in rhyme were engraved upon pieces of wood; cf. Tacitus, *Germ.*, 10, 1.

⁴ "De allitteratione sermonis Latini," *Rh. Mus.*, III (1829), pp. 324 ff.

⁵ "Ueber Alliteration," *Neues Schweiz. Museum*, IV (1864), pp. 207 ff.

of the grammarians in syllables and not in their elements. He therefore gave his attention to initial consonants and considered alliteration, thus divorced from rhetoric, as a traditional feature of the Latin language, in the Hymn of the Salii, in Saturnian verse, in the comedians, and in the loftier poetry of Lucretius, Virgil, etc., as well as in prose. He takes up the comparison with Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian poetry and distinguishes their usage from the Latin; but he unfortunately studied the alliteration of the Greeks (Homer, lyric poetry, the tragedians, and Aristophanes), where the process is quite different; he does, however, cite the opinion of Lachmann,⁶ who denies the existence of intentional alliteration in Greek, especially in Homer.

The fourth period (1865-1902) is marked by numerous articles on the subject, both general and in connection with various Latin writers. It is in part reactionary, since some included medial and final assonance as well as the rhetorical figures which Naeke and Machly had tried to eliminate. Others gave the word the sense which it will henceforth retain, of initial assonance without equivalence of vowels. Editors of Virgil (Forbiger⁷ and Kvičala⁸) took up the subject, and the latter collected the examples which he found in the *Aeneid*, grouping them according to their place in the verse or in their constructions and showing their importance for text-criticism and for exegesis. Woelfflin⁹ treated the subject mainly from the syntactical point of view, but in a digression showed that the use of alliteration in the sacred language is earlier than in the literature and that it appears in juristic and in popular language also. J. Bintz¹⁰ pointed out that it was designedly used by the prose writers to mark more clearly the important words in coördinated, correlative, and asyndetic groups. With C. Boetticher¹¹ the study of the problem abandoned the domain of rhetoric and grammar and sought a phonetic explanation. He maintained that Latin in early times must have had an accent on the initial syllable, which was the origin of alliteration. Since this was true of the Germanic language, this also developed alliteration, but Greek did not, since its accent depended on quantity and was variable and often far removed from the first syllable. This primitive accent explained both the importance of alliteration in the earliest writers and the agreement in certain alliterating groups between the initial accent and the alliterating syllables. Boetticher was also the first to devote some pages to the literary study of the process. Tracy Peck,¹² basing his work on Woelfflin, gave a résumé of the work which had been done and warned against lists in which sufficient distinction was not made between intentional alliteration and the accidental type resulting from the necessities of the language, such as *longus latus, virtutes uitia*. This important point was emphasized later by O.

⁶ Ersch and Gruber, *Univ. Encyc. litterarum et artium*, III, s. v. "Alliteration."

⁷ Fourth edition, Leipzig, 1872-75.

⁸ *Virgilii Opera*, ed. Kvičala, Prague (1881), pp. 293 ff. *Virgilii Opera*, ed. Kvičala, Prague (1881), pp. 293 ff. *Virgilii Opera*, ed. Kvičala, Prague (1881), pp. 293 ff. *Virgilii Opera*, ed. Kvičala, Prague (1881), pp. 293 ff. *Virgilii Opera*, ed. Kvičala, Prague (1881), pp. 293 ff.

⁹ *Philosoph. philolog. Classe*, 1881, Band 11, pp. 1-32; see also

¹⁰ *De Alliterationis apud Rom. Lat. et al. pop.* (Berlin, 1881).

¹² *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, XV (1884), pp. 58 ff.

Keller¹³ and by Woelfflin.¹⁴ E. Norden¹⁵ distinguished Greek alliteration, an artistic device in Homer and the tragedians, from the Latin, a rhythmic feature in prayers and the Iguvine tablets, a figure of rhetoric abounding in Ennius, less so in Lucretius, more studied in Virgil. Among prose writers Cato, who in Norden's opinion took it from the Greeks, used it consistently, Nepos to excess, and it is found in Cyprian. On p. 9 Cordier summarizes the progress made in the nineteenth century: alliteration is given its real sense, except by some writers; it acquires its true value: it is a linguistic phenomenon, distinguished from figures of rhetoric; it is very ancient, and its use is anterior to that in literature; these different features authorize a comparison, more or less exact, with the Germanic Stabreim. In spite of these results some continued to regard Greek alliteration as the model of the Latin, although the most important writers made the latter a characteristic of the Latin diction.

The fifth period (1902-1935) begins with the publication of Vendrydes' *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale en Latin*,¹⁶ which proved the existence of initial intensity in Latin and showed also that Latin alliteration is a natural linguistic phenomenon. Of the long list of writers on pp. 10-14, Woelfflin¹⁷ investigated the development of the process on Italic soil, and Kent¹⁸ furnished another piece of evidence for initial intensity. Leo¹⁹ sums up the whole matter with decisive pronouncements on several points: Greek alliteration is only an occasional phonetic process; alliteration is originally Latin and Italic; it has its source, as in Celtic and Germanic, in the initial accent of words, but it is not, as it is in Germanic, a Stabreim subject to laws, and it is not bound to the accent of syllables peculiar to the language or to verse. There are various interesting and useful observations in this period and occasional recurrence to old theories, or confusion with them, as in Headlam and especially in J. Evans.²⁰

Under the head of Actual Theories Cordier (pp. 14-16) gives Leo's pronouncements in greater detail. He points out that as yet there has been little or no attention to alliteration as a means of artistry. He therefore endeavors to coördinate such observations as have been made on that subject and to examine the technique of alliteration. Taking account of these observations, he believes that a methodic examination of one work could help to determine what the technique has been. Much of course depends on the selection of the work; the comparison of the style in a didactic work of a more or less scientific character with one that is purely literary shows that the use of alliteration is neglected in the former but in the latter is a means of

¹³ *Grammatische Aufsätze* (Leipzig, 1895).

¹⁴ *A. L. L.*, IX (1896), pp. 566 ff.

¹⁵ *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898), I, pp. 59, 157, 159, 161, 167; II, pp. 620, 629 ff., 802, 890, 891.

¹⁶ Paris, Klincksieck, 1902.

¹⁷ *A. L. L.*, XIV (1906).

¹⁸ *The Alleged Strength of the Initial Syllable* (Berlin, Lang and Co., 1931), pp. 179 ff.

¹⁹ *Geschichte der römischen Lit.* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913), I, pp. 34 ff., 39, 181, 224, 382, 402, 426.

²⁰ *Allitteratio Latina, or Alliteration in Latin Verse Reduced to Rule* (London, 1921).

artistry. He illustrates this point by Varro, *De Re Rustica*, I, 8. Although Varro does not aim at alliteration he has numerous examples of it, owing to the figura etymologica and to the necessity of the language, and in general to accidental causes. In Cicero, on the contrary, in his orations, especially at the beginning of his career, alliteration is a means of emphasizing coördinated words and often synonyms, and is used for other intentional devices.²¹ The study of alliteration in a poet will be more complete, since it allows observations on the distribution of the words in the metrical elements and on the aesthetics of verse. Cordier selects for his investigation of the technique of alliteration the *Aeneid* of Virgil, since the perfection of its form will be a guarantee of the results; moreover, dealing with Rome's past, it will give testimony to the persistence of a national tradition, and to the fact that alliteration, separated by many ages from its origins, has become in Virgil's time an artistic process.

He first takes up accidental alliterations, exclusive of those instances where the intention of the poet seems more evident, and gives classified lists of cases in which the alliteration may be regarded as fortuitous: e. g. *mea moenia, tua tela; mea magna potentia; nunc ad te et tua . . . consulta; tenet ille immania saxa; impulit in latus; ante alios . . . ignes*. In a great number of such cases the second word did not originally have the initial accent²² or could not be replaced by a different word. He follows with a list of formulas, used in all periods by different poets, historians, and orators: *os oculosque; magnum et memorabile; satis superque*. Thus entire verses, or nearly so, may be filled with alliterations; Cordier gives examples of four, six, and seven alliterating syllables in a verse, and *Aen.*, X, 356-359 contain numerous instances:

. . . magno discordes aethere venti
Proelia ceu tollunt, animis et uiribus aequis;
Non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit;
Anceps pugna diu; stant obnixa omnia contra,

and the same thing is true of Ennius, *Ann.*, 443-445, treating the same theme. Hence the poet's technique would consist not so much in accumulating alliterations as in avoiding the abundance almost forced upon him by the language. Those would appear more clearly which he had recognized as accidental and decided to retain and those which he had purposely sought for.

Pp. 23-37 are devoted to the Elements of Alliteration. It will suffice to mention only the less obvious combinations.

A consonant can alliterate only with itself. Those are naturally most used which most commonly occur at the beginning of Latin words; in Virgil these are: *c, m, p, s, t;—d, f, l, r* (especially with *res* and *re-*); the fewest alliterations are those with *u*; with *n, g, q*, they are rare; with *b*, still rarer: *Bacchus dator et bona Iuno*, I, 734, and six other examples (Cordier, p. 24, note) are the only instances in the *Aeneid*.

In genuine Latin words, the second place in an alliteration may be occupied by any vowel whatever: *fata fortunasque; fortuna*

²¹ The passages from *De Sig.* and *Tusc.* are cited by J. Marouzeau, *Stylistique*, pp. 45-46.

²² J. Vendryes, *Recherches*, p. 108.

fidesque; lacum lucosque; levia aut ludicra; by the same sonants (*l* or *r*): . . . *clamorque . . . clangorque; frangit . . . fremit*; indifferently by sonant *l* or sonant *r*: . . . *ferit fluctusque ad sidera tollit*; or by one of the two sonants or a vowel: *flagrantem feruida; praecipitem puppi*. The freedom of choice is shown by *Aen.*, XII, 60: *Se causam clamat crimenque caputque*.

Virgil avoids using as elements of alliteration two consonants properly so called, or more than two; but the groups *sc*, *sp*, *st*, may form alliteration with one another or with *s* followed by a vowel: *scuta spicula*;²³ *silici scintillam; sidera . . . superos . . . spirabile*. Because of the weak sound of the semi-vowel *u* in *qua* and *quo*, *squ* may form alliteration with *s* followed by a vowel: *squamis serpentum*; cf. XI, 753-754: *Saucius at serpens sinuosa uolumina uersat Arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore. Qu* and *c* may form alliteration, but only if *c* is followed by a vowel: *ciuili quercu; quasans caput*. Because of its pronunciation in Latin, *ph* naturally forms alliteration with *p*: *Phrygii praedonis*. On *h* see pp. 25-26, and Marouzeau, *La Prononciation du Latin* (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1931), p. 16.

Because of their slighter resonance the vowels are less commonly sought for alliteration; their proportion in 100 examples from Virgil is, however, 18 uses as compared with 82 of consonants. A vowel can make alliteration only with one of the same quality: *acer et arduus, exercebat equos, inimicum imbrem, oculis . . . obicitur, urbem . . . undam*. Their number is relative to the number of words which use them as initials, *a* being the most frequent in Latin; then *e* (not taking account of the preposition *e* or *ex*), and *i* (exclusive of the preposition *in*); *o* and *u* are much less common. The groups *ae* and *au*, when pronounced as diphthongs, form alliteration with *a* or with *a* combined with a consonant (not, however, with *e*): *aeratas acies, adspirant aurae*; and also with each other: . . . *illa se iactet in aula Aeolus, . . . Aeneas . . . hausit; ae* with *ae* or *au* with *au* gives a stronger effect. Difference in quantity is no obstacle: *face ferroque*.

An apparent exception to the rule of taking into account only initial syllables is formed by compounds, which may form alliteration with the initial syllable of the radical (prepositional compounds) or with that of the second element (for example, *omnipotens*). This question was studied by Woelfflin,²⁴ who tried to formulate rules. He was followed by C. Boetticher,²⁵ who thought that fixed rules could not be established, and O. Keller,²⁶ who considered alliteration in compound words as a false variety, although he was obliged to recognize alliteration in *lictor colliga manus*. Vendrydes²⁷ threw light on the question by showing that in compound verbs, at least in primitive times, the prefix was accented, but that the recomposition of the verb, after the vowel-weakening due to the initial accent, proved that the radical was isolated from the compound. Cordier discusses this difficult matter on pp. 27-30.

²³ This example is contrary to the opinion of Woelfflin, *op. cit.* (note 9 *supra*), p. 15, n.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (note 9 *supra*), pp. 4-5.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* (note 11 *supra*), p. 40.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* (note 13 *supra*), pp. 67-70.

²⁷ *Recherches*.

Force in alliteration is secured in various ways: by the number of sounds in the initial syllables: *forma fortunare* and *fama fatisque* as compared with *fama et felicibus armis*; by the number of words grouped in the same alliteration: *magno . . . murmure montis* with *murorum moles*; by the close connection of the words: *uoltus uocisque* with *uoltus . . . uerba*; by their place in the verse. Woelflin²⁵ has shown that triple alliteration in the second half of the verse is more effective, because of the obligatory dactyl: *adrectis auribus adstant*; for the same reason Virgil purposely places alliteration in the last two words of the verse: *auribus hausi*; and also on the first and last words: *Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*; by the concordance (often of course accidental) of the alliterated syllables with the metrical accent; *murmure montis* with *seruate secundis*.

The arrangement of the alliterative members frequently serves to mark the connection of words with one another; it often corresponds with their construction and with their semantic affinity and with a general similarity in their sounds; *uorat uortex*; *miratur molem*; *lustris labentibus*; *spumas salis*. Parallelism in the nature or function of words is similarly indicated: *sinus et statio*; *magnum et memorabile*; sometimes the two words are different in nature, but the parallelism is none the less made evident: *Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantes . . . scopulos*; *uento et uastis fluctibus*. Several pages (37-57) are devoted to classified lists of the arrangement of the alliterative members, some examples of which have already been given. A few additions will probably be sufficient. Some verses group two different alliterations, each of which unites two words already bound together by their grammatical function: *Praepetibus pennis . . . credere caelo*, or already employed in parallelism: *fataque fortunasque . . . moresque manusque*; this is more complex when the same alliteration shows both syntactical connection and parallelism: *Et conum . . . cristasque comantes*. The ancient usage which juxtaposed in asyndeton alliterating words of the same kind and of the same function (*purus putus*, *laetus lubens*) has almost disappeared in the *Aeneid* (*digna indigna pati*, XII, 811 is formulaic); the words are almost always connected, usually in coördination, ordinarily by *et* or *-que*, sometimes by *atque*, more rarely by *et . . . et*, or by *-que . . . -que*; once at least we find *-que . . . et . . . -que*, where *et* unites two alliterations and *-que* the two members of each: *. . . arces Flauinaeque arua Et . . . lacum lucosque . . .* (VII, 696 f.).

We also have grouping according to sense, where the same idea or image is represented by two synonyms or by neighboring words with the same initials; this adds to its force, while the alliteration of two antonyms emphasizes the opposition: *capite et ceruicibus, sudarit sanguine, uirtutesque uirosque, anxius angit*. Groups are formed in order to suggest sounds: *. . . tonitruque tremescunt*; *. . . ornatum flamma crepitante cremari*, where *cre-*, expressing the sound, is taken up by *crepitante cremari*. Dr. Palmer in his *Guide to the Study of Latin Verse* has shown how words at times catch each other in sonorous images; thus the series *sono-*, on which he founds his study, furnishes many examples where the same words are

²⁵ *Op. cit.* (note 17 *supra*).

grouped: *resonantia saxa; saxa sonabant; sonantia saxa; sonitum saxis; sonantes scopulos; scuta sonant*. The sonority of the word itself or the quality of the initial group must be taken into account; thus *tumultus* and *turba* by themselves indicate only agitation or disorder, but we find these two words often associated, not only with regard to their sense but also and especially by reason of their own sonority and the phonic value of the initial group; e.g.: *turbante tumultu*; in this case the place of the two words at the end of the verse makes the combination more expressive for the ear and shows that it was intentional.

Alliteration often passes beyond the sentence and appears in a phrase, thus establishing connection between the members of the phrase by emphasizing the subjects, the complements, and particularly verbs either principal or subordinate: *faces . . . , furor; ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas, Tango . . . , testor; mitteret . . . -que moneret*; sometimes the alliteration in the first sentence is continued in the second: *. . . silici scintillam . . . Succcepitque*, or even two different alliterations each have their first member in the first sentence and their second member in the second: *Incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras*. Alliteration also may extend to an entire passage, although the diversity of the alliterations and the somewhat loose connection of their members may perhaps make some of the examples doubtful. The author gives as illustrations: V, 64 ff., VII, 293 ff., VIII, 233 ff. and 198 ff. Here it is not a question of the same alliteration continued but the repeated use of different alliterations, of which, however, one may dominate.

The metrical formation of the verses may affect certain arrangements of the alliterative members. Alliteration is one of the essential elements of the carmen.²⁹ In the Saturnian it seems to be an auxiliary of the versification—at least there are certain regular features; for example, where two words, usually contiguous, make alliteration in one or the other hemistich; the concordance with the arsis is not constant: e.g. *Flentes ambae abeuntes lacrimis cum multis*. Also where two alliterating words, contiguous or not, are separated by the metrical pause; in this case the alliterative element placed in the second hemistich corresponds with an arsis and frequently with the first of this hemistich, immediately after the metrical pause. The process thus unites in the first example the parts of the hemistich and, in the second, the two hemistichs of a verse. In the hexameter, however, it is much more difficult to place an alliterative member in the arsis; words which have a short initial syllable, giving an iambus (*minax*), an anapest (*minitatur*), or an antibacchiac (*adgnoscit*), cannot make their first syllable correspond with an arsis; furthermore the penthemimeral or the hepthemimeral pause is an obstacle; since it calls for a long syllable before it, it is almost always the end of a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word of such a kind that the first syllable of this word necessarily falls at the thesis: II, 199: *Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum*. It is possible to suppress the pause after the seventh half-foot, when there is already a penthemimeral pause, or to resort to a bucolic caesura, as Lucretius had already done (III, 794 . . . *constat corpore certum*), but Virgil seems seldom to have taken this liberty: VI, 833, *Neu patriae ualidas*

²⁹ See P. Lejay, *Hist. de la litt. latine*, p. 145.

in viscera uertite uires. It is still more difficult to obtain concordance between the two alliterating syllables and two arses of a verse; examples of this are rare and most frequently fortuitous: I, 833: *Cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis.* Hence the poet often purposely uses alliteration after the fourth³⁰ foot, but the abuse of this device leads to repetitions, sometimes in the same book. On the other hand the poet, continuing a tradition that goes back to the saturnian and passes on to the hexameter,³¹ seeks to fill the second half of the verse, since it has more effect on the ear because of the obligatory fifth dactyl, with three elements of the same alliteration (*adrectis auribus asto*). This was noticed by the ancient grammarians,³² and Virgil has numerous examples. The best technique is to place all the alliterative members in the second half of the verse in a complete sentence or in one of its elements.³³

In the classical epoch alliteration is used only to produce an effect of an aesthetic nature; it emphasizes the auditive or visual picture, the sentiment or the thought. A verse is beautiful in its form if it pleases the ear. The metrical structure of the verse must be well marked. The difficulties inherent in the hexameter have already been noted. Cordier gives further details on pp. 59-66.

Virgil's appeals to the ear have already been touched upon. Homer had already painted by means of sounds, e.g. the noise of the waves in *Od.*, X, 122; in Latin the character of the initial syllable makes the process more effective. It is founded upon the correspondence of the sound with those of nature; vibrant *r* suggests rolling, explosive *c*, crackling.³⁴ But the correspondence is only approximate; sibilant *s* may render the hissing of a serpent or the whizzing of an arrow, and its use is extended to similar sounds, such as the dividing of waves at the corners of an island and their return to the sea: I, 161 . . . *inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.* Therefore the phonetic meaning is intelligible only when there is in the text a word to serve as a guidepost to the mind and reveal the latent harmony. The word may not belong to the series of alliterative members, but it nevertheless makes clear the import of the alliteration: *Interea magno misceri murmure PONTUM*; but more commonly it forms a part of the series: . . . *sale SAXA sonabant.* Besides the impression of loud and violent sounds called up by *r*, *c*, *t*, and *s*, alliteration may express the aspects of nature by a transition of sensations; the relief due to the intensity of the sounds results in a visual relief, such as the effects of light: *Luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*, and the effects of color: *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.* More subtly an interlocking of alliterations makes the contrasts more striking; for example dawn and the shades of night:

Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
Umentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram;

³⁰ Kvičala, *op. cit.* (note 8 *supra*), pp. 333 ff.

³¹ See Woelfflin (note 14 *supra*), citing the epitaph of Naevius (frag. 64).

³² The alliteration with three members is much rarer in the first hemistich: VIII, 683: *arduus agmen agens*; XI, 291: *ambo animis ambo.*

³³ Woelfflin (note 14 *supra*), p. 523.

³⁴ Marouzeau, *Stylistique*, pp. 24 ff.; M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*, third part.

frequent with his predecessors, of two alliterative forms of the same word (XI, 615, *pectora pectoribus*), but he realizes that one cannot, without weakening them, resort too often to that class of words. He also uses but seldom the type in which there is word-play between two words of the same family (*victores uictique*); he prefers the figura etymologica, the quest of which seems to him more worthy of his art (*anxius angit*, IX, 89), or still more the various kinds of paronomasia (*uenturos uentos*), which call for more care and thought. He loves still more, and more than Lucretius, combinations of synonyms and antonyms (*muros et moenia, scuta aut spicula*), because they have besides the advantage of enriching the idea or of gaining a more marked foil. Hence alliteration with him is more scientific and the result of greater study. The observance of the process, more or less conscious and successful in Ennius and Lucretius, has become a well-pondered technique.

In the first place alliteration retains in many cases its primitive use of adorning the verse; e. g. XI, 785 ff.:

Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo
Pascitur.

An alliteration in *s* accentuates the beginning of the first line and the syllables placed at the trihemimeral and hepthemimeral pauses. In the second line a second alliteration with *c* strikes the beginning of the line and the syllables following the trihemimeral and penthemimeral pauses. A third alliteration, in *p* and interwoven with the second, continues to the third verse, where it marks the running into the next line. A fourth in *a* supports the end of the second line. Such alliteration is rarely a useless luxury, a play without purpose. What was formerly a rude pleasure to the ear has become a refined one; Virgil as a rule avoids the tiresome repetition of the same initial sound; in the following lines the poet, aided by the sonorousness of unfamiliar words, has aimed at diversity (III, 270-275):

Iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zachynthos,
Dulichiumque Sameque, et Neritos ardua saxa.
Effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,
Et terram altricem saeui exsecramur Ulixi;
Mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.

There are three different consonants, *n* (4 times), *s* (5 times), *m* twice, and two different vowels, *a* (5 times) and *e* (5 times), yet with one exception none of them is repeated in immediate vicinity. The poet begins by placing in the first line the sounds *a* and *n*, makes use of them in chiasmic order in the following verses and enframes them by a new sound, *s*, then continues with this last sound, to which he adds *e*, making the sound *a* reappear between them; he returns to *n*, still keeping *e* and making use of a fifth sound *m*; he finally takes up again the two sounds at the beginning, *a* and *n*; such interlacing, substituted for accumulation, does not tire the ear.

The attempt has been made to establish an aesthetic of ancient sounds. J. Marouzeau³⁶ calls attention to the fact that Cicero did

³⁶ *Stylistique*, p. 17.

not like *f*, and that Quintilian had a distaste for *f* preceding *r*. It will be observed that Virgil, except in ready-made expressions (*fortuna . . . et . . . fatum, face . . . ferroque*) ordinarily does not use those sounds; but, taking account of the disagreeable impression that they appeared to produce, he rightly had recourse to them when he wished to express dejection (II, 13, *fracti bello fatisque repulsi*), frenzy (II, 588, *furiata mente ferebar*), as well as loud noises. On the other hand, since the sound *l* was agreeable,³⁷ Virgil made alliteration with this for pleasant sounds or sights (XI, 628, *litusque uado labente reliquit*; IV, 6, . . . *Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras*) but also for death and weariness by a not unnatural transition (X, 418, *leto canentia lumina*; XI, 874, *laxos . . . umeris languentibus arcus*). In general, when there is an opportunity for rendering noises, the use of the sounds ceases in the *Aeneid* to be indifferent; they are adapted, perhaps with more felicity than by his predecessors, to the noises which the poet desires to represent; e.g. in XI, 714: *Quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat*, the explosive *c*, with the support of *f*, reproduces the galloping of the horse, but at the same time it brings to our mind the effort of the rider; a connection of which we only catch a glimpse in the other writers is established in Virgil between the value of the sounds and certain images, ideas, or impressions of various kinds. It is the part of each of us to appreciate this connection, since he only offers it to us, although in this particular case the poet takes pains to facilitate the interpretation by one of the words of the combination. Thus in XII, 573: *Ferte faces propere, foedusque reposcite flammis*, the *f*'s express the loud roar of the flames, and the pressing nature of the demand is suggested to the mind by *propere*, the initial of which forms alliteration with that of the second element of *reposcite*. In XII, 622: *Sic ait adductisque amens subsistit habemis*, the sound of a puts in relief the abruptness of Turnus' action and the repetition of the sound gives the impression of mental disturbance; we are enabled to interpret the repetition by one of the words of the alliterative group, namely, *amens*. There is therefore in the *Aeneid*, as there had always been before its day, phonic expressiveness in alliteration and the power of giving value to an auditory image; but at that time the process has passed beyond that stage and has become a generator of impressions.

Cordier sums up his Conclusion as follows: Alliteration, to judge from the examples which have been gathered in Virgil's poem, and in spite of the distance which separates it from its origins, continues to be bound to the special quality of the initial sounds of the words. This has been thrown into the shade in the course of time, but the predominance given during the development of the process to the most strongly articulated consonants testifies that in the poet's time the effects of the early usage were still felt, more or less confusedly; at least one can see in the choice or creation of expressions (*face . . . ferroque, timentem turbatumque*) similar to the old formulas (*καὶ οὐκ ἀνέκρινε, παρὰς παρὰς*) the nature of the process in the domain of literature; otherwise the voluntary formation of such impressive groups as *magno . . . marem* or *turbato tumultu*, many times repeated in the course of the poem, could not be understood.

³⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp.*, 14: 'Ἠδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν τὸ λ.

From another point of view, the alliteration which was formerly met everywhere, in prayers, judicial formulas, popular diction, as well as in primitive poetry, ran the risk of being condemned by sensitive readers as a form of expression that was rude and obsolete. Far from lessening their importance, Virgil made a conscious effort to continue the national tradition, but he knew how to transform an old method into a technique better adapted to a more refined public. The progress which was realized satisfied at once the requirements of a more critical ear and those of a more attentive mind. Sprung from a state of the language antedating Greek influences, and consequently unconnected with the figures of rhetoric later taken over from Athens, alliteration developed independently in Latin literature. Virgil, who imitated Homer in so many particulars, owes nothing to him in this field. In his time alliteration still reveals one of the most original aspects by which the taste and the artistry of the Latins are manifested.

The monograph is well arranged and attractively presented. Considering the variety of type used in the text, the typographical errors are remarkably few. The reviewer has noticed a few besides those given in the author's list of *Corrigenda*, none of which is at all misleading.

† JOHN C. ROLFE.

GUDMUND BJÖRCK. HN ΔΙΑΣΚΩΝ. Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1940. Pp. 139. (*Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*, XXXII, 2.)

The Greek phrase which forms the title of this monograph is a typical example of the construction which forms the subject of the discussion; but in addition to the common periphrasis consisting of the present participle and the imperfect of εἶναι, the combination of aorist participle and imperfect (or optative) of εἶναι, and of present participle with future εἶσομαι, is also briefly treated.

Much of the material is taken from the New Testament, with some from other Christian literature, on which, as is to be expected, the influence of the New Testament is strongly marked. With regard to the origin of the ἡν διδάσκων construction, the author dissents from the view that its frequency in the synoptic Gospels is due to the influence of the Aramaic original from which they were translated. If it were a question of an aramaism appearing in translation, he says (p. 68), we should expect a more equal distribution of the construction, which is far less frequent in St. Matthew than in St. Mark and St. Luke. This argument in itself does not convince me, since the individual authors might show their peculiar habits of style even in translating from a foreign original; but the passages which Björck cites (pp. 69 ff.) from Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and several other pagan authors, though not numerous, are sufficient to prove that the construction is not entirely foreign to classical Greek. He regards it as a feature of popular narrative style, used especially for giving the background of certain events and closely paralleled by

the English past progressive tense, but prevented by the existence of the simple imperfect from ever attaining a frequency approaching that of the English formation.

Just as in English there is a clear difference between the participles in the sentences *I was amusing the baby* and *the book was amusing*, so in Greek the use of the participle in the progressive ἦν διδάσκων must be distinguished from its use as a predicate adjective, and this latter use is dealt with in some detail. The periphrasis with ἦν and the aorist participle is regarded as the equivalent of a pluperfect in the Latin sense, where the emphasis is on the relative time of events; and in fact the influence of Latin is suggested as a factor encouraging the use of the construction by authors of the imperial age. The future periphrasis, where ἔσομαι is combined with a present participle, is regarded as a means of relieving the inability of Ancient Greek (as compared with Modern Greek) to distinguish between the durative and aoristic aspects in future time; the periphrasis of course has the durative aspect; but it must be observed that some of the examples cited are in the passive voice, where it is possible to distinguish the two aspects by the use of the "middle" and "passive" futures.

The monograph deserves praise both for intelligent interpretation of the material and for careful organization. On p. 15 the reference to Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* should read 1093.

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FRANK PIERCE JONES. *The Ab Urbe Condita Construction in Greek*. Baltimore, 1939. Pp. 96. (Dissertation published by the Linguistic Society of America.)

This dissertation appears to be the first extensive treatment of a construction which in the past has generally been regarded as being most common in Latin, though the existence of certain examples in Greek has long been recognized. An examination of the material will present to the reader a great number of examples taken from a wide range of authors from Homer to Demosthenes, but especially from Thucydides, whose works have always had much to offer scholars who study participial constructions.

The difficulty of making the *ab urbe condita* construction fit into any of the three commonly recognized classes of participial usage—attributive, circumstantial, and supplementary—has led the author in Chapter II to devise a new system of classification for the "circumstantial" and "supplementary" uses, that is, for those in which the participle stands in the predicative position. To those participles which give additional information about their nouns but which like English non-restrictive clauses, do not serve to identify them, or which could be replaced by independent sentences, he applies the term *non-restrictive*. This class may be conveniently illustrated by the example παραχώρισαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ὀρνίον καὶ Ὀργυάδες, ἐδάδοι δ' αὐτῷ (Xenophon, *Hell.*, III, 1, 6) and would contain most of the

examples generally classed as circumstantial. To those participles, on the other hand, which form a functional unit with their nouns, so that the two together form a single expression capable of being used as subject of a verb, object of a verb, object of a preposition, or as an adverb, he applies the term *complementary*. Here would belong the participles in the genitive absolute, in the *ab urbe condita* construction, and in combination with verbs like *λανθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, *φθάνω*, etc., as well as with nouns after *ἀκούω*, *πυνθάνομαι*, etc., where the construction resembles indirect discourse with the infinitive. An objection might conceivably be raised against this method of classification on the ground that it tends to obscure a certain parallelism existing between the "circumstantial" participle, with subject the same as that of the main verb, and the genitive absolute, resembling it in its temporal, causal, conditional, or concessive character but having a subject different from that of the main verb. Nevertheless the basis of distinction which Jones has chosen for his new classification seems to me a sound one, and it provides a place for the *ab urbe condita* construction. He is probably right also in reducing the types of relation between participle and main verb (temporal, causal, etc., see p. 15) to a secondary basis of classification, which of course should be observed in the genitive absolute as well as in the non-restrictive participles.

Chapter III, forming the main body of the work, treats the complementary participle, which, looked at in the light of the new classification, might almost be said to be identical with the *ab urbe condita* construction in its widest sense. The chapter is divided into a treatment of the participle and its noun as subject of a verb, as object of a verb, as adverbial modifier (with many subdivisions), and finally in certain troublesome genitive constructions. There are seven short appendices, dealing with the origin of the genitive absolute (which he believes to be derived exclusively from the temporal genitive), the position of the article in phrases containing participles, and other matters.

It is possible in this, as in any syntactical study, to disagree with the author in the classification of a few individual passages. In Thucydides, IV, 44, 1, ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἱππῆς ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι τῶν ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἵππους, I do not consider it necessary to regard οἱ ἱππῆς and ξυμμαχόμενοι as forming a functional unit. In Thucydides, VIII, 100, 3, ἀποκροσθέντες τῆς πείρας διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς προελθόντας, however, I feel that we have an *ab urbe condita* construction; otherwise the whole causal idea would rest in τοὺς φρουρούς. On p. 19 (top) read τοῦτο for τοῦτω; on p. 25, n. 11, read ἀνακεχωρηκός, where the author has retained the incorrect ἀνεκεχωρηκός of the Oxford text. On p. 69 (middle) εἰνακόσια should be translated not by *ninety* but by *nine hundred*. Mistakes in the quoting of passages are few in number, and the work deserves commendation for the amount of material presented, for its careful classification, and for good judgment in the theoretical aspects of the problem.

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GUILLIELMUS CHASE GREENE. *Scholia Platonica*. Haverford, Pa., American Philological Association, 1938. Pp. xlii + 569. (*Philological Monographs*, VIII.)

Professor Greene has brought to conclusion an intricate and laborious task of many years, consummating the work not only of European scholars from Siebenkees in 1798 to Schanz, Burnet, and others of recent date but that of Americans like his own predecessors and teachers at Harvard, F. D. Allen and C. P. Parker. The result is a splendid, even sumptuous, volume that does honor to all those concerned in it. There have already been detailed reviews in this country and abroad; the present writer confesses to a sense of great shame for his delay in writing the present account, but has sedulously avoided reading the other reviews. Without special equipment or experience in dealing with the vast bulk of minutiae contained in the Platonic scholia it would seem an impossible effrontery to question the accuracy of Greene's text, except for the inevitable quisquiliae, essentially insignificant in this case, of occasional misprints. Such trivial puzzles as why on p. 73 (*Phaedr.* 234 b) the note "add. b" is found in the footnote while the reading of W on 234 c is given in the text and why corrections are similarly distributed, or why on p. 66, at the end of footnote to schol. *Symp.* 219 b, the comparison with schol. *Protag.* 335 d is misread schol. ad *Euthyd.* 335 d, or why Hermann's infinitive, ἀναθίσκειν, has lost its infinitive ending in p. 75 on 236 b, will be no impediment to scholarship. In fact the care of the editor has been rather to lean over backward in keeping things clear for the user; one may even almost question whether these scholia have deserved this infinite effort. The footnotes and citations of modern compilations are a case in point. Wherever possible the traceable sources of the scholia have been cited, with a meticulous "ut videtur" incessantly recurring. Has "Quellenstudium" ever been more conscientiously devoted to a subject in which it is so desirable? I am particularly grateful for the history of the whole of Platonic scholiography and its modern editions given in the Praefatio. It is a notable introduction to a fascinating branch of the history of scholarship. Warneross (on Tarrhaeus and the paroemiographers) seems to be missing from the bibliography.

As to the value of the scholia themselves, one may say that they constitute one of the documents in the transmission of our knowledge. One may prefer to consult those modern scholia, the articles in encyclopaedias or the footnotes and other marginalia in printed books, but it cannot be denied that these latter often have a second-hand and derivative aspect when even the scratchings of scribes are closer to being, for us, primary. But after all the true value is to be weighed rather in the content than the age of our commentaries and the real question is whether the *Scholia Platonica* contain valuable material. On this point and on important textual points Greene has rendered the reviewer a kind of disservice by compiling a delightful preview of his own book in *T. A. P. A.* LXVIII (1937), pp. 184-196. The following general impressions, based on perhaps 300 pages, can only be an apology for not copying Greene's article verbatim; it ought to be read by all who consult the Scholia.

Notes on language are naturally quite frequent, such as the use

of ἦν for ἦμην (p. 43), the question of the spelling of γεννηταῖς with double ν (p. 7, app. crit.), and Plato's originating the expression ποιότης. There are other bits of aetiology. Proverbs are frequently explained—the work is a good introduction to paroemiography, too! This may be done with complete irrelevancy, as in the long story about Demosthenes on ὄνου σκιά in *Phaedr.* 260 c when Plato does not even make the point this story sets out to explain.

The customs of the Greeks come in for their share of exposition, as do religion, the games, art, etc. Neatly handled is the case of Daedalus on p. 173, cf. 419 and H. B. Walters' *Art*, p. 21. Greek literature of all periods is quoted (once even Vergil¹): the names of authors cited make a goodly list. History is not neglected. Christian prejudice amazingly enough [p. 160, *Gorg.* 497 c (2)] peeps through the screen through which the mysteries are viewed.

Sometimes we are favored even with something like sympathetic criticism of this or that passage. The scholiast catches the tone of irony for us often enough. He sees anticipations of Aristotle; he calls attention to parallels with other dialogues in good scholastic fashion; though he often just maladroitly recopies at one place what has been said at another. His guesses or his omniscience are doubtless no better than modern ones. His anonymity and achronism expose him and at the same time hide him from our exasperation, yet give him and us the advantage due to a superior proximity to presumable sources. There is even the notorious note dating the *Phaedrus*, 227 a (p. 67).

The book is magnificently provided with indices nominum, verborum, schematum (schemata are the diagrams included in many of the scholia). A remarkable if at times irritating feature is the segregation of the scholia of Arethas to the end of the text. Another minor irritation is the double sense of the term *scholia vetera* to designate both all those in BTW in the first part of the text and the (more) ancient ones among them.

It would take up too much space to list the many times² Greene corrects or reconstructs while conscientiously reproducing all the evidence for his texts, and we have reason to be abundantly grateful for the frequent cross-references. All in all the *Scholia Platonica* is a model of scholarly bookmaking.

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¹ Βιργίλιος, p. 80 on *Phaedr.* 244 b.

² A few chance samples: P. 48 on *Parm.* 127 a Παπαθήναια, app. cr. P. 54 on *Phileb.* 60 d, corr. of Cohn and Hermann, app. cr. P. 71 on *Phaedr.* 230 a, confusion of Sicily with Cilicia did not wait for a British Prime Minister! Pp. 91, 93, 99, 104, the correction of Proclus by the scholia on *Alcib.* 111 e, 113 c, 121 c, 129 a reverses the process customary elsewhere. P. 130 Cohn corrected on *Gorg.* 448 b. P. 135 Hermann corrected on *Gorg.* 454 b.

F. E. ADcock. *The Roman Art of War under the Republic*. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 140. (*Martin Classical Lectures*, VIII.)

"These lectures," writes the author in his preface, "delivered in May 1939, were written before conditions in Europe brought near the danger of war, and I have not altered them in order to be wise after the event." But subsequent events in Europe heighten, if anything, the interest which this very nice little book will hold for its readers. The peaceful millennium, fondly hoped two decades ago, had not arrived; much needed now is a more general, more widespread, intelligent understanding of the art and science of war. One hopes that students of history will restore the military phase of their subject to its rightful place of importance, in due proportion to the others.

Discussed in order are *The Men, The Sea, The Land, Foreign Policy and General Strategy, and Generalship*.

The first lecture considers the formal tactics, the character of the soldiery, the increase in manpower which the territorial expansion produced, and the distribution of fighting power, that is, the Roman emphasis on the infantry arm.

Brief quotations will perhaps indicate the theme and argument of the next three lectures. "It is hardly too much to say that the naval policy of Rome was to avoid the need of having one." "The seas were to be made safe by the control of the coasts" (p. 37).

"Republican Rome thought of war by land first in terms of Italy, then in terms of the Mediterranean, and despite the conquest of Gaul left to the future the military problems of continental, as distinct from Mediterranean, Europe" (p. 67). "We cannot find in Roman military history anything to match the far-ranging movements of Alexander the Great, which seemed to mock distance and terrain, or the brilliant timed concentrations of Napoleon, but within the normal ambits of its needs the Roman art of war was in the main well served by the mobility and endurance of its soldiers" (p. 71).

"The outward extension of Roman power is on the whole steadily persistent, and this gives to it an air of continued purpose. But if one looks more closely, one will see that in Roman policy there is often an element of improvisation on the one hand and on the other a readiness to halt and see if problems would solve themselves" (pp. 92 f.).

The final lecture, which to this reviewer is even better than the other four, discusses "what was it that a Roman general must bring to his army apart from his usually aristocratic rank, the dignity of his present or recent office and sometimes a family tradition of success, and what his army could supply to make good any deficiencies in him" (p. 105). Then follow brief and stimulating evaluations of the eminent military figures of the Republic: Fabius Rullianus; Scipio Africanus; (Flaminius is omitted, and Aetolian claims to the price of Antiochene are tentatively allowed); the younger Scipio; Metellus; Marius; Sulla, "the greatest general that Rome produced after Scipio Africanus" (p. 111), which is rather surprising and seems contradicted by the estimate at least of Caesar; Sertorius; Lucullus; the subordinates of Caesar and Pompey, espe-

cially Labienus and Antony; Pompey and Agrippa, coupled for their "appreciation of amphibious warfare, of the use both of sea and land so far as ancient conditions admitted of it" (p. 117); and Caesar. Of Caesar the author seems rather more critical than he was in *C. A. H.*, IX, pp. 704 f. "Caesar towards the end of his career came to suffer somewhat from the limiting effect of virtuosity" (p. 121). "Caesar was punished [in Curio's failure in Africa] for a weakness he sometimes showed, a defective judgment of his own officers" (p. 122). Yet he was "worthy to stand with Alexander, Hannibal and Napoleon" (p. 123).

In the sixth line on page 79 for "Carthage" read "Sicily."

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BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. *Epigraphica Attica*. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. x + 157. \$2.00. (*Martin Classical Lectures*, IX.)

Historians and epigraphists have long awaited this book from the pen of Professor Meritt, whose many contributions have done so much in the last fifteen years to bestow upon Greek epigraphy the dignity it now enjoys as a specialized scientific discipline, some knowledge of which is indispensable to students of Hellenic history.

The unique feature of the volume, epigraphically speaking, is that it can be read with understanding and appreciation by any classicist, for it is a thorough and not too technical exposition of epigraphic method and might well be considered the epigraphist's creed. It is perhaps the smallest book yet published by Meritt, but in the broadness of its appeal it surpasses all its predecessors; it will certainly have more readers.

To use Meritt's own words, "The central theme is very simple. The author has wished to show by example that inscriptions cannot be studied satisfactorily without proper attention to the physical properties of the stones on which they were inscribed." This theme Meritt develops in four chapters, Readings, Reconstruction, Lettering, and Restoration. The only index is of Inscriptions Cited.

The book abounds in sound epigraphic advice and I shall here select for comment only a few samples of the many topics discussed. Meritt constantly emphasizes the three-dimensional character of inscriptions and drives the point home by allusion to errors made in the past as the result of studying a single surface without proper reference to the lateral or reverse faces. In other words, an inscription cannot be treated as a manuscript. This leads naturally to a consideration of photographs and squeezes, both of which are essential for effective arm-chair epigraphy; indeed, it is the duty of the epigraphist to include in his publication good photographs (and under certain circumstances drawings) that will give the reader easy control over the editor's findings. Occasionally more can be read from a photograph or squeeze than from the stone itself (see the sly invitation on p. 24 and Figure 4), although such readings must always be checked against the original. At the same time Meritt

describes the dangers that are to be anticipated by the scholar who is compelled to rely on photographs and squeezes. That photographs, drawings, notes, and commentary should be published as a unit is the ideal of every epigraphist and this is the only way of playing fair with the reader. The material in this paragraph must be stressed, because more superficial and less informed views have actually appeared in print (e.g., Schlaifer, *A. H. R.*, XLV [1940], pp. 369-371).

Allied to the foregoing is Meritt's estimate of the progress and the value of architectural epigraphy, wherein he shows how the physical properties of the stones may often prove determining factors in correct reconstruction. Margins, adornment (sculpture, mouldings, etc.), blemishes in the marble, weathering, lines of fracture, all these serve the epigraphist as he reconstructs his monument.

The treatment of Lettering is sober and conservative. Far from setting up letter forms as infallible criteria for dating (and the amateur tends to think of them in this light), Meritt goes to some lengths to demonstrate that such criteria are frequently deceptive. Lettering does, of course, give a general indication of date, but its exactness varies; it is easy, in seeking precision, to place too much reliance on letters alone. Even where the evidence for the development of Athenian writing is fairly full, an inscription may conceivably fall anywhere within the professional lifetime of a single cutter. Here again the necessity of drawings and photographs in epigraphic publications is impressed upon the reader, for only by studying such illustrations can the scholar who has no access to the stones themselves observe the development in lettering and the idiosyncrasies of various hands and periods. Nevertheless, specific examples of the progress made through the study of letter forms are given and Meritt also indicates how a fragmentary text may often be identified or approximately dated by the chequer pattern of its stoichedon style.

Significant in this chapter is the manner in which Meritt traces the abundance of official Athenian documents alongside the development of democracy and explains how the evidence on stone decreases as democratic government wanes. "Democracy left behind a record and achieved an immortality that has been denied to the interludes of tyranny and oligarchy" (p. 93).

The question of restoration is left until last and in a chapter that should be read by all the skeptics the author states his own guiding principles. He believes that restorations fall into two classes: 1) those which purport to be verbally accurate and so to reproduce the original text, and 2) those in which verbal accuracy is not claimed but which attempt to reproduce the sense, at least, of the original. Meritt thinks that the second type of restoration should be encouraged, since it presents to the reader the epigraphist's "notes" and so documents his general determinations concerning the sense of the text and the length of lacunae. Thus he may prove that such a meaning as he has conjectured is at least not impossible on epigraphical grounds; in any case, argues Meritt, the reader is always protected by the brackets of the text and the red of the drawing. Such restorations, though not verbally accurate (and sometimes quite wrong), are based on the principle of trial and

error and stimulate others, with the happy result that the supplements of fragmentary documents gradually approach more and more closely to the truth, and often reach it (see the excellent and convincing example, pp. 119-129).

The skeptic (who thinks of the epigraphist as a sort of detective fitting together puzzles), faced with a heavily restored text, may be amused. But the truth is, his amusement is based on a twofold ignorance: in the case of the tentative restoration, of modern epigraphic method (Meritt, pp. 129-130); in the case of certain restoration, of the criteria employed in reconstructing a text. My own advice to the skeptic is that he read this book.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the epigraphist himself is at fault when he uses his purely tentative restorations as a proved basis for detailed historical conjecture. What we really need, I suppose, is a method of distinguishing between established and tentative restoration; yet one would hesitate to suggest that another type of bracket or another color ink be added to the already complicated epigraphic paraphernalia. As it is, the epigraphist must be reasonably conservative and the doubter must develop an intelligent tolerance.

This book is finely illustrated (the photograph on p. 70 is an exception). Meritt, true to his own beliefs, cites examples and prints photographs to make vivid every major point. A great many of his examples come from the Athenian tribute records, which serves once again to emphasize the indispensability of this series of texts for the study of Attic epigraphy. The author also finds in the volume opportunity to defend certain conclusions of his own and of others that have met criticism in the past. Notable is his restatement (against the extraordinary persistence of Kolbe and Nesselhauf) of what seem to me to be the obviously correct positions of fragments 2 and 7 of the assessment decree of 425 B. C. (pp. 68-74). Equally significant is his defense of Dow against Feyel (pp. 27-34, 111-115).

The volume conforms to the high standard of book-making set by this series; I expect that I am not the first to be irritated by the practice of gathering the notes at the end (incidentally, Meritt's notes are crammed with important information and comment). The text is typically free from error; I note only Dietrich (for Diedrich) on p. 17, a variant form of the circumflex accent on pp. 91 and 110, and a missing upsilon on p. 128.

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR.

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GEORGIUS KOWALSKI. *Commentarium Codicis Vaticani Gr. 107 in Hermogenis περὶ ὁράσεων et περὶ εὐρέσεως cum scholiis minoribus in omnia praeter Praeexercitamenta opera.* Leopoli Polonorum, 1939. Pp. lii + 159; 1 plate. (*Acta Seminarii Philologici*, II, fasc. 5-7.)

Hermogenes was the last "classic" of ancient rhetoric. His works were so much read and used as textbooks in so many schools at

Athens, Constantinople, and elsewhere that a large literature of commentaries and scholia grew up around them. Hitherto only a part of them has been published, mainly by Christian Walz whose edition leaves much to be desired. Professor Kowalski has done yeoman work in this field, and his edition of an anonymous commentary on the *De statibus* and the *De inventione* is a very valuable contribution to the studies of late ancient and Byzantine rhetoric. The *scholia minora* contained in the same codex are much less interesting but their publication too deserves our gratitude.

Kowalski has emended the text with praiseworthy skill and has detected and filled out a large number of *lacunae*. His success in handling the *ars critica* is due above everything else to his extraordinary familiarity with the material that is passed on by one commentator to the next and with the peculiar idiom and terminology of these commentators.

A little more attention might have been paid to matters of form and to the convenience of the reader. Alterations which are clearly indicated in the text ought to have been mentioned also in the *apparatus criticus*; it is not sufficient to put in it a reference to a parallel passage which has prompted the emendation. It is awkward to find the text interrupted by a reference to "R. Foerster, Ind. lect. Un. Vrat., 1892-3, p. 10 lin. 19-24," nor can I see any reason why the lines which Foerster has edited should not reappear in this edition. And somewhere in the book there ought to be a list of the numerous manuscripts which are described in the *Praefatio*; if their relations are too complicated to be illustrated by a *stemma codicum*, at least a *conspectus* might have been given with references to the pages on which the individual manuscripts are discussed. It would have saved fellow-workers in the field much time. None of these critical remarks, however, touches the substance of Kowalski's work.

In the *Praefatio* Kowalski has laid the foundation for much future work. He discusses a very large number of manuscripts containing Hermogenes' own work—many more than the last editor, Hugo Rabe, saw fit to use—and determines their relation to one another. He also traces the sources of his commentator, showing his indebtedness to Sopater, Georgius Monus, "Planudes" and to the anonymous sources of other extant commentators. One realizes that the analysis of the extant material leads to the reconstruction of what has been lost; there is hope that if the methods of analysis and reconstruction are applied to a larger number of commentaries we shall some day know a great deal more about the successive stages of the ancient and medieval *ἐξηγησις* of Hermogenes.

FRIEDRICH SOLMSSEN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

E. A. HAVELOCK. *The Lyric Genius of Catullus*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1939. Pp. xii + 198. 8s. 6d.

This book is divided into two parts: Imitation of Twenty-Six Lyrics and Analysis of the Catullan Temper. Havelock wishes his "versions" to be regarded as the main part, in spite of the fact that they occupy only sixty-nine pages when the Latin is printed facing

the English. Consequently the book is out of balance and the reader immediately wonders what led Havelock to write it this way.

It is difficult to understand what purpose these versions are meant to serve. Usually the intention of translations is to interpret the Latin for those who have not sufficient command of the language to comprehend the original. But elsewhere in his book Havelock does not hesitate to quote Latin extensively without translation, and much of his discussion can be of interest only to persons with at least a fair knowledge of Latin literary history. In addition, he feels that his versions call for long justification, and he even devotes one whole essay to that end (*The Impermanence of Poetry*), so that he furnishes an Alexandrian touch by publishing a commentary along with his verse. If translations are not intended simply to communicate directly to unlearned readers the substance and spirit of the original, they presume to have some poetical merit in themselves. Occasionally Havelock does achieve a pleasant effect, but the following lines are a fair sample of the rest. He renders

At vos quo libet hinc abite, lymphæ,
Vini perniciēs, et ad severos
Migrate: hic merus est Thyonianus.

as

Hence, hence, corroding water:
Teetotallers console.
Bacchus you often slaughter,
But here he's rescued whole!

The eight essays of Part II, Havelock writes (p. 3), are "a sort of supplement to my rhymes, some account of my own discovery—naturally not complete—of the poet's style and substance." Like so many recent writers on classical subjects, Havelock is proud of not writing a scholarly work—but not writing a scholarly work is no guarantee that one is writing a popular work. It is much as if one boasted that his book was composed entirely by candlelight. At the present time it is rather generally recognized that we have a great need of good popular books on classical authors. That need, however, is not to be satisfied by writing books which do not make use of what scholars have published, especially in the periodicals, for the value of their research is too well established to be denied. A popular book should employ the results of scholarship unobtrusively, but it must employ them. Havelock's book gives no sign of his having done so.

By his attitude, Havelock has allowed himself to be drawn into several awkward and contradictory situations, of which a few will suffice as examples. He is very disdainful of the numerous suppositions which have been made about the life of Catullus, but he proceeds to accept some of the largest without adequately indicating to his reader that they are by no means certainties: e. g., he regards as facts that Lesbia is Clodia the wife of Metellus Celer, and that the Cornelius of the first poem is Cornelius Nepos. Sometimes his statements are almost false, as when (p. 12) he says that Catullus was the first to render Sappho's ode into Latin, a remark which is really not just to the reminiscences in the lines of Valerius Aedituus. He writes seriously (p. 82), and without footnote or modification of any kind, that Cicero once actually thought of divorcing his wife and marrying

Clodia! But later, in footnote 67, he recognizes that the allegation lacks a sound factual basis. He is very much confused (pp. 150, 158) on the subject of rhyme in Latin, apparently unaware that the subject has been studied.¹

From this discussion it can be seen that the book is disorganized and poorly thought out; it would be most unfortunate if it should come into the hands of an unscholarly audience. But it would also be unfair to dismiss Havelock's book without pointing out that he has many good things to say which are very illuminating if one has the patience to search for them. Collected together, they would have made a good long essay. He has two really fine essays, *Homo Urbanus* and *Homo Venustus*, in which he analyzes the sophistication and character of Catullus' literary circle and idiom. Havelock's forte seems properly to be social history, not literary criticism.

There is one point in the arrangement of this book which merits severe criticism. The footnotes are all assembled in the back of the volume, and yet the author has frequently included a paragraph of discussion in a footnote.

WALTER ALLEN, JR.
Ensign USNR

NORMAN J. DEWITT. *Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul*. Lancaster, 1940. Pp. v + 72. (Diss.)

This study consists of three papers which are the latter part of a doctoral dissertation covering the larger subject of *The Romanization of Gaul*. The conclusions of the study of pre-Roman Gaul are summarized here and show that they formed the background for the author's general conclusion that there was great continuity in Gallic history and changes were the result of natural forces operative even before the Roman conquest.

The first chapter deals with the policies of Caesar and Augustus in Gaul. Both men aimed to utilize for the Roman administration the initial advantages in the province and did so by a policy of moderation. There were two periods of intense activity. The first naturally followed Caesar's conquest when he made every effort to conciliate the pro-Roman nobles, gave citizenship to certain deserving Gauls, and recognized the old Gallic organization by *civitates* as the basic one for the new régime. The second period of intense activity occurred from 16 to 13 B. C. when Augustus was in Gaul. The census, which was an appraisal of all taxable assets, the maintenance of good roads, and the collection of taxes were the sole points on which he showed an aggressive attitude. He did not discourage Gallic customs; the organization by *civitates* continued. An aggressive policy concerning the Rhine frontier was necessitated by the demand for security in Gaul itself as much as by anything else. The

¹ Cf. e.g. P. O. Brown, "On Catullus' *Indignus*," *U. Chi. Stud.*, 1, 1936, pp. 1-12. On this point I have also had the advantage of seeing in proof *Études* of F. R. B. Godelphin's "Notes on the Technique of Milton's Latin Elegies," *Modern Philology*, XXXVII (1940), pp. 351-6.

altar of Rome and Augustus at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône was erected by the Gallic *civitates* as a sort of symbol of the new order. DeWitt believes that it was the result of a fusion of three elements but that the most important one was certain Gallic religious beliefs which associated Augustus with some Celtic deity.

The second paper on old and new towns in Roman Gaul supplements the first chapter. In the development of towns as in other respects change was due to natural forces and not to a conscious policy of urbanization on the part of Augustus. This is the most original part of the work and the general conclusions are well supported by an index of Gallic towns giving the evidence in detail. For each town DeWitt gives the data which deal with the suitability of the site for urban occupation, its economic advantages, and any evidence of town-planning. The study shows the working of economic factors but no policy on the part of the Roman administration. The great prosperity of Gaul at this time made such interference unnecessary. Some hill sites were abandoned because they were cramped and inconvenient, not because Augustus was afraid that they would become rallying points for rebellion. To the reviewer this accumulated evidence seems convincing.

The third chapter discusses the enfranchisement of individuals in Roman Gaul. Again we see that Caesar and Augustus continued a policy which had started before them. During the Republican period many natives of southern Gaul had been given individual grants of citizenship by Romans who exercised *imperium* there. The evidence from literary and epigraphical sources is listed in detail. Only names from volumes XII and XIII of the *Corpus* which give Celtic cognomina are included so that persons of slave extraction and immigrants from Italy are excluded. This is a necessary control in any study based on names, although it excludes many Gauls who adopted Roman cognomina. This part concludes with an index of all Julii in Gaul and Germany whose Roman citizenship goes back to a grant by Caesar or Augustus and also a list of Claudii.

The general conclusion is "that the initiative in Romanization lay with the Gauls themselves." Perhaps the chief argument against this pleasant picture of the ready acceptance of the Roman régime is the unrest which accompanied the census. But the author may be right when he argues that this was caused by the prospect of higher taxes and not by the notion of foreign domination as such. The fact remains that after Caesar they never again took up arms against Rome as a group. No doubt the great success of the Roman administration can be attributed to the fact that very little was imposed from above and this is the fact which the thesis stresses. We are also grateful for the useful lists of the towns of Gaul and of the Julii.

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Prudentius. Hamartigenia, with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by DR. J. STAM. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1940. Pp. 274.

Though Prudentius is commonly called the greatest Christian Latin poet, much of his work remains untranslated and without adequate

commentary. Lavarenne in 1933 published the *Psychomachia* with a French translation and commentary, announcing that similar editions of the other works would follow. But his promise remains unfulfilled, and a place is thus left for Stam's edition of the *Hamartigenia*.

Fifty-four pages of introduction describe the life of Prudentius, the contents of the poem, its sources, theological questions involved, and prosody. There is little original discussion of controversial points but ample citation of the published literature. Some of the views quoted might well be challenged; for instance (pp. 37-40), Prudentius' closing prayer (*Hamart.* 931-966) is supposed to refer to the fires of purgatory. But this the context apparently forbids, for only two regions are described, to which souls are assigned for eternity. There is a variety of mansions in heaven, and of caverns in Avernus; not daring to ask for one of the former, Prudentius prays only for gentle flames and light punishment in hell. The troubled theologians argue that he must be thinking of some kind of purgatory, since he elsewhere prays for admittance to heaven; but this is pressing a poet too closely.

The text is that of Bergman in the Vienna *Corpus*, with only three changes, in one of which a misprint is corrected, while in the others the reading of earlier editors is restored.

The perverse rhetoric and frequent ambiguities of Prudentius will trouble any translator who strives for exactness. Stam has the further difficulty of writing in a language which is not his mother tongue. Neither of these considerations, however, explains all the slips, of which I list a few:

Verse 79 is unnecessarily omitted. 101 *dissona numina*—not "several gods," but "discordant gods"; the reference is to the two gods of Marcion. 115 *mortis de fomite*—not "from the sting of death," but "from mortal stuff." 193 f. *funderere nosset*—not "might know that they produced," but "might know how to produce." 206 *labefacta*—not "wavering between good and evil," but "ruined." 309 *palfebrae*—not "eyebrow," but "eyelid." 468 *forte*—not "almost," but "as it happened," or the adverb may better be left untranslated. 615 *quem pensare prius necesse est*—not "who ought rather to atone for," but "who must first atone for." 861 *digitum insertare palato*—not "to put her finger into her mouth," but "into the rich man's mouth."

Despite the imperfections here noticed, Stam's work is sound on the whole and fills a recognized need. The extent of his labor is indicated by the bibliography of one hundred and ninety-six titles. The book is well printed and provided with good indices.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

NORMAN T. PRATT, JR. *Dramatic Suspense in Seneca and in his Greek Precursors*. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. 120. \$2.00.

This dissertation deals competently with a literary subject and can be read with pleasure by anyone interested in ancient drama. The first dozen pages attempt to prove that the anticipatory character of

the dramatic suspense in Greek tragedy is the product of the playwright's artistry rather than the result of general familiarity with the myths employed. Pratt argues well from Antiphanes, Aristotle's *Poetics*, and probability that the Greek audience did not have what he calls "preknowledge" of how a given play would turn out. Though this argument provides salutary criticism and perhaps modification of the established contrary view, it cannot displace it. A conclusion precisely the opposite of that which Pratt draws from Aristotle (p. 6) is at least defensible; the traditional interpretation of the Antiphanes fragment is after all the easiest; and, on grounds of probability, audiences must soon have become familiar with a range that pretty well limited itself to

Presenting Thebes or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine.

Pratt then gives analyses and interpretations of the Senecan plays, longer in the case of *Hercules Furens*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes* ("Plays with Superhuman Protatic Personages"), shorter in the case of the remaining six ("Plays with Human Prologue-Characters"). These analyses, particularly such as that of *H. F.*, are of the highest usefulness for an intelligent reading of the play and appreciation of Seneca's art. The briefer analyses of the corresponding Greek plays are less valuable. I question somewhat the propriety of comparisons where the common basis of purpose and technique is as slight as in the case of Seneca and his Greek models. How much meaning is there, for example, in a comparison of the foreshadowing and suspense in the two *Troades* when in the case of Euripides' play there is not only the throbbing reality of the play itself but the even more real atmosphere of the Melian massacre just past and the Sicilian expedition then impending? But this is, in a sense, the Q. E. D. of the dissertation, that Seneca is dealing in an artistic conventional way with a body of stories which were perfectly familiar to his audience. He counts on their "preknowledge," whereas in the Greek plays the authors employ "foreknowledge," i. e. indications of what is to be anticipated provided in the play itself.

The book is written in an agreeable and lucid style, except for the Conclusion, to which the author apparently felt weight would be given by language and construction so involved as to be almost unintelligible. Editions should be cited by the original date (Peiper-Richter is cited by the 1921 reprint, Kingery by the 1936 reprint). I must mention for special approbation the interpretation of the divination scene in the *Oedipus* (pp. 93 f.) and that of *H. F.* 421 (p. 19, note).

MOSES HADAS.

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F. H. COLSON, *Philo*, Vol. VIII. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. xxiv + 458. \$2.50. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

Volume VIII of the Loeb *Philo* contains Book IV of the *De Specialibus Legibus* on the eighth, ninth, and tenth of the Ten Commandments, and the two associated treatises, the *De Virtutibus* and

the *De Praemiis et Poenis*; thus it completes Philo's Exposition of the Mosaic Law.

As in the preceding volumes, so in this the translator has shown great skill in dealing with textual problems, has rendered Philo's often difficult style of rhetoric into clear and persuasive English, and has provided brief but helpful notes on matters of composition, sources, and the like. But the reviewer must again express regret that Colson did not have the advantage of collaborating with a rabbinic scholar who might have dealt more authoritatively with the Halakic problems involved in Philo's comments on the laws of Moses.

In his Introduction Colson deals ably with the problem of the original extent and subdivisions of the three treatises, and of the audience to which they were addressed. While he may be right in holding, against L. Cohn, that the next to last section of the *De Virtutibus*, the *De Poenitentia*, is not addressed exclusively to proselytes, Cohn is still right, it seems, in holding that the last section, the *De Nobilitate*, is addressed chiefly to Jews, who are exhorted, although in indirect fashion, not to show arrogance toward proselytes, and that thus it is a proper conclusion to the whole treatise. For it seems clear to the reviewer that Philo's whole Exposition and these appendices are addressed both to Jews and Gentiles. Philo wishes to make the Jews conscious of their great privilege and great responsibility in inheriting the Mosaic Law; at the same time he wishes to make Gentiles realize that the Mosaic Law is also a proper philosophy and religion for them to live by.

In this brief review there is little space for comments on details. The reviewer wishes to commend particularly Colson's appendix (pp. 437-9) on Philo's use of the term δημοκρατία, which intelligently summarizes recent discussions. He also wishes to suggest alternative renderings for two passages. The first is *De Spec. Leg.*, IV, 97 (p. 67), τίς οὖν ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς ἀρχῆς. Colson renders, "What, then, is the lesson which he takes as his first step?" The context favors the rendering, "What, then, is (Moses') instruction concerning the governing (of our passions)?" The second passage is *De Virt.*, 12 (p. 171), διάνοιαν, ἢ πρὸς ὀξυωπίαν τῶν σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν ὄλφ, φασί, καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν. Colson renders, "... the mind, which in keenness of vision excels the eyes of the body so that they, as people say, are a 'mere nothing' in comparison." A more accurate and at the same time more colloquial rendering might be, "... the mind, which in keenness of vision differs, as they say, *toto caelo* from the eyes of the body."

These are two out of a dozen or so passages, but the remarkable thing is that there are so few passages where the reviewer believes Colson's rendering could be improved.

RALPH MARCUS.

TRYGVE KNUDSEN and ALF SOMMERFELT. Norsk Riksmåls-Ordbok, Hefter 14-24. Oslo, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1935-1939.

These fascicles of the new Riksmål dictionary bring it to the word *punkt*. It will be considerably larger than originally planned and can hardly be expected to be finished before 1944. The increase in size is in part due to a more complete inclusion of technical terms and to recently established loanwords, and, perhaps, also in some measure to the wish to offer a fuller record of recent adoptions from dialectic speech. The total number of words in the completed dictionary will perhaps be somewhere near 200,000. And yet this is a dictionary only of living standard Riksmål Norwegian (not of all Mdn. Norwegian, i. e., from 1525). So far as printed sources of words are concerned, it begins with Wergeland and Welhaven (hence *ca.* 1840); obsolete words found in these and other writers of their day are included, but not those in writers preceding them. The Riksmåls-Ordbok differs from most other large dictionaries in this respect. But it also differs in another respect, in that it goes beyond the printed documents and includes everything from standard spoken Riksmål, whether the word happens to appear in print somewhere or not. For some thirty years Riksmål has steadily been taking over, from popular speech and the dialects, apt terms and turns of phrase; that is one reason why Riksmål is lexicographically so rich today. But a still more important reason, perhaps, for its extensive vocabulary is its vast body of borrowed words (on the sources, scope, and periods of the chief borrowed elements see review of Hefter 4-13 in this Journal, LVI [1935], pp. 273-76). Of these the present dictionary gives a more correct picture than does any other, especially of the borrowings from English, the majority of which have come in during the last few decades, and of the compounds and derivatives based on Latin and French words that had been borrowed before. As to the latter, the number seems to be nearly as large in Norwegian (Riksmål) as in English. I have examined a few of these words as compared with the same word, and its derivatives, in the New English Dictionary. Of the word *parallell*, adj. n. adv., taken from Fr. *parallèle*, there are twenty-six additional formations (in NED there are twenty-eight). For example, for the native *jevntløpende* there is also the hybrid *parallelløpende*; one says *parallellklasse*, "skoleklasse på samme trin av undervisningen som en annen," and *parallellangrep*, "samtidig angrep over en hel front," etc. A very large proportion of the borrowed element appears only in the literary or the technical dialects: *petrifierse*, otherwise *forstene*, *parasitt*, "snyltedyr," *parasittere*, "leve som snylter," *perenn*, "flereårig," and vb. *perennere*, "holde sig levende." (Cf. early modern English: "to parasite," "to perennate.") But many of the words that were originally purely technical are beginning to be more widely used, as *essensiell*, borrowed from Fr. *essentielle*, in essence, by nature, intrinsic, now perhaps most often found in the sense "of decisive importance." Cf. Norw. *vesentlig*, in essence (German *wesentlich*), now quite commonly used in the meanings: "especial," and "important," and as adv., *vesentlig*, "largely," "for the most part."

An improvement that I want to commend is that in recent parts the accent of loanwords has been much more generally indicated. As

to the new Riksmål orthography, of Jan. 7, 1938, I do not know what the decision of the editors is (hefte 24 was being printed about that time). Some of the changed spellings are: *parterre* to *parterr*, *patient* to *pasient*, *pjes* or *piece* to *piece* (pron. pjes), *planche* to *plansje*, *plogfure* or *plogfår* (defined as dialect in *R.Ordb.*) to *plogfår*, *plus* to *pluss*, *point* to *poeng*, to take only a few cases from the letter *p*. Adoption of the changes (many of which have not found general approval) would probably be inadvisable at this stage of the progress of the dictionary. But a partial adoption (certain kinds of cases in which change is progress) would seem to be the solution.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Annual (The) of the British School at Athens, XXXVIII (1937-38) and XXXIX (1938-39). London, *Macmillan & Co., Ltd.*, 1940 and 1942. Pp. xii + 154; 35 pls.; 27 text figs.; vii + 112; 30 pls.; 27 text figs.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

Edited by

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

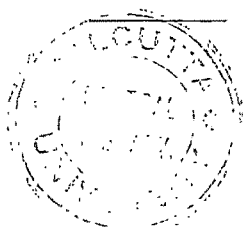
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VOLUME LXIV



BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: ARTHUR H. BIRD

PARIS: ARTHUR COHEN & OISEL

1943

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HECATAEUS AND XENOPHANES.

The Milesian school did not concern itself particularly with questions relating to religion. Its conception of the soul, as it appears in the record, is entirely consistent with that of the epic poems; and the same may be said of its view of the gods. If in this regard a difference is to be noted, it may be regarded as the natural result of tendencies already observable in Homer and Hesiod. The gods of mythology do not appear in the account of the world given by the Milesians, the agents being natural objects and forces. Aristophanes, toward the close of the fifth century, represents Zeus as dethroned and supplanted by Dinos and Necessity.¹ However justly this might be said of the consequences of the natural philosophy inaugurated by the Milesians as they appeared after a lapse of more than a century, there is nothing to show that Anaximander and Anaximenes were conscious of such implications of the attitude they adopted toward nature. In Homer occasionally and still oftener in Hesiod the gods are little more than personifications of nature, a fact clearly perceived and expressed already in the sixth century by Theagenes of Rhegium.² The Milesians might therefore pursue their way, interpreting nature as it seemed reasonable to them, without being conscious of breaking with the hallowed tradition, so long as they recognized that all things were full of gods. Such an attitude was the more natural to them as Ionians, because Ionia in the sixth century had gone farther in secularizing religion than had either Greek lands even a century later. Furthermore,

¹ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 370-381, 898-1070-71.

² Cf. Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (hereafter cited simply as Diels-Kranz), 8, 2-3, pp. 10-2 (Theagenes, frag. 2).

the Milesians were chiefly concerned with external nature, its origin, processes, and periodicity, with a growing sense of order in the world and of a pervading and all-compelling necessity, in the face of which the individual counted for little. Their view of the soul as of a fleeting breath was not calculated to give it great importance, and such ethical conceptions as they applied to the operations of nature were social, having regard not to the individual but to the civil group.

The latter half of the sixth century witnessed a change, the origin and causes of which are obscure. It is probable, indeed, that we should be equally in the dark in this matter even if our sources of information about this period were a hundredfold more abundant than they actually are; for the determining influences may reasonably be assumed to have been entirely different in the several regions in which the signs of change appear. Nor does the change everywhere have the same direction and result. Orphism is especially prominent in Magna Graecia, but Orpheus was localized in Thrace, while Athens was regarded as a center of Orphic propaganda. How far Orphism penetrated Ionia is not clear, because it cannot always be distinguished from the mystic cult of Dionysus, which certainly won many adherents there. In Ionia and in colonies where Ionian refugees found asylum one can imagine a religious revival following the humiliating subjugation of Asia Minor by the Persians; but the general receptivity for the new movement cannot be so explained. Moreover, the results were entirely different in different regions and individuals. What is common to many, if not all, movements of this time is heightened interest in matters concerning religion. From another point of view one may say that man is becoming more conscious of himself and of his place in the world. If in Anaximander we find evidence of concern about the origin of man, it is still chiefly in connection with the origin of land animals in general. His conception of cosmic justice suggests an instinctive, rather than a reflective, application of a moral postulate to the world. In Xenophanes the application of ethical concepts in defining the character of God is essential and obviously conscious. Whatever God may have meant to him, it is certain that the concept he framed is essentially an ethical ideal. Xenophanes was acquainted with the anthropology of his day and knew how certain peoples, Scythians and Ethiopians,

imagined their gods,³ but it was not from a comparative study of their conceptions that he arrived at his own: he found it by examining his own mind and applying his concept of perfection. Aristotle suggests that his model was the universe—the fact that it is *one* led to the notion of the unity of God.⁴ Though Aristotle and Theophrastus may have been right in their belief that Xenophanes practically identified God with the world, one cannot accept the inference that the unity of the world suggested the unity of God;⁵ for, even if the world is conceived as a cosmos, its unity is not directly given: it is so conceived only because the moral postulate demands that it shall be a unit.

The Orphic and Dionysiac conception of the soul is essentially a primitive notion growing out of the unity of a group. In itself it has no special religious significance, having no necessary relation either to conduct or to God. The Dionysiac anthropogony, indeed, developed this primitive idea by conceiving the human soul as having a twofold origin, partly divine, partly Titanic; but, while the better part of the soul was thus derived from heaven, to which it yearns to return, it is not clear that the purifications, by which it might be freed from the Titanic taint, were other than ritual and material. Pythagoras, or at any rate early Pythagoreans, raised the purification into the ethical sphere by recognizing a just and philanthropic life as a means to this end. The Dionysiac, Orphic, and Pythagorean conventicles held the belief in a periodic cycle under the power of fate or necessity. They sought means of escape from it. The Milesians, Xenophanes and Heraclitus, likewise accepted the belief in periodic cycles, as had Hesiod; for them, however, it seems to have had only a cosmic significance, unless Heraclitus actually thought of the conflagration of the world as in some sense a judgment. In Hecataeus these cosmic cycles became important in connection with chronology.

A significant indication of the changed state of mind is the attitude of men at this time to Homer and Hesiod. So far as we can see, the Orphics, Dionysiacs, and Pythagoreans did not directly combat the views of these worthies.⁶ There are various

³ *Metaphysics*, I, 2, 983 b 10-12; *Metaphysics*, I, 2, 983 b 21-24.

⁴ Cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, v, 201, n. 228.

⁶ The *Descent to Hades*, however, depicted the punishment of Homer

We may first consider Hecataeus, though he was perhaps the youngest of the group. He was born at Miletus, probably about 560 B. C., and can be understood only as the continuator of the work of the Milesian school. Whether he was personally in touch with that illustrious group we cannot say, because we do not know whether it existed as such after the death of Anaximenes, the date of which is likewise uncertain. In any case there is nothing to suggest that he owed anything to Anaximenes. If he did, it was probably in a negative way. We hear of adherents of the philosophy of Anaximenes in the fifth century, and from the character of their work as well as from the record regarding Anaximenes himself we gather that it was concerned chiefly with cosmology. With cosmology Hecataeus apparently did not deal at all. Actually he harked back to Anaximander, taking up the problem where he had left it.

Anaximander's main interest centered in chronology and geography, though he sketched the origin and order of the world, as seems to have been the almost invariable rule with later geographers. We are told that in the book which Apollodorus of Athens found in the second century B. C. the great Milesian had given a "summary account of his opinions."¹³ This statement is generally interpreted as meaning that the book was brief and sketchy; but this inference is not justified. It was his "opinions" that were briefly stated; and we must ask on what subjects he expressed opinions that were likely to be consulted. Surely it was not his opinions regarding human history or descriptive geography; for the doxographic tradition entirely ignored these subjects, and in consequence Hecataeus, who confined himself to this field, is not even mentioned in it. If Anaximander gave only a summary sketch of cosmology and cosmography, we infer that he did so, as later geographers and historians did, because he felt that it was the logical introduction to his main theme. Anaximenes took up this subject and made it peculiarly his own, dealing with it more at length and making his contribution there. That may be the reason why Hecataeus entirely ignored the subject. He may have felt that he could not do better, or he may have been little interested in it.

At all events he chose to continue the work of Anaximander. We are told, apparently on the authority of Eratosthenes, that

¹³ Diels-Kranz, 12 A 1 (= Diogenes Laertius, II, 2).

he made a marvellous improvement in the map of his predecessor.¹⁴ Though, or perhaps just because, we have no information on the subject, we may assume that he followed the same principles. His improvement must, therefore, have consisted essentially in the extension of the chart to include more lands and in the correction of the contour of the earth. We are sure that he introduced notable changes in the east, based on the conquests of Darius and the voyage of Scylax of Caryanda; for he was regarded as an authority on the Orient down to quite late times. In particular we may be sure that he incorporated the "Persian map," which may be reconstructed from the account of Herodotus, thereby giving a better approximation to the actual map of the external lands added to the Persian Empire. In doing so he must have discarded the old notion, later revived, of a land-bridge connecting India with Libya (Africa). There is no reason to assume that he had visited these eastern lands, though his personal relations with the Persian court may have led him to penetrate Asia Minor and even Persia. He knew Egypt from personal observation, having probably accompanied Cambyses on his expedition of conquest. He was acquainted also with northern Libya. His relations with the Persian court may well have facilitated his journey to the West, since the Phoenicians also were subjects of the Great King. The fragments of his geographical treatise reveal a detailed knowledge of the West which was not again equalled for some centuries. This also suggests a connection with the Phoenicians and their colonies of Carthage and Gades, as does the relatively vague picture of the coast of the Gulf of Genoa, which the Phocaean colony of Massalia controlled. In the north the "Scythian square" seems to be due to Hecataeus. We conclude, therefore, that the "inner map," that is, the map of the Mediterranean and of the Persian Empire, as we reconstruct it from the account of Herodotus, is essentially the work of Hecataeus.

But Hecataeus was a descriptive geographer in the larger sense, not only a cartographer, but interested also in physiography. It is certain that in its essentials at least the account of the nature of Egypt given by Herodotus is based on his observations, which probably extended into the Libyan desert.

¹⁴ Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechisch u. Römischen Historiker*, 2. Teil, p. 3. Hecataeus, Testimonia 12 a.

Other observations also, such as those relative to the Achelous and the Thessalian plain go with these, and possibly Plato's account of Attica. With this interest Hecataeus combined that of anthropology and ethnography, though it is not always clear how far he carried his researches. Points of contact between the Hippocratic treatise on *Airs, Waters, and Locations* and Herodotus and observations treated as matters of common knowledge by the poets and Sophists of the fifth century suggest the existence of a considerable body of ethnology, a good part of which may with great probability be attributed to him.

But for Hecataeus geography was intimately connected with history. One sees this most clearly in connection with Egypt. Though in the account of Herodotus it is not at once apparent, the discussion of the nature of Egypt is concerned with geological history as the condition and background of the history of civilization, because the higher culture of the world was thought to be ultimately derived from the land of the Nile. Hecataeus calculated that kings and high priests had left records there for more than eleven thousand years, and from Arrian¹⁵ we may infer that he thought a (perhaps lower) culture had existed there in even more remote times, because he recognized the Delta as due to the secular deposit of silt by the river and assumed that man had gradually descended the Nile Valley as the resulting fens became inhabitable. Thus the age of Nilotic culture was conjecturally extended from the recorded eleven thousand backward to a possible twenty thousand years. To a Greek, whose constructive chronology, based on legendary genealogies, extended over a period only one-tenth as long as that supposed to be actually recorded in Egypt, this result was astonishing and of the utmost importance. Not only did it guarantee an immense lapse of time in which almost anything might have occurred, but it offered the possibility of a definite chronological scale as the necessary basis of universal history. In order to make this scale practically serviceable, however, points of contact must be found between the chronologies of different peoples. These Hecataeus discovered in synchronisms. He had evidently begun, as was natural, with the Greek past. Here he could with reasonable assurance go back a number of generations to the

¹⁵ *Anabasis*, V, 6, 5; cf. *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XVIII, 2, p. 61.

beginning of the strictly historical age; beyond that point he must resort to legendary genealogies, and farther back lay the mythical world. Long before his time the mythical age had been divided into periods associated with divine dynasties, but there were also myths that recounted a series of catastrophic events affecting the cosmos. The notions associated with the catastrophes that periodically began and terminated a cosmic age, as we find them clearly reflected in the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries, and less clearly but yet unmistakably even in Homer, are the same as those which recur everywhere in the Orient, and bear a distinctly astrological character. The doxographic tradition ascribes the belief in cosmic periods to Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras, though the mythical connotations are not mentioned. It was natural, then, that Hecataeus also should hold the belief in such periods. What interests us is that he brought these cycles into relation with the long period of recorded history in Egypt but discovered there no trace of the supposed cosmic catastrophes. Whether in this, as at other points, he was slyly casting doubt on the Greek tradition one cannot say. It seems plain, however, that he made, at least in his own mind, a distinction between the mythical past and what he must have accepted as at least partly historical. The synchronisms between Greek and Egyptian history he made relate to more recent times: between Sesostris and the Argonautic Expedition and "Proteus" and the Trojan era. A more general basis of comparing dates he seems to have found in the chronology of Heracles, from whom, according to Greek tradition, the royal families of various lands claimed descent.

That Hecataeus was the author of the sketch of Egyptian history, which we find in a confused form in Herodotus, I have elsewhere tried to prove.¹⁰ If that be true, he may be regarded as the Father of History in the narrower sense. But even if one disregards his claims in this particular, it must be conceded that he actually laid the indispensable foundations of universal history in his chronological scheme. Like other early writers, and among them Herodotus, he leaned too heavily on myth and legend, thinking to extract history from them by simple ration-

¹⁰ *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XVIII, 2, pp. 52-131.

alization, and one cannot fail to detect a certain whimsical and ironic turn in his procedure; but this does not obscure the brilliancy of his conception or the merit of his achievement. It is especially significant as a conscious effort to bring within the scope of knowledge the scattered and hitherto unconnected details of geological and human history. The method he projected and—too lightly—used remains the method of universal history, corrected and refined as knowledge and reflection have advanced. The universality of his outlook and purpose is particularly noteworthy and stamps him as a man of genius; but, even more important, it reveals the scope and spirit of the Milesian school. His achievement in the field of history is the exact counterpart of his work in geography. As his chronological studies aimed to furnish the frame for a survey of all time, so far as it relates to man, so his chart was conceived as the frame of man's habitat, the *oikoumene*. Where knowledge failed, wishing as an artist to present a whole, he resorted to conjecture and pieced out the picture with many a *jeu-d'esprit*. He was a character as well as a savant.

Xenophanes of Colophon, a city of Ionia, is said to have flourished in the sixtieth Olympiad (540-537 B. C.), which implies that he was born forty years earlier. A most interesting character, while actually standing apart as a pronounced individualist, he is nevertheless to be regarded as marking the point of transition from the phase of thought characteristic of the Ionians to that of the Italic schools. Like all individualists, he resists classification. How he should be characterized can be determined only after a detailed study of his opinions. In this we are confronted by serious difficulties; for the record is not at all of a piece. On the one hand, we possess a considerable number of fragments of his own works, all in verse, and most of them torn from their contexts; on the other, we find doxographic reports, which represent him as a philosopher reasoning after the manner of Plato and Aristotle. The several pictures of him presented by these sources are difficult or impossible to reconcile. Particularly is this the case if we accept, as some historians do, the account of his thought given in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias*, to which we shall presently return; but in hardly less degree is this true also of certain statements of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

From his own words we learn that Xenophanes led a wandering life and lived to an extremely old age, at least ninety-two years, with poetic powers apparently unimpaired. He is sometimes represented as a rhapsode, that is to say, as one who professionally recited the poems of another. This is not warranted by the statement of Diogenes Laertius,¹⁷ who merely says that he recited his own verses. We may infer that he was welcomed at such feasts as he himself describes in one of his poems, and that, like other poets, ancient and modern, he repaid his hosts by contributing to the entertainment. (An anecdote represents him as engaged in conversation with King Hieron,¹⁸ tyrant of Syracuse, who asked Xenophanes how many servants he had, and, being told that he could scarcely support two, retorted, "But Homer, whom you berate, supports a legion even after his death."¹⁹ He is likewise reported to have said that one must approach tyrants either not at all or else as pleasantly as possible.²⁰ One may take this also as referring to Hieron and infer that Xenophanes spent some time at his court. If so, he was probably on the same footing with Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, and Aeschylus, but this must have been at the very end of his long life. It is perhaps more probable that he may have had some relation to Gelon, unless the stories are invented and without foundation.) At any rate Xenophanes is to be regarded chiefly as a poet, but a poet with exceptionally wide interests and pronounced views on many subjects.

Of his wanderings and the details of his life we know next to nothing. His departure from Colophon may well have been occasioned by the actual or threatened conquest of the Ionian cities by the Persians. He must be supposed to have spent some time in Elea (Velia), a Phocaean city in southern Italy, founded *ca.* 553 B. C., the colonization of which he is said to have treated in a poem of some length, as he related the founding of his native Colophon in another poem.²¹ In Elea he is supposed to have influenced Parmenides, who is represented as his pupil; ²² though it is impossible to think of him as giving formal instruc-

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as a tensor in $\mathcal{S}_2(\mathfrak{g})$. The tensor \mathfrak{g} is called the *Cartan tensor* of the connection ∇ . The tensor \mathfrak{g} is symmetric in the sense that

¹⁰ Dutcher, *Reg. Apophth.*, 175 C (Diels-Kranz, 22 A 11).

¹⁰ Diogenes Laertius, IX, 10.

²⁷ Diego de, *Portin*, IX, 20.

²² Diogenes Laertius, IX, 21.

tion. His poems were of different kinds. Those written in elegiacs, if we may judge by the extant fragments, were convivial. The remainder seem to have been written in heroic hexameters and are in a more serious strain. He is credited with a collection of Silli, or lampoons, with parodies, and with a poem entitled *On Nature*. All these titles are subject to suspicion. Probably one and all date from later times, and the last in particular seems to have been ill conceived. The name "lampoons," whether or not chosen by their author, is at any rate appropriate to some of these fragments, and our sources repeatedly refer to the castigation administered by Xenophanes to Homer and Hesiod. They extend this to "all the philosophers"; and one may with probability include in these satirical attacks the reference to Pythagoras' belief in the transmigration of souls. How one is to justify the title *On Nature* is not so evident. There are indeed utterances of the poet regarding the gods which are of a truly philosophic character, but a more suitable name for these would be *On the Gods* or *Of God*. There are other statements in the poet's own words and in the doxographic record relating to matters that fall within the scope of natural philosophy; but there is nothing to show, or even to suggest, that a formal treatise on these subjects was either contemplated or attempted.²³

In considering his opinions we shall begin with those which show him akin to the Milesians. Here we are largely dependent on the doxographic tradition, in which unfortunately in respect to Xenophanes one can have little confidence. If, as seems probable, he wrote no formal treatise *On Nature*, his utterances on the various subjects mentioned may have been made casually and without explanation, leaving those who wished to ascertain his views to infer them. That the inferences were in some instances unjustified is certain, as will presently appear. In other cases one is left in doubt as to his meaning, because our sources, regarding him as the predecessor of Parmenides, interpreted his statements in the light of subsequent thought and gave the result as his own doctrine. There is much in this record to suggest that he presented his views in his *Lampoons* when criticizing the popular opinions regarding the gods. Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, and Iris (the rainbow) were popularly held

²³ Cf. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*², pp. 115-16.

to be gods. Xenophanes, rejecting this view, used as a means of combatting it the theories of the Milesians; this he may have done without seriously subscribing to these theories, though of course he may equally well have believed that they were true.

We are told that he held the doctrine of four elements,²⁴ a statement that at least in this form is not to be accepted. At most one may believe that he somewhere, not necessarily in the same connection, mentioned earth, water, air, and fire. Again we are told that he made the dry and the moist, or earth and water, his "principles," and in evidence there are cited his words, "All things that arise and spring into existence are earth and water," the real meaning of which is betrayed by the citation of a Homeric line (*Il.*, H 99), "May ye all turn to water and earth."²⁵ There is here involved no philosophic doctrine of elements but the same view as we have already found in Thales and Anaximander. We are likewise assured that Xenophanes held that there were innumerable worlds.²⁶ If there is any foundation for this statement, we do not know what it was. We shall presently find that he is credited with the view that the world is subject to periodic changes, a new world arising as the old passes away. If he said that this process was eternal, this would account for the doxographic report; or, again, he may have referred to the innumerable host of the heavens in a way to give rise to this statement.

To judge by the record his view of the world was based on the meteoric process attributed generally to the Milesians. The earth naturally is the center of interest. From it arise vapors which form clouds and by progressive sublimation turn to fire, sun, moon, stars, comets, rainbows, St. Elmo's fire. The sun is just a collection of fiery particles spontaneously combining and dissolving day by day; but while it is in the heavens it promotes the meteoric process and is therefore of some use in the world, while the cold moon is a mere "dead-head." But the process reverses itself also; what goes up in evaporation returns in water, and finally the earth either dissolves into water or is reduced to the primal slime. Xenophanes, as has been stated, followed the

²⁴ Diogenes Laertius, IX, 19; cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 133.

²⁵ Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, p. 125, 913; cf. also Diels, *Epigramm.*, 21 A 20.

²⁶ Diogenes Laertius, IX, 19.

Milesians in holding that this process had its (presumably) definite periods. He found evidence of a former state in which the earth had been submerged by the sea in marine fossils seen inland and in mountains.²⁷ If he had himself observed all that he mentioned, we should have proof that his wanderings brought him, among other places, to Paros in the Aegean (or Pharos in the Adriatic?), to Malta, and to Syracuse in Sicily. Possibly the observation that water may be found dripping from the roofs of caves may have seemed to him further proof of the tendency of earth (stone) to convert itself into water.

The parts of the world continually undergoing change could not be gods; for God is unchangeable. Sun, moon, and stars pass away; and the rainbow, known as the goddess Iris, and St. Elmo's fire, known as Castor and Pollux, are nothing but clouds. Who would accept them as gods? The earth, too, is subject to change. He said that it was neighbor to the air above, but extended indefinitely downward.²⁸ There is no reason to think that he meant strict infinity. The doxographers, obsessed by the Aristotelian notion that the early thinkers raised the question why the earth does not fall, evidently took the statement to mean this and explained that the earth is not everywhere surrounded (and therefore is not supported) by air.²⁹ If one may hazard a conjecture, Xenophanes may have meant to exclude a Tartarus. Among the phenomena to which he referred, one may mention, aside from lightning, which he may have felt called on to explain in order to dispel the fear of Zeus *Kαραβάτης*, the eruption of the volcanoes on the Lipari Islands. He is reported to have said that on one occasion the fire failed to show itself for sixteen years and reappeared in the seventeenth.³⁰ Whether this interested him in connection with the periodic cycle one cannot say. The statement of Aëtius that he regarded the earth as compacted of air and fire³¹ may perhaps be founded on a description of a volcano.

Without instituting comparisons or contrasts in detail one readily recognizes in this survey of his opinions about natural phenomena a community of interest and point of view with the Milesians. The agreement, however, does not end there but

²⁷ Cf. Diels-Kranz, 21 A 33.

²⁸ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 28.

²⁹ Cf. Diels-Kranz, 21 A 47.

³⁰ Diels-Kranz, 21 A 48.

³¹ Aëtius, III, 9, 4 (Diels-Kranz, 21 A 47).

extends to the field of history and ethnology. Not only did he compose accounts of the colonization of Colophon and Elea but he displayed a historical outlook in more general ways. He said that the Greeks first learned from Homer³² probably not only that the gods were anthropomorphic and shared the frailties of men³³ but also, as Herodotus believed, the names and functions of the gods;³⁴ and he declared Homer older than Hesiod.³⁵ He derived the love of luxury among the Ionians from the Lydians³⁶ and, probably in the same connection, attributed to the latter the invention of coinage,³⁷ which he may have regarded as the root of all evil. At all events this datum displays his interest in discoveries and inventions (*εὑρήματα*), an interest henceforth destined constantly to engage historians. Whether the myths of culture heroes, like Prometheus, Triptolemus, and Palamedes, and of gods, like Dionysus, had already received wide currency in his day we do not know; apparently he knew and rejected them, as he rejected other myths, declaring, "The gods did not reveal all things to mortals in the beginning, but by searching in the course of time they discover the better."³⁸ In the same spirit as Anaximander he gave his own age in one of his poems³⁹ and suggested as a worthy question, "How old were you when the Mede came?"⁴⁰ One wonders whether, in referring satirically to Pythagoras' belief in transmigration,⁴¹ he attempted to trace the derivation of the belief, perhaps from Egypt, as Herodotus imagined it.⁴² His interest in ethnology he showed in his reference to the snub-nosed black gods of the Ethiopians and the blue-eyed fair gods of the Thracians.⁴³ He is said also to have expressed his admiration for Thales' achievement in astronomy⁴⁴ and to have repeated the rumor that Epimenides attained an age of 154 years,⁴⁵ an interest not improbable, when we reflect that he himself lived long and that his faculties were apparently unimpaired at the age of 92. Whether we are to credit his

³² Diels-Kranz, 21 B 10.

³³ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 11 and 12.

³⁴ Herodotus, II, 53.

³⁵ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 13.

³⁶ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 14.

³⁷ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 15.

³⁸ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 18.

³⁹ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 19.

⁴⁰ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 22.

⁴¹ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 23.

⁴² Herodotus, II, 123.

⁴³ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 16.

⁴⁴ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 19.

⁴⁵ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 20.

reported denunciation of Simonides as a "niggard"⁴⁶ is more questionable.

These data, generally lightly passed over, are of the greatest significance for the spirit of the age. They are characteristic of the latter half of the sixth century, when the foundations of history were being laid and the data began to be assembled which the Sophists and philosophers of the following centuries were to use with freedom as matters of common knowledge.

In all this Xenophanes was essentially following in the footsteps of the Milesians, though it is probable that he varied their theories in detail and added observations of his own, such as those regarding fossils. Whether the earlier Milesians had spoken of fossils we do not know: we have every reason, however, for believing that the observations recorded by Herodotus (II, 12) were derived from Hecataeus, a contemporary of Xenophanes, whose visit to Egypt probably dates about 525 B. C. Without assuming dependence of either on the other one may infer that Milesians had made similar observations before in support of their cosmic theories.

If we are right, however, in our view that Xenophanes introduced his conception of nature in his criticism of the popular theology, we do him no injustice in assuming that all this was of secondary importance to him. His original contribution would then be in another direction. It is not uncommon that one who believes that he has a revolutionary message avails himself of current science in combatting the popular notions which he must overthrow. The more revolutionary his own views, the less concerned he is about the particular weapon he employs in clearing the way for the reception of the new truth.

As has already been suggested, it was in his theology that Xenophanes displayed his originality, and there also, apparently, lay his chief interest. Certainly he departed most widely in this regard from the Milesians. There is no evidence that the latter, with the exception of Hecataeus, were conscious of a break with the religion of their people; for they could still observe the customary rites of the city, and if they were aware of interpreting the gods differently they could point to the accepted authorities, Homer and Hesiod, as not obscurely imply-

⁴⁶ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 21.

ing what they themselves taught. What their theories implied was that the myths current among the people were not to be taken literally, the philosopher recognizing the truth behind the poetic imagery. At all events they were men of science who in sober prose set forth the truth as they saw it.

For Xenophanes the case must necessarily present itself under a different aspect. As a poet, especially as an epic poet, he was inevitably coming into competition with Homer and Hesiod. In his accounts of the founding of Colophon and Elea he must have felt that he was departing from these models, even if he may have woven into his story a certain amount of earlier legend. He belonged to an age in which the poet no longer disappeared from view behind the muse he invoked and the theme that was all in all in the older time. Archilochus, Stesichorus, Sappho, Alcaeus, Mimnermus, Anacreon, Simonides, and Pindar stood out as personalities, each after his kind, and even Hesiod, in the *Works and Days*, the one poem we may certainly attribute to him, had discarded the anonymity of the epic poet. A spirit of criticism was abroad as the complement of the strong expression of one's own opinion. All this made for frank expression of personal views in opposition to what others might think or might have thought.

But with Xenophanes, we must assume, there were other and more important considerations urging him to self-expression. In his criticism of Homer and Hesiod, to which his words and the record bear witness, he was prompted not by a petty jealousy but by something infinitely greater, by moral indignation. Even in a poem for a convivial occasion he cannot refrain from referring to the myths as fictions to be banished from the feast along with factional bickerings.⁴⁷ A pious prayer to the gods for strength to do one's honorable work he commended as most fitting.⁴⁸ In another he takes up the theme of the relative value of wisdom and athletic prowess, which gains all the plaudits and rewards from the vulgar⁴⁹—a theme which Euripides developed and which Plato did not disdain to have Socrates slightly vary in

⁴⁷ Diels-Kranz, ZI B 1, lines 21-26.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 15-16.

⁴⁹ Diels-Kranz, ZI B 2. Cf. Jaeger, *Paedonia* (Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 171-3; but for a different interpretation of this fragment see Bowra, *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 261-69.

his own defense, while declaring his exalted mission and his unflinching devotion to it. Nothing, it would seem, could more clearly indicate the spirit that animated Xenophanes in his strictures upon Homer and Hesiod and the unworthy representations of the gods for which he held them accountable.

His conception of God was essentially determined by his moral ideal, as was natural in a man of character and profound convictions; but it was colored also by esthetic predilections and notions of fitness. His moral earnestness appears most strikingly in the indignation he expresses at the characterization of the gods by Homer and Hesiod, who attribute to them all that among men is a shame and a reproach, theft, adultery, and mutual deceit.⁵⁰ Timon described him as wanting in pretense,⁵¹ which may refer to his modest disclaimer of certainty, but must include sincerity and intellectual integrity. The anecdotes told of him emphasize this trait of his character. Aristotle relates that when the people of Elea asked him whether they should mourn Leucothea, he counseled them if they regarded her as a goddess not to mourn her, if as a human being, not to offer her sacrifice.⁵² Plutarch tells similar tales regarding his advice to the Egyptians about Osiris.⁵³ No doubt the stories are apocryphal and were intended primarily to enforce his doctrine that gods are eternal, being neither born nor subject to death; but they illustrate the conviction men had of his integrity. Of like tenor is the anecdote related by Plutarch, who bids one not to look glum or to be afraid when taunted but to do as Xenophanes did, who, when Lasus of Hermione called him a coward because he would not gamble with him, confessed that he was an arrant coward and wanting in courage when it came to doing anything shameful.⁵⁴ Aristotle reports that according to Xenophanes a challenge to take an oath was not fair as between a pious and an unscrupulous man, but as if a strong man challenged a weakling to engage in a hand-to-hand fight.⁵⁵ In keeping with this obvious integrity is the frank confession of Xenophanes that

⁵⁰ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 11.

⁵¹ Diels-Kranz, 21 A 35.

⁵² Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1400 B 5-8.

⁵³ *De Iside* 379 B, *De Superstitione* 171 D-E.

⁵⁴ *De Vitioso Pudore* 530 E-F.

⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1377 A 19-21.

no man, present, past, or future, could know of a certainty what he declared about the gods and the world.⁵⁶ However one takes this utterance it obviously is not the expression of a sceptic, as later writers sought to make it appear; for a sceptic suspends judgment or is indifferent, whereas Xenophanes speaks with conviction. His conviction, however, is not born of knowledge but of faith,—of faith in an ideal projected by his own character. He perceived that the Ethiopian and the Thracian fashioned their gods in their own image: he was naturally not aware that he was doing the same.

Endless questions arise when one asks how Xenophanes conceived of God. The authentic record is scanty and not free from contradiction. "There is one God, supreme among gods and men, like unto mortals neither in body nor in mind."⁵⁷ "He sees all over, thinks all over, and hears all over."⁵⁸ "Without effort he sways all things by the thought of his mind."⁵⁹ "He remains always in the same place unmoved; it befits him not to fare now hither now thither."⁶⁰ From this description one would conclude that Xenophanes conceived of God as a spirit, after the analogy of his inner self, though without the limitations of man. One need not press the contradiction of "One God, supreme among gods,"⁶¹ because one finds similar incongruities of expression among the Hebrews who were at least trying to be monotheists; nor is one entitled to say that Xenophanes had fully succeeded in this respect. It suffices to recognize an ideal forming and striving to realize itself. To the characterization above given we are justified in adding the thought that God is eternal, not born or subject to death, and that the conception of a god does not comport with the belief that one god can be overlord and another his servant, or that a god should be wanting in anything. All this tends to a spiritual monotheism, however much the thought or the expression may fall short of completely realizing that ideal.

⁵⁶ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 34.

⁵⁷ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 23.

⁵⁸ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 24.

⁵⁹ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 25.

⁶⁰ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 26, cf. Diogenes Laërtius, IX. 19: *μὴ μέντοι κινήσῃ*.

⁶¹ Diels-Kranz, 21 B 23, line 1.

Later writers give one a very different conception, representing Xenophanes as identifying God with the world and therefore as being a pantheist. This view seems hard to reconcile with the words of Xenophanes above set forth and is found in authors belonging to the doxographic tradition. We have, therefore, every reason to seek the source of this conception in Aristotle and behind Aristotle we may look for Plato. The latter, in a playful passage,⁶² represents the stranger from Elea as saying that the philosophers clothe their thought in mythical form, as if telling nursery tales, representing the cosmic entities as acting like human beings, fighting with one another or marrying and bringing up children; "but the Eleatic tribe, from our country, beginning with Xenophanes and even farther back, recount their tale, implying that the so-called All is One." At best one can reasonably infer nothing from these words regarding the thought of Xenophanes, except that Plato for whatever reason associated him with the Eleatics, among whom he must have had Parmenides chiefly in mind. Aristotle, however, in this instance, as in others, seems to have taken Plato quite literally and therefore regarded Xenophanes as in his philosophy essentially agreeing with Parmenides. It is this conviction that obviously inspired the reconstruction of the thought of Xenophanes in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De M. X. G.* Now Aristotle himself in the *Metaphysics*,⁶³ speaking of the Eleatics says: "Parmenides seems to lay hold on that which is one in formula, Melissus on that which is one in matter, for which reason the former says that it is limited, the latter that it is unlimited; while Xenophanes, the first of this school of monists (for Parmenides is said to have been his pupil), gave no clear statement, nor does he seem to have grasped either of these two kinds of unity, but, modeling his conception on the whole heavens, he says the One is God." However we interpret this, we obtain no clear conception. If, as Aristotle implies, Xenophanes gave no hint as to the sense in which he used the term "One," there is no ground in what he says for identifying the One God with the universe. Theophrastus, however, as was his manner, pushed the definition still farther and identified the God of Xenophanes with the

⁶² *Sophist* 242 C-D.

⁶³ *Metaphysics* 986 B 18-24; cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, p. 201, n. 228.

world, saying that God is spherical.⁶⁴ It seems clear that in this he was influenced by the assumption that Xenophanes as the teacher of Parmenides had thought of God as Parmenides imagined the All; but it is hardly conceivable that Plato and Aristotle would have spoken of the relation between these thinkers in such vague and uncertain terms if there were adequate grounds for thinking that one was the teacher of the other. So far as the authentic record goes, the sole point at which their thought agrees is in the emphasis laid upon unity; but the unity is in one case that of God, in the other that of the world. Only if one identified God with the world could one establish a close relation; that was gradually achieved by the tradition, though it was based upon mere conjecture and influenced by the desire to place Xenophanes definitely in the line of school successions.

Viewed dispassionately, Xenophanes appears as a figure set apart. He was essentially a minstrel, who could contribute something to a festive occasion, but a minstrel of rather exceptional character. He was not a Mimnermus or an Anacreon but a man of lofty ideals and strong convictions, which led him not only to criticize sharply the received and current views but also to suggest his own. In this respect he did not stand alone, for other contemporaries did the same. What distinguishes him from them is his earnestness and the sublimity of his conception. If Parmenides caught some of his spirit and applied his thought to his own cosmic philosophy, that is no more than can be said of others who stood in no personal relation to him. Aside from his theological views what we learn about Xenophanes' interests and notions places him entirely in the group of Milesian thinkers, especially with Hecataeus. But in spirit here also he stands apart; for, though each sought to rationalize religion, whereas Hecataeus sought by indirection to undermine current conceptions of the gods, Xenophanes attacked them with indignation. We have in the one a reformer, in the other a rationalist whose weapon is sly ridicule and persiflage.

† W. A. HEIDEL.

⁶⁴ Theophrastus, *Phys. Op.* 5; cf. Diogenes Laertius, IX, 19.

mention of a grove of laurel is a reason for supposing so, then we have a passage that is like several in Homer, where the rising or setting of Helios is fancifully expressed in a sentence of one or more verses to mark the time when the action of the following sentence took place.⁶ But it is more likely that C. M. Bowra is right in supposing that Heracles is meant and that Stesichorus tells how he reached the west by sailing in the sun's cup on the Ocean Stream.⁷

2) Sophocles, frag. 870 Nauck, *ap.* Strabo, VII, 3, 1, p. 295. It is desirable that I also quote Strabo's surrounding text; he is discussing Germany:

διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν τόπων τούτων οἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιούντες λόγου ἡξιῶνται . . . ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ἐάσθωσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγῳδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὠρειθυίας λέγων ὡς ἀναρπαγείσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθεῖη

ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός
νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς
Φοίβου τε παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐατέον . . .

This is the only passage cited by Highbarger in which such a phrase as Φοίβου κῆπος occurs. But, if the three verses are read by themselves, they appear to prove his concept. They mention the ends of the earth, the springs of night, the regions where the canopy of the sky, so to speak, unfolds; and here is the garden of Phoebus, who to Sophocles must be Apollo.

The context of this quotation in Strabo's *Geography* shows, however, that the ἔσχατα χθονός are the land of the Hyperboreans and that Sophocles is telling the story of how Boreas carried off Oreithyia. The ancients almost unanimously placed the Hyperboreans in the farthest north, interpreting their name as "dwellers beyond the north wind."⁸ It is true that this etymology is disputed by Farnell and others.⁹ But, whatever the

⁶ See *Il.*, II, 48-51, VII, 421-23; VIII, 1-3; XI, 1-4; *Od.*, II, 388 f.; III, 1-5.

⁷ C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 86-88.

⁸ See Pindar, *Ol.*, 3, 31; Callimachus, *Hymn* 4, 281 f.; Diodorus Siculus, II, 47, 1; Pausanias, V, 7, 7.

⁹ L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, IV (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 99-111; O. Crusius, *s. v.* "Hyperboreer," *Myth. Lex.*,

truth of their interpretation, there is no denying that most ancient writers who mention the Hyperboreans give them a northern home.¹⁰ There were a few, however, who placed the Hyperboreans in the same region as the Hesperides and Atlas;¹¹ this seems to show a tendency to link the north and west, just as the south and east were linked in ancient concepts of the Aethiopian land.

In *νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπνυχάς* we seem at first glance to have phrases more appropriate to east and west than to the far north. But the first phrase is, I am sure, an allusion to the polar night. The second phrase is an allusion to the hinges of the world, in this case the north pole. The whole verse is made clear by passages in Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder.¹² I quote Pliny:

Pone eos montes ultraque Aquilonem gens felix, si credimus, quos Hyperboreos appellavere, annoso degit aevo, fabulosis celebrata miraculis. ibi creduntur esse cardines mundi extremique siderum ambitus semenstri luce solis adversi . . . semel in anno solstitio oriuntur iis soles brumaeque semel occidunt.¹³

If *νυκτὸς πηγὰί* did have reference to the sun's daily course, it

I, 2829-31; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, Methuen, 1928), pp. 135 f. But see Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 313 f., on Herodotus, IV, 32-36.

¹⁰ *Homeric Hymn* 7, 28 f. and Pindar, *Isthm.*, 5 (6), 23 make the Hyperboreans the antithesis of Egypt or of the Nile's source, i. e. of the far south. On the northern home of the Hyperboreans see Herodotus, IV, 13, 32 f. and 36; Pherecrates, *ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp.*, 3, 16 (28); Mela, III, 5, 36; Pliny, *N. H.*, IV, 89.

¹¹ See Apollodorus, II, 5, 11.

¹² *Locc. cit.* in note 10 *supra*. Herodotus, IV, 25, 1 speaks of the six months' sleep of the people who lived in the unknown regions of farthest Scythia; and Joseph Wells, *op. cit.* (see note 9 *supra*), p. 311, is undoubtedly right in supposing this to be a confused tradition of the long polar night. Herodotus, IV, 31 mentions the heavy snowfall of the Scythian winter, which may have strengthened the tradition of Hyperborean night. The friendship of Sophocles and Herodotus and Sophocles' debt to Herodotus for geographical lore are well known.

¹³ See Mela, III, 5, 36: in Asia iam mare oceanus Hyperborei montes Aquilonem ultraque montes et ipse Oceanus ad orientem usque non cotidie ut nobis, sed primis ferme equinoctio extertus autumnali dierum occidit: ideo sex mensibus dies et totidem aliis nox usque continuata est.

would more naturally mean the west, not the east; so that, even if we attach importance to the rare evidence that connects the Hyperboreans with the Hesperides, we are far from having an eastern garden of Phoebus.

Furthermore Sophocles is telling us that Boreas, the north wind, carried Oreithyia to the ends of the earth, which would obviously mean his own northern home. In the usual tradition he takes her to Thrace,¹⁴ which meant much the same thing to the earliest Greeks as Scythia meant to later Greeks; that is, it meant the regions of the north, a land of strange peoples.¹⁵

Now the Hyperborean land could properly be called Φοίβου κήπος by Sophocles. It was a land that Apollo favored very much. All the Hyperborean people were virtually priests of Apollo, ever worshipping him and singing hymns in his honor. And they were often represented as living in a sort of paradise, in a pleasant land on the Ocean Stream, north of the northern cold.¹⁶

3) Sophocles, frag. 297 Nauck, *ap.* Stobaeus, *Flor.*, 103, 10:

ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀρῶσθαι μόνον εὐδαίμονας (or εὐδαίμονος) ἄλβους.

Of this Highbarger (p. 57) says, "The more general conception of the 'Garden of the Gods' is also found," and adds in a note (30), "specifically of Zeus." Stobaeus quotes this verse in his chapter entitled Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας. It is simply a proverb, a γνώμη. The text is uncertain, but its meaning seems to be: only the

¹⁴ See Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, I, 211-18; Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.*, I, 211; Ovid, *Met.*, VI, 682-713. See Eva Frank, s. v. "Oreithyia," *R.-E.*, XVIII, cols. 954 f.

¹⁵ H. L. Jones, in his edition of Strabo, III (London and New York, *L. C. L.*, 1924), notes on pp. 174 f., believes that Sophocles' verses refer to all four directions; the second line, then, would mean west and east, and the garden of Phoebus would be the south. He supposes that Boreas carried Oreithyia off to all ἑσχατα χθονός before settling down with her in the north. But there is no evidence, nor is it likely, that Boreas took Oreithyia in any direction but northwards.

¹⁶ On Apollo's relation to the Hyperboreans and the nature of their land see Alcaeus, frag. 2 Bergk, *ap.* Himerius, *Or.*, 14, 10; Bacchylides, 3, 58-60; Herodotus, IV, 33-35; Hecataeus of Abdera, frag. 4 Mueller (*F. H. G.*, II, 387), *ap.* Aelian, *H. A.*, XI, 1; Diodorus Siculus, II, 47, 2 f. and 6; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, II, 674 f., IV, 612-14; Phereclus, *loc. cit.* (see note 10 *supra*). See Daebritz, s. v. "Hyperboreer," *R.-E.*, IX, cols. 261-67.

fortunate cultivate the gardens of Zeus.¹⁷ It has nothing whatever to do with east or west, north or south.

4) Euripides, *Phaethon*, frag. 771 Nauck and frag. 773 Nauck, 15-18. In these verses Highbarger says that the concept of the garden of Phoebus "composed of dark laurel"¹⁸ becomes wholly explicit. I find in them, however, only Ἡλίου δόμους and φαεινὰς Ἡλίου ἵπποστάσεις. Highbarger has no difficulty in proving that these were located by Euripides in the far east. There is no mention of a garden.

5) Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 637-899. This is Virgil's description of Elysium, which, says Highbarger (p. 101), "is clearly the 'Garden of Phoebus'." He also says (p. 103), "... he (Virgil) could best symbolize it by the 'Grove of Phoebus,' which in myth was located in the East, by the Gate of the Sun. But Elysium was also heaven and therefore located in the sky." "For these reasons it seems proper to speak . . . of his Elysium as the 'Garden of Phoebus'" (p. 104). "Since in Vergil's own words Elysium is the realm of the sun and Apollo . . ." (p. 106), "... the sun was the bright luminary of Elysium and was associated with Apollo . . ." (p. 107). How is Highbarger so certain that Elysium was the realm of Apollo? He relies upon verses 656-665, where, he says, "The noble company of Phoebus is described":

conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaque per herbam
 vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis
 inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
 plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
 660 hic manus ob patriam pugnando volnera passi,
 quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
 quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti,
 inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,
 quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo:
 665 omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.

But Virgil is saying that Aeneas and the Sibyl have come to the company of the blessed, men who were heroes and benefactors upon earth. The group (*manus*) is made up of great warriors,

¹⁷ See the conjecture quoted by Dindorf, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 1: ἑδραίους ἀνθρώποις.

¹⁸ Apparently a translation of Stesichorus' words ἄλσος δάφναισι κατέσκιον.

priests, bards and prophets (*vates*), artists and inventors (663), and philanthropists (664). Only of the *vates* does Virgil say *Phoebo digna locuti*, which must mean that what they had spoken and sung in life was worthy of Phoebus Apollo; whether we take *vates* as bards or as prophets or as both, their patron was Apollo. These words do not justify anyone in calling the whole group a company of Phoebus.

Highbarger also points to *lauri nemus* in 658. The laurel was especially sacred to Apollo, but it was also closely connected with the spirits of the dead and Hecate.¹⁹ For that reason the laurel is a fitting tree for a grove in Elysium. Again, the blessed are singing a joyful paean, and the paean was in origin a song in honor of Apollo. But Virgil is obviously alluding to the Homeric custom of singing the paean after a feast;²⁰ for the blessed have been feasting.²¹ In any case a laurel grove and a paean are slender support for calling Elysium a garden of Phoebus.²²

And why is Highbarger so certain that Elysium is the realm of the Sun? His sole support must be verse 641: *solemque suum, sua sidera norunt*. But he has ignored *suum* and *sua* (see p. 101). Obviously Virgil is saying that the blessed in Elysium have their own sun and their own stars, which are not the sun and stars of earth.²³ And Virgil makes it plain enough that Elysium is in the lower world and not in the sky. See *superne*

¹⁹ See M. B. Ogle, "Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folklore," *A. J. P.*, XXXI (1910), pp. 287-311, an article that is cited by Highbarger on p. 101, n. 140.

²⁰ See *Il.*, I, 473, *καλὸν αἰδοντες παῖσινα*, with which compare *laetum paeana canentis*.

²¹ Highbarger says (p. 102), "Food . . . is not mentioned here . . ." But what does *vescentis* mean in 657?

²² I might add that Orpheus, son and bard of Apollo, is present (645-47). But where would Orpheus be, if not in Elysium? There is no evidence anywhere that Apollo, or Helios either, was especially concerned with the Elysian fields; see Waser, *s. v.* "Elysion," *R.-E.*, V, cols. 2470-76.

²³ Highbarger also makes a mistake in assigning Orcus to the moon. He says, "This dark region was said to be illumined by the faint light of the moon, which was closely associated with Hecate and Diana." He cites *Aen.*, VI, 268-72 and 451-54. But in these passages the light of the underworld is compared to the light of a partly obscured moon. Highbarger himself on p. 99 recognizes that these passages are similes.

in verse 658 of the quotation above, and *ad caelum hinc ire* in 719, where *hinc* must refer to the place where Aeneas and Anchises are.²⁴

This review of the evidence on which Highbarger supports his view shows that the ancients had no established tradition of a special Garden of Phoebus in the east or anywhere else. The term occurs but once as a poetic designation of the Hyperborean land.

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²⁴ See also VI, 750: *supera ut convexa revisant*. According to Highbarger, Aeneas and the Sibyl leave Elysium by the ivory gate (VI, 898) because it is the eastern gate of the Sun, and Elysium, which is in the sky, is his garden in the east. This can no longer be maintained, once his ideas about Virgil's Elysium are proved unsound. I am sure that Norden, Mackail, and other commentators are right in supposing that Aeneas leaves by the ivory gate because he leaves before midnight, probably at sunset or just after; and it is the ivory gate that is open before midnight; Horace, *Sat.*, I, 10, 33. This is not far-fetched, as H. E. Butler says; it is a very clever touch. It is absurd to suppose, as Highbarger does (p. 95 with n. 116), that Aeneas stayed twenty-four hours in Creus and Ilioneus. III, 239-240, is upon a misinterpretation of *tendit sub umbras* in VI, 898 and an assumption that Aeneas went all the way down to Tartarus. Any further discussion of the problems of *Aeneid* VI lies beyond the province of this paper. Whatever Virgil's Elysium may be, it is not a garden of Phoebus.

ALEXANDER'S DEIFICATION.

Divine monarchy in western civilization—an institution whose long history extends from Hellenistic Kings, Roman Emperors, and Mediaeval Popes to the Hapsburgs and other despots of yesterday who ruled by the grace of God, and survives, perhaps, in a perverted form today—dates from the divine honors which Alexander the Great received on his death. The purpose of this paper is to discover what impetus, if any, the living Alexander gave to the idea, for, even though we do not know whether he decreed his deification, there are certain scholars who write as if he did,¹ and in any case the issue is by no means clear-cut. It would serve no useful purpose to recapitulate here all the various arguments on the subject, though we may examine the ancient evidence and the best opinions representing the modern points of view, in the hope that new light may be shed on Alexander.²

This paper makes three chief points. In the first place, Alexander did not go to the oracle of Ammon to learn his origin, nor did he learn it; his purpose in going was primarily a military one. Secondly, I follow Tarn in rejecting Miss Taylor's interpretation of the proskynesis scene at Bactra, and I accept Tarn's statement (*C. A. H.*, VI, p. 399) that Alexander's motive was not ceremonial but political. But at this point I differ with Tarn in one or two important particulars. I believe that Alex-

¹ D. G. Hogarth, "The Deification of Alexander the Great," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, II (1887), pp. 317 ff., best expresses the point of view at the opposite extreme. He alludes to the earlier literature on the subject, examines the ancient evidence, and absolves Alexander of decreeing his deification or wishing it. But the paper leaves much to be desired and was answered by Niese, *Hist. Zeit.*, LXXIX (1897), pp. 1 ff. and by Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* (2nd ed.), I, pp. 312 ff.

² The modern literature on Alexander's deification is extensive, but the works cited in the footnotes will, I believe, set the reader on the track of a full bibliography. There is a bibliography in *C. A. H.*, VI, pp. 598 ff.; see, too, the scattered footnotes in *Hist. Grecque*, IV, 1. I have corresponded with Professor Arthur D. Nock of Harvard University on this subject and wish to express my gratitude for his kind help. I am not noticing modern writers who argue about Alexander from the point of view of the practice in later times, since the Hellenistic ruler-cult, for example, cannot be considered as evidence for Alexander.

ander deliberately planned to be deified at Bactra, not that "with prostration he began to feel his way." Furthermore, I believe it is wrong to say that "both Alexander and Πεπθαεστιον believed that Callisthenes would aid them, as was natural after his story of the sea prostrating itself before the king." For the past two years, probably, Callisthenes had been a member of the opposition. And I do not think it is possible to evaluate correctly the banquet at Bactra, unless it is taken in conjunction with certain of Alexander's other actions during the previous two years. When that is done, Alexander stands forth in a new light. And in the third place, I agree with Tarn that Alexander's edict for his deification, after his return from India, was political, but I do not believe that it had any special connection with the decree concerning the exiles. Alexander's motive is more clearly understood when viewed in the light of the mutiny at Opis. Arrian's account of this mutiny is, I believe, universally accepted (except by Hogarth who, however, denies that Alexander ordered his deification or wished it), but the account does not make sense. If we accept Justin's account, on the other hand, new light is thrown on Alexander's motive in ordering his deification at this time.

1. The trip to the oracle of Ammon.³ Plutarch tells us that "when Alexander had passed through the desert and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from a father. . . . And then, regarding his own empire, Alexander asked whether it was given to him to become lord and master of all mankind."⁴ The god

³ The references for the five Alexander-historians are: Arrian, III, 3, 5; Diodorus, XVII, 49, 2; Justin, XI, 11, 2; Curtius, IV, 7, 16; Plutarch, 26, 6. I have used (with slight changes) Chinnock's translation of Arrian and Perrin's translation of Plutarch (*Loeb Classical Library*). See, too, Callisthenes, frag. 14 in the edition of Jacoby; Cohen, *Mnemosyne*, LIV (1926), pp. 83 ff.; Wilcken, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1928, pp. 576 ff.; 1930, pp. 159 ff.; Pasquali, *Riv. Fil.*, LVII (1929), pp. 513 ff.; LVIII (1930), pp. 342 ff.; Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 70 ff., 97 ff. The bibliographies (often with summaries) in *J. B. A.* are valuable; see especially XVI (1924), p. 101; XVII (1925), p. 123; XV (1923), p. 122; XVI (1926), p. 129; XVII (1927), p. 125; XIX (1927), p. 79; XXII (1928), p. 60.

⁴ It is enough to quote on the entire passage, for no such thought can be ascribed to Alexander at this time. The priest no doubt greeted

gave answer that this was given to him. . . . This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself in a letter to his mother says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by addressing him with 'O paidion,' or *O my son*, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with 's' instead of 'n,' and said, 'O paidios,' and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with 'O pai Dios,' or *O son of Zeus*."

Though Plutarch himself does not feel certain on the matter, some modern scholars do. Wilcken,⁵ for example, says that Alexander "was saluted as son of Zeus! It must have entered his soul like a flash of lightning and caused the deepest emotion." Reinmuth⁶ remarks that "the way for this step [deification] had been prepared by the declaration of the oracle of Ammon that he was the son of Zeus," while Prentice⁷ says that "the only thing that is surely known about Alexander's visit is that he presented himself in person before the shrine, and was there officially addressed as the son of the god. . . . Alexander from now on was declared and declared himself to be of divine origin." Nock⁸ says, "Acknowledged by the god Ammon as his son, Alexander retained his belief in the supremacy of Zeus, a belief intimate and almost mystical."

him, as he would any Pharaoh, as the son of Ammon, but that is beside the point, having no significance beyond Egypt; the story derives from Callisthenes (discussed by Larsen, see note 3 *supra*).

⁵ U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, translated by G. C. Richards (New York, 1932), p. 127.

⁶ O. W. Reinmuth, "Alexander and the World-State," in *The Greek Political Experience*, edited by A. C. Johnson and others (Princeton, 1941), p. 120.

⁷ W. K. Prentice, *The Ancient Greeks* (Princeton, 1940), p. 238.

⁸ *Hellenistic Religion—The Two Phases (Syllabus of Gifford Lectures)*, University of Aberdeen, 1939), p. 9. W. S. Ferguson ("Legalized Absolutism En Route from Greece to Rome," *A. H. R.*, XVIII [1912], pp. 29 ff.): "The greeting of Ammon, whose influence had waxed in Greece as that of Delphi had waned, gave them [the cities] an adequate pretext to accede to his suggestion [to enroll him among their gods]; for, once Zeus through his most authoritative oracle had recognized Alexander as his son, no valid objection could be offered to his deification even by men who, in this general age of indifference, retained their faith in supernatural powers or their aversion to religious change."

Arrian gives a different account: "Alexander then was struck with wonder at the place, and consulted the oracle of the god. Having heard what was agreeable to his wishes, as he himself said, he set out on the journey back to Egypt." Since this is all that Arrian tells about the response of the oracle, it is all that we shall ever know,⁹ for Ptolemy was his source and we may be quite sure that, if Alexander had been called the son of Zeus, Ptolemy would have mentioned it as propaganda to give himself status.¹⁰

Why, then, did Alexander make the hazardous journey to the oracle of Ammon? As is the case with such matters, various motives were probably at work. There was, for example, the youthful love of adventure as well as the desire to see the famous oracle, so respected by Greeks, and to consult it, as he once had Delphi, about his future, a future which he had outlined in his letter to Darius¹¹ and must soon test in battle; and perhaps he wished to please the Egyptians by going through ancient rituals. Wilcken¹² makes a good deal of Arrian's statement that a "longing seized" Alexander to visit the oracle. It was Wilcken, as is well known, who first called particular attention to Alexander's "longing," but he overstates his case.¹³ I do not

⁹ That various stories circulated later, just as they did about Olympias' relations with Zeus, has nothing to do with the point. An extreme reconstruction of this episode is G. Radet, *Notes critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre* (Bordeaux, 1925); reviewed by W. W. Tarn, *C. R.*, XL (1926), p. 68.

¹⁰ In the last stage across the desert the guide lost his way, and according to one story the party was guided by two snakes. Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VI, p. 378, n. 1) says, "As this story is Ptolemy's, they conceivably represented the Alexandrian serpents Thermouthis and Psois; for Psois—fortune deified—became identified with Ptolemy's new god Sarapis, who thus aided Alexander."

¹¹ Arrian, II, 25, 3.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff. See, too, V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks* (Oxford, 1938), chap. II.

¹³ In his hero-worship of Alexander, Wilcken often obscures the point. When, for example, Alexander reached the Danube (Arrian, I, 3 f.), a "longing seized" him to cross the river. But it is also true that the Libyans and Libuans crossed the river and by crossing reached them he hastened the surrender of the Libyans. Wilcken is aware of this, and yet he can say (*op. cit.*, p. 681, "This was the non-rational longing for the unknown, the uninvestigated and mysterious, which in his later years took him irresistibly to the ends of the earth." This

deny the romantic and irrational strain in Alexander's nature, but I would insist that Alexander often preferred, for one reason or another, to keep his plans to himself and urged his men on, or concealed his motives, by an appeal to the memory of Achilles or Heracles; where this was not possible, or sufficient, he mentioned his own longing. Thus I would place high among his reasons for going to the oracle of Ammon his desire to confirm that the Libyan desert was in fact a frontier. Just as he crossed the Danube and Jaxartes to make his power known among the tribes, so here he marched along the shore,¹⁴ and it is no coincidence that at Paraetonium, the point where he left the coast, he was met by envoys from Cyrene who offered submission.¹⁵ I do not count among his motives any desire to learn about his origin,¹⁶ for in that case he would have made immediate capital of his trip, whereas in actual fact we hear no more of it for several years.

2. The banquet at Bactra.¹⁷ Arrian's version is to be pre-

method leads to unfortunate implications about Alexander's divinity; for example, though Alexander has proceeded no further than Gordium, Wilcken says (p. 95), "In view of the rapid victorious advance of the young hero, how could it be doubted that he was under the special protection of the gods?"

¹⁴ The regular route to the oracle was direct from Memphis (the way he returned).

¹⁵ Diodorus, XVII, 49, 2; Curtius, IV, 7, 9. Arrian, Justin, and Plutarch do not mention this.

¹⁶ It is true that Arrian (III, 3, 2) says that "Alexander made the expedition to Ammon with the design of learning his origin more certainly, or at least that he might be able to say that he had learned it." Arrian assigns four other motives to Alexander in this passage. It is another instance of Arrian trying to make up his mind.

¹⁷ The references for the Alexander-historians are: Arrian, IV, 10 f.; Justin, XII, 7; Curtius, VIII, 5 f.; Plutarch, 54. There is a lacuna in Diodorus at this point, although from the table of contents of Book XVII it seems clear that he wrote of the banquet. See, too, Athenaeus, X, 434 A-D; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, 623 F-624 A; *De cohibenda ira* 454 E. Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VI, p. 398) says that "some time after 330 he [Callisthenes] had sent to Greece for publication his history of Alexander, so far as it had gone." Unless we are to quibble, this means that Callisthenes' history did not include his version of the banquet at Bactra. Obviously, it would be of the greatest importance if we could prove otherwise. I have argued that Callisthenes' history certainly extended into the year 328 ("The Seer Aristander," *A. J. P.*, L [1929],

ferred, and in a condensed form is as follows: An arrangement was made between Alexander and the sophists in conjunction with the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes that the topic of proskynesis should be mentioned at a banquet at Bactra. When Anaxarchus, then, had spoken, those who were privy to the plan applauded his speech, and wished at once to begin the ceremony of proskynesis. Most of the Macedonians, however, were vexed and kept silence, but Callisthenes opposed him in a vigorous speech. "Thus Callisthenes greatly annoyed Alexander, but spoke the exact sentiments of the Macedonians. When Alexander perceived this, he sent to prevent the Macedonians from making any further mention of the ceremony of proskynesis. But after the discussion silence ensued; and then the most honorable of the Persians arose in due order and prostrated their bodies before him. But when one of the Persians seemed to have performed the ceremony in an awkward way, Leonnatus, a Companion, laughed at his posture as mean. Alexander at the time was angry with him for this, but was afterwards reconciled to him. The following account has also been given: ¹⁸ Alexander drank from a golden goblet the health of the circle of guests, and

pp. 195 ff.) and very probably up to the (third) visit to Bactra in the early spring of 327 (*The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* [Providence, 1932], p. 70, where it is also argued that Callisthenes' account rests on the official Ephemerides). I have also argued that it was during this stay at Bactra that Callisthenes was arrested ("Two Notes on the History of Alexander the Great. 1. The Arrest and Death of Callisthenes," *A. J. P.*, LIII [1932], pp. 353 ff.). Callisthenes was arrested in connection with the conspiracy of the pages. The banquet was earlier, though during this same stay at Bactra. Presumably there was time, therefore, for Callisthenes to write up the momentous events of the banquet; whether he did or not, we shall never know, but we do know that he wrote his history methodically.

¹⁸ According to Arrian's statement in his Preface, this is his method (not consistently followed, however) of informing us that he is no longer following Ptolemy and Aristobulus (hence, Callisthenes and the Ephemerides) as his source, though there is no certainty as to his source for the preceding (see note 23 *infra*). These λεγόμενα must always be carefully scrutinized, for study shows that they are often ill-founded (see my *Ephemerides*, pp. 344), and I will give this as a deposit of the remainder of the quotation (when it comes) used also by Plutarch). Tarn (see *infra*) shows that we have to deal with a Macedonian, not a Greek, banquet; see, however, G. H. Macurdy, "The Grammar of Drinking Healths," *A. J. P.*, LIII (1932), pp. 189 ff.

handed it first to those with whom he had concerted the ceremony of proskynesis. The first who drank from the goblet rose up and performed the act of proskynesis; and received a kiss from him. This ceremony proceeded from one to another in due order. But when the pledging of health came to the turn of Callisthenes, he rose up and drank from the goblet, and drew near, wishing to kiss Alexander without performing the act of proskynesis. Alexander happened then to be conversing with Hephaestion, and consequently did not observe whether Callisthenes performed the ceremony completely or not.¹⁹ But when Callisthenes was approaching to kiss him, Demetrius, son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, said that he was doing so without having prostrated himself. So Alexander would not permit him to kiss him; whereupon the philosopher said, 'Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss.'²⁰

¹⁹ Callisthenes was just the person whom Alexander would have watched.

²⁰ Callisthenes had done his share to make Alexander appear as a god to Greeks (cf. his account of the sea waves doing obeisance before Alexander at Mount Climax, and his account of Ammon's salutation, which was confirmed by the oracles of Didyma and Erythrae). To explain Callisthenes' *volte face* is a major problem of the historian, for obviously Aristotle's remark (Plutarch, 54, 1) that his nephew lacked common sense will not suffice. Tarn (*C.A.H.*, VI, p. 400) says that Callisthenes "suddenly found himself (as he thought) faced with the terrible consequences of what he had done; the god he had made meant to act as such. . . . He tried to draw back, too late." Callisthenes clearly tried to draw back, but not merely from a god. Alexander had also recently conceived the idea of world conquest (see *infra*). And I think that we may be even more precise. I have argued that Callisthenes is responsible for all the references to Aristander (see note 17 *supra* and my paper on Aristander). Almost the last reference to Aristander is Arrian, IV, 4, 3, where Alexander has ordered sacrifices preparatory to crossing the Jaxartes: "The victims proved to be unfavorable. Alexander was much annoyed. . . . He again offered sacrifice with a view to crossing; and Aristander the seer told him that the omens still portended danger to himself. . . . Aristander refused to explain the will of the gods contrary to the revelations made by the deity simply because Alexander wished to hear the contrary." That Aristander should stick to his guns at this critical time, without support, is difficult to believe. Our sources do not tell us in so many words, but it seems clear nevertheless that there was determined opposition to Alexander in 329 (which the executions of Philotas and Parmenio had failed to crush). Callisthenes' *volte face*, then, may

The ceremony of proskynesis has engaged Miss Taylor's attention in two able articles and a book.²¹ Tarn and Nock sum up the whole argument so well that we may briefly summarize their replies. Tarn contends that it is wrong to say that the founder of the official ruler-cult was not Ptolemy II but Alexander. Alexander could not have been its author, for there was not in Persia any general worship or cult of the king's daemon, such as Alexander might know of or be influenced by, and that is what matters. Proskynesis before the actual Persian king was not an act of worship. It is likewise wrong to say that the Hellenistic ruler-cult was a cult, not of the ruler, but of his daemon; what was worshipped was the actual man of flesh and blood. At Greek dinners, furthermore, it was the custom to conclude dinner by passing round a cup of unmixed wine, each guest taking a sip and saying *ἀγαθὸν δαίμωνος*. But no such thing happened at Macedonian dinners—*ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* is not mentioned at Bactra—and there is no evidence that it was a Greek dinner that night at Bactra. That night Alexander and his friends made a libation; they did not pass a cup around, but each drew a portion of wine from a great bowl, and all then made a libation simultaneously at a signal.

Nock likewise denies that there was a Persian precedent for ruler worship, directed to the king's *fravashi* or attendant spirit;

not have been as "sudden" as it appears; perhaps his attitude had been changing during the past two years and was shared by others. See, too, in a general way, Plutarch, 53-54.

²¹ L. R. Taylor, "The 'Proskynesis' and the Hellenistic Ruler-cult," *J. H. S.*, XLVII (1927), pp. 53 ff.; "The Cult of Alexander at Alexandria," *Class. Phil.*, XXII (1927), pp. 162 ff.; *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931). The articles were answered by Tarn, "The Hellenistic Ruler-cult and the Daemon," *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 206 ff.; the book was reviewed by Nock, *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), pp. 513 ff. Tarn was answered by Miss Taylor, "Alexander and the Serpent of Alexandria," *Class. Phil.*, XXV (1930), pp. 375 ff. (but see Nock in *Gnomon*). See, too, P. Schnabel, "Die Begründung des hellenistischen Königskultes durch Alexander," *Klio*, XIX (1924), pp. 113 ff.; Nock, "Notes on Ruler-cult," *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 21 ff.; "The origin of the cult of the ruler," *Journal of the Hellenic Studies Society*, LIII (1933), pp. 1-11; "The cult of the ruler," *Journal of Theological Studies*, III (1932); Kittel, *Theol. Wörterbuch*, II, no. 157 ff.; *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewiss.*, XI, pp. 132 ff.; Kleinknecht, *Arch. f. Liturgiewiss.*, XXXI, pp. 505 ff.; G. H. Gough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (New Haven, 1938).

that the cult of the founders and saviors of cities in the fourth century B. C. was a cult of the daemon of the individual; that the proskynesis addressed to Alexander at Bactra involved his association with Agathos Daimon or that at Alexandria his cult was so associated. Alexander did not establish a Reichskult; between his death and the first Hellenistic official ruler worship lies a generation spent in reversing his policy.

It is clear that in introducing proskynesis Alexander had no desire to appear as a god to Persians. The alternative, however, is not that Alexander simply wished from all what the Achaemenid kings had received²²—we are not dealing with a question of polite etiquette, which was designed to put Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians on one plane. The truth is that Alexander wished homage as a divine personage, a fact that we have been inclined to overlook in our examination (from a Persian point of view) of proskynesis. Let us return to Arrian's introductory remarks:²³ "As to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in regard to the ceremony of proskynesis, there is the following story. An arrangement was made between Alexander and the sophists in conjunction with the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes who were in attendance upon him, that this topic should be mentioned at a banquet. Anaxarchus commenced the discussion by saying that Alexander would much more justly be deemed a god than either Dionysus or Heracles, not only on account of the very numerous and mighty exploits which he had performed, but also because Dionysus was only a Theban, in no way related to Macedonians; and Heracles was an Argive, not at all related to them, except in regard to Alexander's pedigree; for he was a descendant of Heracles. He added that the Macedonians might with greater justice gratify their king with divine honors, for there was no doubt about this, that when he departed

²² G. C. Richards, "Proskynesis," *C. R.*, XLVIII (1934), pp. 168 ff. I quote (with permission) from Professor Nock's letter to me of October 27, 1941: "As for proskynesis, it certainly had in itself no necessary implications of deification."

²³ Arrian's account falls into two parts: 1) Anaxarchus' remarks and Callisthenes' reply; we do not know Arrian's source here, but it may be a good one (Callisthenes?). 2) The story of the drinking (see note 18 *supra*); here Arrian changes his source to the court chamberlain Chares, who was probably in a position to know what happened that night (though we also know that he was a deliberate liar).

from men they would honor him as a god. How much more just then would it be to reward him while alive, than after his death, when it would be no advantage to him to be honored."

We see from Arrian that Alexander desired homage as a divine personage. That he desired this homage from the Greeks and Macedonians is proved not only by the process of elimination—we have noted that proskynesis had no such significance for the Persians—but also by the fact that Alexander knew that the mere suggestion of proskynesis would produce an immediate reaction from the Greeks and Macedonians; inevitably, the ensuing discussion would be carried on by them and not by the Persians. To Greeks and Macedonians prostration meant worship; all of Greek history, as well as Callisthenes' speech, proves that. It was Alexander's hope that Persian coöperation in performing their traditional ceremony would help bring the Greeks and Macedonians into line, but, as we have seen, the idea had to be abandoned (temporarily for the Greeks, permanently, no doubt, for the Macedonians).

What was Alexander's motive? Although he had regularized his relation to the barbarian world by becoming the Great King of the former Persian Empire, there remained the problem of his relation to the Hellenic world. He proposed to solve this by becoming a god for a people who had many gods and who had raised men to the ranks of the gods not only in the legendary past but also in recent times (such as Lysander). His motive was purely political; neither now nor later did he consider himself a god, nor was he regarded as such by others. A clearer light is thrown on the matter, however, when we judge it in its chronological sequence.²⁴

Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush in the early spring of 329. Two years of guerrilla warfare in Bactria-Sogdiana were required before he broke the national resistance of eastern Iran. Fierce fighting, acts of treachery, and desert marches influenced, no doubt, his ideas of empire and his relation to it.²⁵ During the

²⁴ On certain chronological problems see my paper, "When did Alexander cross the Hindu Kush?" *A. J. P.*, LV (1930), pp. 22 ff.

Alexander's conception of himself as a god probably developed in the course of the subject to which I shall return under my third point. At Ecbatana (spring, 330) Alexander dismissed his Greek allies, a certain sign of a new order. What this new order was to be he made clear, in part, by his adoption of Oriental dress: it was at once notice to the Greeks and

winter of 329-28 at Bactra Alexander first clearly expressed his plan of world conquest.²⁶ The national war, led by Spitamenes, forced Alexander to reconsider his relationship to the barbarians; it was not enough to give them administrative posts, they must have a stake in his success. In the summer of 328, therefore, he added Bactrians, Sogdians, and other Asiatics to the army, a significant and dramatic step in his development (Arrian, IV, 17, 3). Incidentally, it was these troops, combined with Macedonians, that pressed the Massagetae so hard that they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander. Early the next year Alexander married Roxane, the daughter of a powerful baron; it was a political marriage, by which he hoped to secure his power in eastern Iran. A month or so later, at Bactra, he ordered 30,000 native youths to be trained in Macedonian fashion. Plans for world conquest, the employment of Asiatic soldiers in the army, a political marriage, and the training of native youths in Macedonian fashion reveal the gigantic stature of Alexander. These were not the idle dreams of a visionary, for they had already been translated, in the large, into reality. They provide, too, the immediate background against which we must project the banquet at Bactra. A proposal for Alexander's deification seems, if not natural, at least not surprising. This was the device he intended to use in dealing with the Greek world.

Macedonians that they were not to occupy a privileged position in the empire and to the barbarians that he was their king, too. Consequently, Persians, Medes, Phoenicians, Egyptians—and as he proceeded east, other races—received important posts; see my paper, "Alexander the Great and the Barbarians" (in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* [Princeton, 1936], pp. 298 ff.). I take seriously (*Hellenic History* [New York, 1939], p. 248) Plutarch's statement (27, 6) that in Egypt Alexander had said that God is the common father of all men, but He makes the best ones peculiarly his own. It is hardly surprising that, at Opis in the year before his death, Alexander should have expressed himself on the brotherhood of man (Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIX).

²⁶ Arrian, IV, 15, 5; see my paper, "Alexander's Plans," *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 402 ff. The only thing I would emphasize here is that my argument is not based on Alexander's *ὑπομνήματα* (Diodorus, XVIII, 4, 1), which are unhistorical as we have them. Alexander expressed himself on world conquest again, in 326, in India (Arrian, V, 26, 1).

3. Alexander's deification. There is no reference in the Alexander-historians to an edict by Alexander decreeing his deification,²⁷ but it is certain that Alexander issued such an edict, or that he encouraged the Greeks to issue one, or that they did so wholly on their own initiative.²⁸ The problem is not to decide which of these statements is true—the evidence is insufficient for that—but to discover Alexander's motive in ordering, or in permitting, his deification in the year before his death. If we have been correct in arguing that Alexander had seriously planned his deification at Bactra, we have the motive, and the purpose of this paper has been served. In both cases the motive was the same—to regularize his relation to the Greeks and to make possible an efficient administration of their land; frustrated at Bactra, Alexander now resolved to see the matter through.²⁹ It is customary,³⁰ however, to say that Alexander was led to

²⁷ Lacunae, however, occur at Arrian, VII, 12, Curtius, X, 1 and 2. Allusions in ancient literature to Alexander's deification: Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 7; Valerius Maximus, *Sapienter dicta aut facta*, VII, 13; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, II, 19; V, 12; Athenaeus, II, 22; VI, 58. Exiles decree: Diodorus, XVII, 109; XVIII, 8; Justin, XIII, 5. See Hogarth, *loc. cit.* (see note 1 *supra*).

²⁸ Ferguson, *loc. cit.* (see note 8 *supra*). Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VI, p. 419): "The matter was probably brought before the [Corinthian] League states by his partisans in the several cities, but certainly the initiative came from him and not from the Greeks."

²⁹ It would be easier, now, after his victorious return from the East; the mass marriages at Susa show that his mind was still running along extraordinary lines (Arrian, VII, 4; Diodorus, XVII, 107; Justin, XII, 10; Plutarch, 70).

³⁰ Other explanations have been offered, of course. Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 122 (see note 6 *supra*): "Alexander's deification was not a sanction of authority, but it was a recognition of what he *had* accomplished. Heracles had won his way to heaven by what he had done; thus Alexander was to become a god." Since much remained to be done, however, Alexander probably had a motive. Some scholars, though they miss the significance of the episode at Bactra, argue that Alexander now sought a general sanction of authority. Noek (*Syllabus of Gifford Lectures*, see note 8 *supra*) says that "Alexander sought deification, to be recognized as a god, probably mainly for status, when he wished to maintain directly in the minds of his subjects that he was a god, by making the pill of eminently unpopular measures." But what was the connection with others, there is a connection with the exiles decree. I quote (with omission) from his letter to me of October 27, 1911: "I do not think that you can wholly ignore the coincidence in time of this measure and

self-deification in order to make legal his decree³¹ for the return of the exiles. Important as it was to bring stability to Greece, it does not seem likely that he would seek deification in order to solve an isolated problem. The best statement of this point of view is by Tarn,³² and we must briefly notice it: The recall of the exiles was "a breach of the Covenant of the League of Corinth, which forbade interference with the internal affairs of the constituent states."³³ . . . The Covenant bound Alexander of Macedon; it would not bind Alexander the god; the way therefore to exercise authority in the cities was to become a god. . . . There is nothing to show that he had any intention of doing away with Greek freedom; Craterus' instructions to supervise the freedom of the Hellenes show that the exiles decree was treated as an exceptional measure and that the League was to continue as before."

The Corinthian League was a convenient instrument for Alexander to use in his dealings with the Greeks, and no doubt he intended that it should continue in existence. But that he felt particularly bound by its Covenant at this time, or that his exiles decree represented an "exceptional" interference, is doubtful. As proof, we need only cite Alexander's actions, not at the end of his expedition when he was all-powerful, but at

the recall of the exiles." (Nock's *Syllabus* is a brief summary of his views; it has not been published, but a privately printed copy may be borrowed from the Harvard Library.) There is a similar connection in Ferguson's mind (see note 8 *supra*): "When the Greek cities had placed Alexander in their circles of deities he was at once free from all the treaty obligations accepted by him at the Congress of Corinth, and his first effort in his new capacity was to rid his realm of all its homeless and lawless men by requiring every city to receive back its exiles. What a gain to the world that this great problem could be finally attacked vigorously yet legally!" See, too, Nock, *J.H.S.*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 21 ff.; Wilcken, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1938, pp. 298 ff.; Heuss, *Klio*, Beiheft XXXIX (1937), pp. 188 ff.

³¹ See note 27 *supra*.

³² *Loc. cit.* (see note 28 *supra*).

³³ Interference in a state was allowed, however, on the threat of social revolution; see Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XX (1925), pp. 313 ff.; XXI (1926), pp. 52 ff. Thousands of homeless and determined men constituted, no doubt, a threat; very possibly, then, Alexander already had all the power he needed under the Covenant to deal with the exiles; in that event, any connection between the exiles decree and his deification vanishes.

the very beginning. It is well known that Alexander entered Asia Minor as King of Macedon and Commander-in-chief of the Corinthian League, but I do not think that the rapid development of his position, while still in Asia Minor, has been fully recognized. Whereas after the Granicus Alexander sent the Greek mercenaries of Darius to Macedonia in chains as traitors to the Corinthian League,³⁴ at Miletus he took Darius' Greek mercenaries into his service;³⁵ his conception of partnership with the League was already breaking down. Soon afterward he permitted Ada, the Carian queen, to adopt him as her son.³⁶ As he advanced through the non-Greek districts of Asia Minor he claimed the tribute which they had previously paid the Great King.³⁷ It seems probable, furthermore, that Alexander did not join the Greek cities of Asia Minor to the Corinthian League.³⁸ It is difficult to see what point there would have been in simultaneously disregarding the League and adding to its membership; he set up democracies in the Greek cities and in other ways interfered in their internal affairs;³⁹ the cities were probably united to him as "free and independent" allies by treaty, as they were to his successor, Antigonus; since the Successors were prone to follow Alexander's schemes in outline, and since Antigonus did not join the Greeks of Asia Minor to the League, it is probable that the precedent had been set by Alexander. Thus, by Issus, Alexander was not only King of Macedon, Commander-in-chief of the Corinthian League, and the adopted son of the native Ada, but he was also the "ally" of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Great King of the

³⁴ Arrian, I, 16, 6.

³⁵ Arrian, I, 19, 6.

³⁶ Arrian, I, 23, 8.

³⁷ For example, Arrian, I, 17, 1.

³⁸ Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, chap. I (see note 12 *supra*); Tarn disagrees sharply in his review, *O. R.*, LII (1938), pp. 234 ff. See, too, E. Bickermann, "Alexandre le Grand et les villes d'Asie," *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XLVII (1934), pp. 346 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 153 ff. Tarn again disagrees in his review, *J. R. S.*, XXXI (1941), pp. 165 ff.

³⁹ For example, Alexander had originally ordered that the Cilian traitors should be tried by the council of the Corinthian League, but, when they were brought to him in Egypt, he sent them on his own authority to Elephantine under guard (Arrian, III, 2, 7).

native districts which he had conquered. Already unmindful of the Corinthian League, when it suited his purpose, and occupying different positions for the different sections of his empire, he did not need, on his return from the East after so many victories and experiences, to cast about in his mind for some extraordinary method whereby he might order the return of the exiles. The exiles decree was dramatic, to be sure, but it was merely the most recent of his plans for Greece. It had no connection, except in point of time, with his deification; the true significance of the latter has already been discussed.

Alexander's edict is perhaps better understood in the light of his differences with his men. Extending back over a long period,⁴⁰ discontent again came to the surface on the return to Susa (spring, 324), in spite of (or, perhaps, partially because of) the fact that the mass marriages had just been celebrated, and enthusiasm presumably was running high; the debts of the soldiers had just been paid by Alexander, too. The occasion was the arrival of the 30,000 native youths, who had been trained in Macedonian fashion; the Macedonians were offended, because they thought Alexander was contriving to free himself from future need of them.⁴¹ A short time later, at Opis on the Tigris, the Macedonians mutinied. It is the custom ⁴² to accept Arrian's

⁴⁰ The chief previous instances of discontent are: The treason of Alexander, the Lyncestian (Arrian, I, 25, 1); at Tyre, when Parmenio urged Alexander to accept Darius' peace offer (Arrian, II, 25, 2); the plot of Philotas (Arrian, III, 26, 1); the opposition to his crossing the Jaxartes (see note 20 *supra*); dissatisfaction with his attitude toward the Macedonians, which resulted in a quarrel and the murder of Cleitus (Arrian, IV, 8, 1); the opposition to proskynesis (Arrian, IV, 11, 1); the conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, IV, 13, 1); the refusal of the army to advance beyond the Hyphasis in India (Arrian, V, 25, 2). Harpalus and other officials expected Alexander to perish in India and misbehaved during his absence.

⁴¹ Arrian, VII, 6, 2. Justin is silent (see note 44 *infra*). Diodorus (XVII, 109, 2) merely reports the arrival of the 30,000 youths and then, after a typical digression, mentions the dismissal of 10,000 veterans (referring, presumably, to the mutiny at Opis). Between two lacunae, Curtius (X, 2, 8) mentions the dismissal of the veterans and their mutiny. Plutarch (71, 1) gives Arrian's account, but adds, as if it had happened at Susa, an account of the mutiny. We may follow Arrian and recognize discontent at Susa and mutiny at Opis.

⁴² An exception is Hogarth, *loc. cit.* (see note 1 *supra*).

account:⁴³ "When he arrived at Opis, Alexander collected the Macedonians and announced that he intended to discharge from the army those who were useless for military service either from age or from being maimed; and he said he would send them back to their own homes. He also promised to give those who went back as much extra reward as would make them special objects of envy to those at home and arouse in the other Macedonians the wish to share similar dangers and labors. Alexander said this, no doubt, for the purpose of pleasing the Macedonians; but on the contrary they were, not without reason, offended by the speech which he delivered, thinking that now they were despised by him and deemed to be quite useless for military service. . . . Therefore they could not remain silent and control themselves, but urged him to dismiss all of them from his army." Arrian's explanation of the mutiny does not ring true, for it is not likely that old and maimed soldiers would so resent honorable discharge as to lead the rest of the army to revolt. Justin has a different and, I believe, a better explanation:⁴⁴ "Discharging some of the veterans, Alexander recruited the army with younger soldiers. But those that were retained, murmuring at the discharge of the older men, demanded that they themselves should be released likewise; desiring that their years, not of life, but of service, should be counted, and thinking it reasonable that those who had been enlisted in the service together, should together be set free from the service." If it is true that the temper of the Macedonians was such that the younger ones could insist, even to the point of mutiny, that they too be allowed to go home, then Alexander was faced by an impending crisis, which required all his skill. Perhaps we can see here a substantial reason for his seeking deification and an immediate solution of the problem of his relationship to the Greeks.

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⁴³ Arrian, VII, 8, 2. Tarn (*C. A. H.*, VI, p. 420): "Alexander was not trying to oust the Macedonians from their ancestral partnership with him, but they thought he was."

⁴⁴ Justin, XIX, 1, 12. Justin's explanation is based on the desire for the love of Babylonians and on the desire to recruit troops to replace the veterans' marriages. It is not often that we would prefer Justin to Arrian, though he does occasionally touch a good source: see my paper, "Two Notes on the History of Alexander," 2, *J. H. S.*, 1931 (1932) pp. 357-77.

AMMIANUS' ACCOUNT OF GALLUS CAESAR.

Ammianus Marcellinus condemns Gallus as a bloodthirsty tyrant, and his opinion is unanimously followed by modern historians. Ammianus' account is by far the fullest extant, and this has obscured the fact that in ancient times there was a great diversity of attitude towards the Caesar. We find that the Eunomian Philostorgius is a warm admirer of the Arian Gallus; the pagan Zosimus considers him a wronged man and says not a word about his alleged misdeeds in Antioch. His half-brother Julian, despite a complete diversity of temperament, was his life-long friend and defended him with affection after his death. Among his friends Gallus also counted the leading Arian of the day, Aëtius, as well as the Bishop Theophilus ὁ Ἱερός and Eudoxius, Bishop of Antioch and later of Constantinople (Philostorgius, III, 27; IV, 8). On the other hand, the orthodox Christian historians are almost unanimous in condemning him, but they may be suspected of prejudice against his Arianism just as Philostorgius is said to have favoured him because of it. Even so, we find St. Jerome remarking that Gallus was put to death *ob egregiam indolem*. Occasionally we even find other orthodox Christians speaking well of him, but this is for purposes of contrast with his half-brother, the Apostate (e.g. St. John Chrysostom, *In S. Babylam contra Jul.*, etc., 14). His fervent Christianity is admitted on all sides (e.g. Sozomen, V, 19, 12; Gregory Naz., *Or.*, IV, 24; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 1).

With ancient opinion thus divided, it may be worth while examining Ammianus' account, without disregarding certain admissions which he himself makes, and bearing in mind the facts which we learn from our other authorities; we may also try to find reasons for his violent hatred of Gallus.

The first question to be decided is whether the beginning of Ammianus' extant narrative is also the beginning of his account of Gallus in Antioch, or whether he had already dealt to some extent with his activities there in one of the lost books. The brief review in XIV, 1, 1-2 of Gallus' elevation, his character, and the influence of his wife upon him seems to be an introduction to the whole episode. Indeed, the nature of the whole of the

first extant chapter, dealing as it does with generalities (apart from the Clementius incident) to be treated specifically later on, points to this view. It is strongly supported by Ammianus' reference to the *mulier vilis*, XIV, 7, 4, who was rewarded so ostentatiously by Constantina. As Valesius pointed out in his note *ad loc.*, this is the woman referred to by Zonaras, XIII, 8 as having betrayed to Gallus the conspiracy against his life engineered by Magnentius in 352. Clearly, Ammianus had not dealt with her before, and consequently he cannot have treated of Magnentius' conspiracy at all. Furthermore, it is very difficult to believe that Ammianus had already dealt with Gallus' military action against the Persians, although it was to meet their threats that he had been appointed Caesar. The casual and contemptuous expression in XIV, 7, 5, *Hierapolim profecturus, ut expeditioni specie tenus adesset*, without any reference back, supports this view; but a much stronger argument is provided by the chapter in which Ammianus deals with the Persians at this time, XIV, 3. For here he tells of the threat which Constantius sought to meet by appointing a second ruler in the East, but feebly explains away its failure by asserting that Nohodares' attack collapsed owing to the treachery of some of his soldiers who betrayed his first objective to the Romans, 3, 4. At most, this would have kept him away from Batnae but need not have hindered the attack on Mesopotamia which he had been ordered to undertake, 3, 1. Actually we hear from other sources that Nohodares had more solid reasons for retiring. For Gallus, basing himself on Hierapolis,¹ made what was at least a highly successful demonstration against him. Philostorgius, III, 28, is very enthusiastic in his praise of Gallus' military capacity,² while Zonaras, XIII, 9, speaks of an *ἐνύχνημα* after which Gallus returned to Antioch. From another source (Joannes Monachus, *S. Artemii Passio*, 12, in Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, IV, pp. 348 ff.) we actually hear that the Persians stopped their

¹ So much we may derive from the phrase of Ammianus quoted *supra*, XIV, 7, 5. Cf. Julian, *Ep.* 98, Bidez.

[illegible]

operations on hearing that Gallus was young and θερμουργὸς εἰς τὰ ἔργα.³

It is not clear then what Ammianus could have dealt with if he treated of Gallus in Antioch before the opening of Book XIV, so that we may assume with relative safety that we have this section of the History complete. Here at the very beginning of our enquiry, then, we find him suppressing information which was to Gallus' credit. We will come to the same conclusion if we examine Gallus' other campaigns.

Ammianus, XIV, 2, gives a long account of the inroads of the Isaurians. Gallus must have been responsible for the general direction of this difficult campaign, although the historian does not mention him till the very end, 2, 20, and then in rather slighting terms. But, if there was any delay on his part in sending help to Seleucia, the temporary reverse was definitely due to the excessive caution of Castricius, who fell back on the city against the wishes of his troops; yet he commanded a veteran force and cannot have been in any great danger. A vigorous commander would have required no assistance from the Caesar, who may have delayed sending help in the expectation that an energetic sally would break up the siege.

Finally, Ammianus completely omits mention of the rising of the Jews in Diocaesarea. Gallus promptly sent troops to crush this and had Diocaesarea razed,⁴ and, according to St. Jerome, Tiberias and Diospolis as well.

With regard to Gallus' military qualities, then, Ammianus gives us two slighting references and conceals the fact that the Caesar, despite his complete inexperience, could act with energy and effectiveness when the occasion demanded.

Let us deal now with the historian's narrative. As stated

³ The state of the Eastern frontier is described thus in our authorities: Libanius, II, p. 407 F., Περσῶν καθ' ἑκαστον ἔτος ἀεὶ τι παρασπωμένων καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν μείζω ποιοῦντων κτλ., cf. p. 326; Philostorgius, III, 25, τὸ Περσικὸν ἀκούσας (Constantius) κατὰ τῆς ἐώας βαρυντέρᾳ χειρὶ κινεῖσθαι. Zonaras, XIII, 8, ὁ Σαπώρης ἀδείας δραξάμενος τὰ περὶ ἑω ἐπόρθησε, καὶ λείαν λαβών. καὶ δορυαλώτους πολλοὺς ἐπανάρξεν. Hence Julian, *Or.*, I, 28 D; II, 66 D, should not lead us to believe that the Persian frontier was very quiet and Gallus' campaign a trifle; the passages are highly rhetorical.

⁴ Socrates, II, 32; Sozomen, IV, 7, 5; Cedrenus, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXXI, col. 569.

above, his first chapter treats only of generalities, apart from the incident of Clematius, and seems to be an introduction to what follows. Despite much powerful rhetoric the charges brought against Gallus are very few. First he accuses him of overstepping the authority given to him and of a general harshness in his behaviour, *ultra terminos potestatis delatae procurrens, asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat*, 1, 1. We may concede the second point, but Ammianus does not make it at all clear what he means by this accusation of unconstitutional activity. As we shall see later, he cannot be referring to any intention to challenge Constantius. He must therefore be referring to the lynchings which took place with Gallus' connivance. The rights and wrongs of these are dealt with below. Secondly, Gallus is accused of instituting a widespread system of espionage (1, 2, 6, 9) which greatly disturbed the population, or at any rate the upper classes,⁵ and there is no reason to doubt this. But we shall see later that certain sections of the upper classes were so untrustworthy that it was necessary to keep them under close observation. Ammianus also asserts that Gallus himself roamed through the streets at night with a few armed attendants asking those whom they met what they thought of the Caesar. This was done *multis gementibus*, as the historian vaguely puts it. At most he means that those who gave unfavourable replies were manhandled. Had any been killed or seriously injured, he would have been only too glad to be more explicit.⁶

After Clematius' death, he says that some were executed, some exiled, and the goods of others were confiscated, 1, 4. This refers forward. The case of Clematius is rather mysterious, 1, 3. Ammianus could not discover the reason for his execution without trial, but he gives a rumour (*ut ferebatur*) which is obviously mythological. Libanius considers that he was wrongly put to death (*Ep.*, 693 F.). At any rate, it was Constantina who had him killed, and we do not hear that Honoratus, the *Comes*

⁵ It is probably to this that Libanius refers in *Ep.* 391 (X, p. 386) and in p. 130, F.

⁶ 1, 9. But the whole passage is a little mythical. Similar tales are told of many of the emperors. Cf. e.g. Gallus' behaviour in *Passing Place*, XIII, 25, to say nothing of Haroun al Rashid. In the present passage note the contradiction between *novo exemplo* and *quod Romae . . . complacuisse aliquando dicitur Iulianum*.

Orientis, who had to carry out the execution, raised any objection to it, although he was not afraid to oppose Gallus on such matters when his conscience or interests demanded it (cf. XIV, 7, 2).

The chapter concludes with a note on the behaviour of Thalassius, the Praetorian Prefect, in relation to Gallus, and finishes with the words *velut contumaciae quoddam vexillum altius erigens, sine respectu salutis alienae aut suae, ad vertenda opposita* (Bentley, *supposita*, V), *instar rapidi fluminis, irrevocabili impetu ferebatur*. Obviously this is merely rhetoric, a literary trick to leave a dark impression on our minds of Gallus' misdeeds, which in fact have been specified in only one instance, that of Clematius. When Ammianus resumes his narrative of Gallus six chapters later, he immediately strikes this same note again. We may observe that, at the end of each of the three chapters in which he deals with Gallus in Antioch (1, 7, 9), Ammianus places a sweeping sentence of condemnation with literary rather than historical effect in each case (see further p. 315 *infra*).

In XIV, 7, 2 and 5 ff., we have a very misleading account of Gallus' reaction to the threatened famine at Antioch. He ordered the leaders of the Senate to be put to death, says the historian, because they insolently⁷ opposed a general lowering of prices which Gallus recommended when the famine was imminent; but Honoratus, the *Comes Orientis*, begged them off with great resolution. At this point Ammianus interposes two matters which are absolutely irrelevant to the famine, 7, 3-4, and resumes in § 5 as if he were dealing with quite a different shortage. Gallus did not meet it, he says, as other princes were in the habit of doing, by a distribution of stores or by bringing supplies from the surrounding provinces, but put the blame on Theophilus, governor of Syria, and delivered him up to the multitude who tore him to pieces,⁸ and burnt the house of Eubulus, a wealthy man.⁹ It is to be noted that Gallus is not directly blamed for the actual killing of Theophilus: there seems to have been some kind of lynching, instigated to a certain extent by him.

⁷ *Gravius rationabili responderunt*.

⁸ Theophilus was killed only later *cum ingravesceret penuria commeatuum*; in whose hands was he in the meantime?

⁹ Julian, *Misop.*, 370 C, exaggerates in saying that they set fire to the houses τῶν δυνατῶν. Cf. Libanius, *Or.*, I, 103. Eubulus was doubtless the ringleader in engineering the famine.

Now, this account omits certain very relevant facts. In the first place, the Antiochene Senate was composed of rich landowners whose estates in the neighbourhood largely furnished the food supply of the city.¹⁰ In the middle of the fourth century these landowners manipulated the prices of food in Antioch in a most outrageous manner, strongly reminiscent of modern capitalistic methods; thus, they were not above dumping grain into the Orontes in a time of shortage when they could not obtain what they considered a fair price.¹¹ Their rascality was so extreme that, when Julian in a time of shortage imported grain, the surprising result was that the shortage became even more acute. The incident may be briefly summarised here as it throws a certain light on Gallus' circumstances. Julian brought the grain from the surrounding provinces and from Egypt at the expense of the Treasury and was able to sell it at a price one third less than that of the Senatorial landowners. The latter were unable to compete and consequently bought up this imported grain at the low price fixed by Julian and at the same time secretly exported to the neighbouring provinces the grain which they had originally offered at their exorbitant rate on the Antiochene market. Thus, when they had bought up Julian's imported grain, there was an even greater shortage than before, for it turned out that they had secretly exported more than Julian had imported. Prices—and profits—were thus higher than ever. Julian threatened the principal Senators with prison but Libanius showed that this would cure nothing.

This was the type of rascal that Gallus had to deal with. Clearly, when his recommendation to the landowners to lower their prices was disobeyed, he saw a less expensive method of ending the shortage than Julian, which Julian was not very far from imitating;¹² and we read that when Theophilus was done to death, *in unius exitio quisque imaginem periculi sui considerans, documento recenti similia formidabat*, XIV, 7, 6, doubtless with favourable results on the price of food. Constantius sent out a commissioner, Musonianus, to inquire into Theophilus'

¹⁰ Cf. S. Pappas, *Ancient History of Antioch*, p. 10.

¹¹ Cf. also, *Strabo* (XIV, 1, 15), who writes that the conditions in Gallus' time were identical with those of nine years later as evident from Julian, *Misop.*, 370 C.

¹² *Galli similis fratri*, *Hist. Augustae*, XVIII, 11, 2.

death, but gave him instructions to deal with the situation mildly—proof that even the central government took a lenient view of the affair.¹³ Julian regretted the outrage, but felt that the anger of the populace against the Senate was justified,¹⁴ and with this judgment we may agree. Observe that Constantius heard of this affair from Thalassius, a circumstance of which we shall see the significance below. Ammianus, while admitting the insolence of the Senate, asserts that Theophilus was innocent, § 8. This is highly improbable in face of Julian's testimony, Gallus' accusation, and the mob's enthusiasm in killing him, to say nothing of Constantius' moderation. Ammianus may have inserted *insontem* for the sake of the antithesis with Serenianus.

We have seen that Ammianus inserted two paragraphs into his account of the famine which were unconnected with it. In the first of these, 7, 3, he condemns Gallus for delighting in watching the bloody sport of boxing (see Valesius' note *ad loc.*). Julian, *Misop.*, 340 A, says rather smugly that, apart from himself, all his family including Gallus delighted in attending horse-races. Seeck¹⁵ takes this as evidence of Gallus' cruel nature; but obviously it affects the cruelty—if that is the right word—of the times rather than of any individual.

In the second of these paragraphs, 7, 4, Ammianus is strangely brief on the subject of the old woman who betrayed the conspiracy which Magnentius organised in order to distract Constantius in the East as well as in the West. He says that this woman *accenderat . . . incitatum propositum ad nocendum*. This may simply mean that she thus enabled him to put the conspirators to death,¹⁶ or it may mean that this conspiracy increased the suspicions and the personal harshness of the Caesar.¹⁷

¹³ Ammianus, XV, 13, 2, supplemented and corrected by Libanius, *Or.*, XIX, 47, who, it should be noted, considered Theophilus a good governor, but says nothing of his guilt or innocence in this connection. It is not easy to see who were the *auctores diri facinoris* of XV, 13, 2; but the passage at least shows that Gallus had some support even in the upper classes. Aëtius was strongly on Gallus' side, Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XLV, col. 264.

¹⁴ *Misop.*, 370 C, *ὅν ὀργιζόμενος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκ ἐνὶ μετρίῳ*.

¹⁵ *R.-E.*, s. v. "Constantius" (5), col. 1095.

¹⁶ Zonaras, XIII, 8.

¹⁷ Compare Seeck, *loc. cit.*, col. 1096.

Ammianus' next charge against Gallus is that he acquitted a man called Serenianus, who was, he says, an inefficient soldier; he was tried on charges of practising magic and asking an oracle if he would become Emperor, and Gallus dismissed the case. He may well have repented the judgment, for Constantius afterwards employed Serenianus in a high position, namely as supervisor of the Caesar's execution. The Emperor Valens so esteemed his military capacity that he recalled him from his retirement in 364 and appointed him *Comes Domesticorum*. His energetic defence of Cyzicus in 365-6 (XXVI, 8, 7 ff.) goes far to refute Ammianus' charge of military inefficiency. In spite of what he thought himself, the historian admits that the public agreed with Gallus' decision.¹⁸

We now come to the death of the impossible Domitianus¹⁹ for downright treason, and of the quaestor Montius for unpardonable interference with the troops.²⁰ Both of them richly deserved some such fate. The lynchings, however, were not incited by Gallus, but by a certain Luscus, *curator urbis*, who was shortly afterwards put to death for his part in this affair, not impossibly by Gallus, XIV, 7, 17. Gallus, however, was not sorry to see the end of both of them.²¹ The treachery was a family affair. On Domitianus' orders, his son-in-law Apollinaris had in the meantime been tampering with the troops, but, when he learned what had happened to his father-in-law, he fled to Constantinople, where he was arrested and brought back to Antioch, XIV, 7, 19. This young man's father, of the same name, who was governor of Phoenicia, also fell under suspicion of complicity in the treason and was arrested with "many others," doubtless his accomplices, *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸ XIV, 7, 8. See the suggestion on Serenianus, *infra*, note 33.

¹⁹ Also condemned by Philostorgius, III, 28; Zonaras, XIII, 9. Their testimony with that of Ammianus (note especially 7, 10: *abditus multa in eius moliebatur exitium*) far outweighs Joannes Monachus, *loc. cit.*, 13, who calls him and Montius *ἄνδρας ἐν ἀξιώματι διαπρῆψαντας, καὶ πάντος κέρδους καὶ λήμματος εὐρεθέντας ὑψηλοτέρους*.

²⁰ Ammianus, XIV, 7, 12, characterises him rather unfavourably, but the account of Philostorgius (III, 29) gives a somewhat different account, but no more creditable to the man.

²¹ XIV, 7, 18 f.; Philostorgius, III, 28: *συνεπρόσχηκτος καὶ τοῦ τέλλου*; Constantina seems to have had a hand in it, Philostorgius, *loc. cit.*

Ammianus rounds off this chapter with a powerful piece of rhetoric indicating that innocent and guilty—he admits that some were guilty—were alike punished without a fair trial. Yet, when he resumes his narrative in chap. 9, again after speciously interposing a chapter, we learn that no less a person than Ursicinus was recalled from Nisibis to try the suspected. Finding that he was not given a free hand, Ursicinus stooped to a secret protest to Constantius over Gallus' head. I hope to show elsewhere that Ursicinus was a not wholly admirable character; he was suspected by some of aspiring to the throne himself.

The first to be tried were Epigonus, a philosopher from Cilicia, and Eusebius, a violent orator from Edessa.²² These two had been arrested by mistake in connection with Montius and were no doubt put to death unjustly, for little importance can be attached to Epigonus' confession under torture. In connection with the elder Apollinaris, a certain Maras, *diaconus, ut appellat Christiani*, was tried and tortured, but as he refused to admit anything he was set free. The two Apollinares were put to death *post multorum clades*. These "many" are doubtless to be equated with the *alii multi*, used of the elder Apollinaris' accomplices in XIV, 7, 19. We may perhaps assume that some innocent men were destroyed among them.²³

It is clear that Gallus had unearthed a widespread conspiracy²⁴ headed by the members of one family, Domitianus and the Apollinares. Montius was in active sympathy with it, for he had already arranged with the *tribuni fabricarum* to have weapons manufactured to arm the conspirators, XIV, 7, 18,—the *adminicula futurae molitioni* (Lindenbrog, *militioni*, V), as Ammianus puts it elsewhere. Clearly, the chances of the con-

²² For him see Ammianus, XIV, 7, 18 and 9, 4 ff.; Suidas, s. v. W. Schmid, *R.-E.*, VI, col. 1445, has confused him with the Eusebius who taught Julian; but the latter came from Myndus in Caria, Eunapius, V. S., p. 428, Loeb translation by Wright.

²³ Observe that *periere complures* in XIV, 9, 3, refers forward, as *igitur* at the beginning of 4 shows; *plures* is to be specified in the succeeding narrative. It is extremely remarkable that Gregory of Nyssa, who is not at all favourably disposed towards Gallus, mentions only exile as a punishment and says nothing of execution, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XLV, col. 257.

²⁴ That it was widespread is shown by *ex diversis civitatibus*, XIV, 7, 20, and the exaggerated *ubique . . . per orientales provincias*, *ibid.*, 21.

spirators were reduced to nothing by their failure with Gallus' troops.

In this connection we should explicitly emphasise what is implicit in Ammianus' narrative, namely that Gallus was highly popular with the rank and file of the army. In spite of the fact that Magnentius' agent met with some success in tampering with the common soldiers, XIV, 7, 4, it is clear that Constantius was seriously alarmed at the possibility of a military rising in favour of Gallus and he had little hope of achieving his aim of recalling him without using force.²⁵ His first step against the Caesar was gradually to withdraw some of the troops under his command, XIV, 7, 9. When Gallus reached Constantinople on his last journey, Constantius thought it prudent to remove all troops from the route he was to take thereafter. Yet when he arrived at Hadrianopolis, certain Thebaean legions in the neighbourhood were willing to rise in his favour, but, owing to Constantius' precautions, the Caesar could not establish contact with them, XIV, 11, 13-15. When Barbatio²⁶ stripped him of his imperial insignia at Petovio, he was commanding soldiers whom he had had to pick especially for their indebtedness to Constantius and for their characters which admitted of neither bribes nor pity, *ibid.*, 19. Again, when Gallus' friends and supporters in the East were being punished by Constantius, we read that among them were *militarium catervae*, XV, 3, 1. Before the period of his fall, the spontaneity with which the troops disregarded Montius and lynched him and Domitianus is significant of the Caesar's popularity among them.

In this connection we must note the willingness of the old woman who lived beside the Orontes in a hovel to inform on Magnentius' conspirators, Zonaras, XIII, 8. The reason for this popularity is not far to seek. Gallus' sympathy with the poorer classes is clearly illustrated by his attitude during the threatened famine at Antioch, when he sided so strongly with them against the machinations of the landowning Senators.

We have now to explain Ammianus' distaste for Gallus and the reasons for his misrepresentation of him. In the first place, it must be recalled that Ammianus was a member of the

²⁵ XV, 1, 2: *rem insperatam et arduam*.

²⁶ Afterward, generally noted for his treachery to Gallus under whom he had commanded the *Protectores Domestici*, XV, 11, 2, 3.

conscious, as I have tried to show elsewhere.²⁷ He cannot, therefore, have been attracted by Gallus' sympathy for the *turba imae sortis et paupertinae*. (We have seen how his friend Libanius strongly supported the landowners under Julian.)

Secondly, there is no denying that Gallus' personal behaviour was harsh and repellent.²⁸ It was made all the more so by his pitiless upbringing and cannot have been improved by the fact that Constantius looked on him with suspicion from the moment he elevated him to the rank of Caesar (Julian, *op. cit.*, 272 A), and appears to have appointed some of the officials who were to serve under him (Joannes Monachus, *op. cit.*, 12). This would be natural enough in view of Gallus' inexperience but may well have been resented—and not without reason if Thalassius and Barbatio are typical examples. Zosimus, II, 45, is actually inclined to believe that Constantius made him Caesar in the hope that he would meet his death at the hands of the Persians. However that may be, Ammianus undoubtedly met him during the trials conducted by Ursicinus, so that he, and in any case his informants, will have had a strong personal dislike for the Caesar which tended to colour their interpretation of events. A clear case of Ammianus' dependence upon the prejudice of his informants is afforded by XIV, 11, 8. After Ammianus had left Antioch (note the first person in § 5), he had to rely on informants for an account of subsequent events there.²⁹ Hence he says in XIV, 11, 8, on their authority, that Gallus definitely aimed at the throne, although he had given this simply as a rumour when describing his own general impression of Gallus' reign, XIV, 1, 1. This rumour also contradicts Gallus' fear of causing a civil war reported by Philostorgius and Joannes Monachus. Furthermore, if Heraeus' emendation *clam* is correct in XIV, 11, 8, how did the informants find out what Gallus deliberated on in secrecy? The truth of the matter is given by Zonaras, XIII, 9, who says that Constantius was afraid that *those opposed by Gallus* would rebel, not Gallus himself, *δείσας οὖν ὁ Κωνσταντῖος μὴ, εἰ κινηθεῖεν εἰς ἀποστασίαν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνου (Γάλλου) κακούμενοι, ἐμφυλίου πολέμου δέησιν αὐτῷ*.

²⁷ See *Greece and Rome*, XI (1942), pp. 130-134.

²⁸ XIV, 11, 3; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 271 D; John of Antioch, frag. 174, in *F. H. G.*, IV, 604; Eutropius, X, 13; etc.

²⁹ See "The Historical Method of Ammianus Marcellinus," *Hermathena*, LIX (1942), pp. 44-66.

Thirdly, Ursicinus had definitely a violent hatred of Gallus, despite the honour the latter did him in summoning him from Nisibis to take charge of the trials. We do not know the reason for this attitude on Ursicinus' part. He was commanding in Nisibis when Gallus was appointed Caesar; it may be that he felt himself equal to the task of repelling the Persian menace and resented the appointment of Gallus over his head. In similar circumstances in 359, he and Ammianus were highly indignant at his replacement by Sabinianus, XVIII, 6, 1 ff. It may have been that he wanted a freer hand with the trials than Gallus was willing to give him. It may have been both. At any rate, his resentment was very strong and left its mark on his admirer Ammianus.

Finally, we must remember that Constantius was consistently misinformed about Gallus. The Praetorian Prefect Thalassius was quick to understand the Caesar's fiery temperament. Consequently he opposed and provoked him into rash and ill-considered acts and then openly informed on him to Constantius, XIV, 1, 10. Thalassius was esteemed very highly indeed by Constantius until his death in 354.³⁰ We are explicitly told that Constantius learned of the affair of the Antiochene Senate from his distorted reports, XIV, 7, 9. For his conduct to Gallus, Julian later made attacks on his family which Libanius deplored.³¹ We are also told that Domitianus sent home reports about Gallus which were deliberately inaccurate and misleading, XIV, 7, 9. The ancient authorities are almost unanimous in saying that Constantius listened to a barrage of tendentious criticism of Gallus by the eunuch Eusebius and his party.³² The effect of all this on the historical tradition cannot be accurately estimated, but several of Ammianus' informants must have been strongly influenced by Constantius' propaganda thus vitiated, and so have reinforced the historian's prejudice against the Caesar.

³⁰ XIV, 7, 9. See e.g. Zosimus, II, 48, 5.

³¹ XXII, 9, 16; Libanius, *Ep.*, XI, 410, 423, 447 F. The family was on intimate terms with Musonianus, *idem*, frag. 20 (XI, 622 F.).

³² Zosimus, II, 55 with the wrong names; Philostorgius, III, 28 *init.* and especially IV, 1; Johannes Stenachius, 15. Julian got Eusebius to death on this account, Sozomen, V, 5, 9. At a later date Barenbo also was not above sending false reports to Constantius, XVI, 11, 7. Cf. XIV, 11, 21 and XVI, 3, 6.

These were the influences to which Ammianus was exposed and which tended to darken his interpretation of Gallus' life. Thus it was that he construed such matters as Gallus' defence against conspiracy as the murders of a capricious tyrant and used all his powers of rhetoric to show that the Caesar's espionage among the untrustworthy upper classes constituted a reign of terror for Antioch as a whole and to some extent for all the Eastern provinces. Yet, on examining his narrative, what do we actually find? Epigonus and Eusebius were undoubtedly put to death unjustly, and possibly also Clematius, although his case is obscure. Domitianus, Montius, and Theophilus were lynched with Gallus' connivance, and they certainly earned some such fate. The Apollinares and their accomplices were treated as it is customary to treat those who indulge in high treason, but innocent men may have been executed among the subordinate conspirators. The leaders of the oppressive Senate were threatened with death but reprieved—an instance of Gallus' hasty nature also illustrated by the fortunes of Aëtius.³³ Now, the execution of three innocent men (one of them a doubtful case), and possibly a few more, and a considerable number of flagrant conspirators in a reign of some three years was no bad record for those iron times. On the other hand, the Caesar's voluntary journey to what he knew would be his death in preference to causing a civil war contrasts favourably with Julian's action in similar circumstances and was distinctly rare, if not unique, in an age when men amiably considered that Might was Right.

Gallus was regretted by many after his death, XV, 3, 1; XVIII, 3, 6. Indeed, there is a strong ancient tradition that Constantius revised his opinion of him and sent a reprieve which was held up by Eusebius and his agents until the Caesar had been executed.³⁴ This tradition is borne out by the fact that Gallus' statues were not thrown down nor were his inscriptions erased after his death (Seeck, *loc. cit.*, col. 1099). It is certain that he was fully rehabilitated by the time Julian wrote his

³³ Philostorgius, III, 24; but Sozomen, III, 15, 8, is much more favourable to Gallus. We read that Serenianus was employed in Phoenicia, XIV, 7, 7. He must have known the elder Apollinaris who was governor there. Was he implicated in the conspiracy? If so, Gallus was not indiscriminate in executing traitors.

³⁴ Philostorgius, IV, 1; Zonaras, XIII, 9; Joannes Monachus, 15.

Letter to the Athenians, cf. 271 A. Had Ammianus been able to obtain the facts free from propaganda and dissociate the Caesar's actions from his personal arrogance, he might have revised his opinion too.³⁵

To sum up, we may fairly bring the following charges against Ammianus' account of Gallus: 1) He has not brought out sufficiently the guilt of the chief men done to death under Gallus, although to some extent he indicates it incidentally.³⁶ 2) He has obscured Gallus' popularity with the lower classes. 3) He has altogether suppressed Gallus' capabilities as a military leader. 4) Ammianus omits the Jewish rebellion, the suppression of Magnentius' conspiracy, Constantius' change of heart after Gallus' death, the Caesar's strong Christianity, and his pious attitude to the remains of the popular St. Babylas; he all but omits the fact that Gallus had a wide following, nor do we hear from him that he counted among his friends many men who were above reproach and who would not have tolerated intimacy with a foul and reckless tyrant. 5) The historian has split up his narrative of Gallus in Antioch into three parts.³⁷ The first is a fine piece of rhetoric, but its sweeping charges are not at all specific and are not adequately supported by the ensuing account. The second, chap. 7, ends with another sweeping charge which is utterly contradicted at the beginning of the third. The third, chap. 9, ends with yet another violent phrase telling how Gallus, *ut leo cadaveribus pastus, multa huius modi scrutabatur*. The difference in intensity between the simile and the verb illustrates the historian's rhetorical methods. All this is cunning writing but not impartial history.

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³⁵ Perhaps indeed he did revise it in XXI, 1, 2: *quem (Gallum) inertia mixtaeque periuriis fraudes prodidere quorundam*.

³⁶ Ammianus, XXI, 2, 106 ff. says that Gallus obtained letters proving a conspiracy against Constantius, but that he did not send them, and so Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 272 C.

³⁷ So, on a smaller scale, he has divided the account of the famine at Antioch into two.

THE ΔΙΚΗ ΒΛΑΒΗΣ IN DEMOSTHENES, OR., LV.

The Demosthenic oration against Callicles was delivered by the son of a certain Tisias in defense against a *dike blabes* (§ 20) brought by Callicles on the ground that he had suffered damage because the defendant had walled off a watercourse, thereby causing an inundation on the plaintiff's land. The parties owned neighboring estates on the slope of a mountain range, their plots being separated from each other by a public road running down the slope. To keep water from overflowing his property the defendant maintained a wall around his plot. Its purpose was, so he contends, to make the water run down the road, and he claims that he was only following a commonly accepted custom. One day, however, a torrent which had formed after a heavy downpour swept over the estate of the plaintiff, inflicting some losses. The plaintiff accused the defendant's wall of being the cause of the flood on his land; a controversy arose and finally developed into the present lawsuit, a close analysis of which will shed some new light on that well-known but still obscure action called *dikè blabes* in the sources of Athenian law.

Our problem arises from the fact that the defendant characterizes the lawsuit as a *dike atimetos*, i. e., a *dike* in which judgment, if given for the plaintiff, is not based on a valuation of the actual damage but on a sum fixed beforehand and beyond the control of the court. In this case the penalty amounted to 1000 drachmas. Since in all the other known cases of *dike blabes*, with the exception of the breach of a contract providing in advance for a fixed penalty, judgment was based on the estimated value of the damage sustained by the plaintiff, the exclusion of the valuation in favor of a legally fixed penalty in the action for damages caused by water is surprising.

The attempt has indeed been made¹ to get rid of the problem by explaining the exclusion of a valuation as a consequence of

¹ A. W. Heffter, *Die athenäische Gerichtsverfassung* (Cologne, 1822), p. 118, note; T. Thalheim, *Zu den griechischen Rechtsalterthümern* (Schneidemühl, 1892), pp. 6 f.; J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig, 1905-15), p. 662, n. 97; J. Partsch, *Arch. Pap.*, VI (1913), p. 51.

the particular circumstances of this case. The trial before the popular court, in which the speech was delivered, had been preceded by at least² two awards in default given against the defendant by public arbitrators, one of them in favor of the plaintiff himself, and the other in favor of his brother who, according to the speaker (§ 2), had been instigated by Callicles to bring suit. The close relationship of the two arbitration cases with each other and with the present trial is obvious, and the assumption that the latter followed upon the quashing of either the first award or possibly both of them seems to be safe enough to form the basis of an interpretation of the oration.³ Consequently, it is assumed that the present trial no longer offered an opportunity for a valuation, which is supposed to have been made previously by the arbitrator between Callicles and the defendant. The popular court, in the opinion of those who hold this view, was in a position only to uphold or abolish the arbitrator's award in its totality but not to modify it.

The right to quash a judgment in default, however, confined to rather narrow conditions and to a limited period, was to provide for the defaulting party a chance to have the lawsuit started all over again, including, of course, the procedure of valuation if there was any involved. This not only follows from abstract legal reasoning but also from the technical phrase employed to express the quashing of an award in default: *τὴν μὴ οὔσαν ἀντιλαχέιν*,⁴ and it is clearly stated by Pollux, *Onom.*, VIII, 60: *καὶ ἡ ἐρήμη ἐλύετο ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ διατητήν*.⁵ Hence,

² I omit for the moment the action against the slave, Callarus, referred to in § 31. That this action was separate from those mentioned in § 2 has been justly stated by Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 796, n. 21. Witness *ἐτέραν* (without an article!) in § 31.

³ Denied by M. H. E. Meier-G. F. Schömann-J. H. Lipsius, *Der attische Prozess* (Berlin, 1883-87), p. 224, n. 66, and L. Beauchet, *Histoire du droit civil de la République Athénienne* (Paris, 1897), IV, p. 402, n. 2.

⁴ Evidence cited by Lipsius, *Att. Recht*, p. 229, n. 39, p. 961, n. 18.

⁵ Modern authors, including Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 961 f., and Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgerschaftsrecht*, I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 299, agree on this point; and I cannot see how Lipsius and Partsch reconciled their general view with this but particular case. In addition see: A. Schwenker, *Die Staatseinrichtung der Athener* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 102, and verglichen nach griechischem Recht (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, VIII [Munich, 1925]), p. 65; H. C. Mairell, *Public Arbitration in Ancient Law* (University of Chicago Studies, XI, 1 [1936]), pp. 33 f.

the theory, advanced by a number of earlier students,⁶ that we are faced with a genuine *dike atimetos* aimed at inflicting upon the defendant a penalty fixed by law at 1000 drachmas, and not leaving room for any valuation, seems to be preferable. As a matter of fact, the plural in § 18: ὅπου γὰρ ἀτιμήτους φεύγω δίκας, indicates that the defendant has in mind the former actions of his opponents, as well as the present trial, and that the awards in default also were handed down in *dikai atimetois*.⁷ In the light of the familiar habit of Attic forensic orators to dwell on the mendacity of their opponents, it is also significant that the speaker does not accuse the plaintiff of having deceived the arbitrator who is supposed to have made the valuation, although he points out (§§ 23-25, 28) that the actual damage is quite negligible and out of proportion to the penalty of 1000 drachmas.

Therefore the reason why our suit was a *dike atimetos* has to be sought in the legal principles which formed its background. *Lex. Seguer.*, p. 251, 3: ἐνθεσμος βλάβη· ἣ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὀρισμένη, which used to be cited, neither proves nor explains anything. Fortunately, however, the speech itself offers a solution.

It is found in a casual but none the less conclusive remark. More than once (§§ 1-2, 34) the speaker asserts that the action is only one of several schemes tried by Callicles for the purpose of getting hold of the defendant's estate. This, of course, is no more than an oratorical trick calculated to stir up favorable feeling among the judges. It receives color, however, from what we read in § 32: καὶ ζητοῦσι καὶ διατητὴν ὅστις αὐτοῖς τὰ χωρία προσκαταγνώσεται, καὶ διαλύσεις τοιαύτας ἐξ ὧν τὰ χωρὶ ἐξουσιν. It is true that this sentence does not immediately refer to the lawsuit in which our speech was delivered; the defendant here has in mind the action against his slave, Callarus. But this action was a duplicate of the present suit, as is evident from § 31: καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἐρήμην καταδεδίχηται τοιαύτην ἑτέραν δίκην, Κάλλαρων ἐπιγραψάμενος τῶν ἐμῶν δούλων· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ

⁶ R. Daresté, *Les plaidoyers civils de Démosthène* (Paris, 1875), I, p. 166; Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 f.; P. Guiraud, *La propriété foncière en Grèce jusqu'à la conquête romaine* (Paris, 1893), p. 312; Beauchet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 168, IV, p. 402.

⁷ The speaker does not actually say that the award for Callicles' brother also was for 1000 drachmas, but the wording of § 2 does not exclude this assumption. The same is true for the action against Callarus.

τοῦθ' εὔρηται σόφισμα· Καλλάρῳ τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην δικάζονται. This makes it possible to exploit the information contained in § 32 for a theory on the legal nature of the action under discussion. The phrase: τὰ χωρία προσκαταγνώσεται can be understood only to the effect that the action, if successful, brought about the forfeiture to the plaintiff of the estate where the cause of the damage was found,⁸ and this at once answers the question why there was a fixed penalty of 1000 drachmas instead of a valuation of the damage. The law, which provided for the possible forfeiture of the plot, obviously regardless of the actual amount of the damage, also provided for a ransom which the owner might pay to avert the seizure of his property. Greek law certainly was familiar with the idea of the ransom, which throughout classical and Hellenistic Greek is expressed by ἀποτίνειν. Definitely contrasting with ἀποδιδόναι, which connotes the paying of a debt, the verb represents the idea of a payment in order to avoid execution.⁹

Other features of the action, which are disclosed by our speech, fit in with the conclusion arrived at in the preceding paragraph. No claim could be laid unless some man-made¹⁰ obstruction kept the water from following its natural way, which, in addition, had to be a regular, permanent, and publicly acknowledged watercourse.¹¹ The plaintiff charges the defendant with τὴν χαράδραν ἀποικοδομήσαντα βλάπτειν (§ 12), while the defendant takes pains to demonstrate that no such watercourse had been cut short by his wall, since the natural flow of the water ran down the public road which separated the two estates (§§ 12-14); he even accuses the plaintiff of having tampered with that road and caused the inundation by his own fault (§ 22). He dwells at length on the right of every possessor to protect his estate from the influx of undesirable water, except for such water as is carried in a regular creek (§§ 16-19). In a very similar way the Roman *actio aquae pluviae arcendae* required that an artificial

⁸ This sheds light on the heading: πρὸς Καλλικλέα περὶ χωρίου, under which our oration appears in the manuscripts. It hardly deserves Lipsius' scorn, *op. cit.*, p. 681, n. 17. Its author may have been an ancient editor who was still familiar with the legal background of the oration.

⁹ Cf. H. J. Wolff, *Texte u. Forsch.*, LXXIV (1911), p. 124.

¹⁰ This is overlooked by Beauchet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 161.

¹¹ Cf. J. E. Saady, W. A. Paley, *Selected Private Orations of Demosthenes* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1896), II, p. 182II.

obstacle (*opus*) be put in the natural way of flowing water, and the rich casuistry with which Roman jurists have elucidated this principle (*Dig.*, 39, 3) ¹² may be cited to illustrate the problems that might arise in Attica as well.

Unlike the Roman action, which was aimed at a removal of the *opus* and restitution of such conditions as had existed before its erection, the *condemnatio* comprising only the value of the restitution and of damages caused by the *opus* after the *litis contestatio*, the Athenian action was based on the fact that damage had already been inflicted. It is apparent, however, that it was not warranted, unless the dangerous construction had been protested against in advance. The defendant insists that his father, who had erected the wall, had never been troubled in more than fifteen years by any protest on the part of either the plaintiff and his family or anybody else (§§ 3-7, 15, 26), and in §§ 4-6 he points out that a formal protestation in the presence of witnesses was the minimum step which should have been taken by the opponents as soon as Tisias built the wall. The importance attributed by him to this argument is manifest in the sentence by which he introduces it in § 3: ἐν μὲν οὖν . . . πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς τούτων λόγους παρέχομαι δίκαιον, and once more in his concluding remark in § 8: ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἱκανὰ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν. In support of the inference that a protest was required, Plato's proposal, *Laws*, VIII, 844 C, may be cited, which makes the claim for damages dependent on the defendant's disobedience to an official's order to remove or adjust the obstacle.

The question remains why the defendant, despite his confident words in §§ 3 and 8, deems it necessary to argue at length that his wall was not such an obstacle to the regular flow of water as could possibly justify the plaintiff's action. Unfortunately the speaker does not explain his tactics. But it is possible that Callicles had raised his protest after the defendant had become his father's successor. As a matter of fact, there is one detail which, hardly understandable otherwise, could be explained on the basis of this interpretation. Twice, in § 9 and again in § 35, the speaker insists that he was ready to submit the case to a board of private arbitrators familiar with the locality, but that the plaintiff, contrary to what he now asserts, rejected the offer.

¹² See E. Schönbauer, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, LIV (1934), pp. 237 ff.

As the defendant defaulted before the public arbitrator, and no later occasion is conceivable, the offer must have been made in the course of negotiations which preceded the action brought before the public arbitrator, and the occasion may well have been Callicles' protest.¹³ Obviously the defendant had from the beginning denied that the wall obstructed a public watercourse in a fashion which was likely to inflict damage on his neighbor's land.

However this may be, the foundation of the action was the simple fact that the obstruction existed on the defendant's land and had not been removed upon notice, while it was immaterial who had erected it.¹⁴ This becomes clear from, and, at the same time, provides an explanation for, the odd accumulation of actions in the present case. There were two separate suits filed by Callicles and his brother, and in addition (see *supra*, note 2) a third action brought by Callicles against the slave, Callarus. The situation becomes understandable only on the assumption that the claim could be raised by every wronged neighbor against every *actual* possessor of the property where the cause of the damage was found, and this assumption in turn is possible only if we have correctly determined the general character of the action. That much can be said without running into empty guesswork, although the statement involves a number of problems to which the speech offers no solution.¹⁵

¹³ This is a hypothesis, of course. If it be true, the speaker tried to get around the plaintiff's actual protest by passing over the fact in silence, but at the same time making it appear too late in any event, thus putting forward in a crude way an idea which later was clearly formulated by Labeo, *Dig.*, 39, 3, 19 (Pomponius, *lib. XIV ad Q. Muc.*): Labeo ait, si patiente vicino opus faciam ex quo ei aqua pluvia noceat, non teneri me actione aquae pluviae arcendae. To win the votes of those judges who might not be convinced by this argument he pointed out that the actual state of facts did not warrant the action either.

¹⁴ On the one hand, the defendant does not try to capitalize on the fact that it was his father, and not himself, who had erected the wall—except, of course, for the emphasis laid on the absence of any protest raised against Tisias. On the other, the unqualified use of ἀποικοδομήσας, "having built," in the description of the wall (cf. the Callicles' plaint (819) and the Callarus' defence (825)) indicates that the wall had been built only in his capacity as Tisias' heir.

¹⁵ It would be valuable to know whether Callicles and his brother were joint successors to their father, who for many years had been

In its form as revealed by Demosthenes' oration, the Athenian *dike blabes* for damages caused by water represents a primitive mode of protecting the neighborhood community in rural districts. That such a protection was the legislative idea in shaping the action can now be considered an established fact owing to Partsch's masterly interpretation of the regulations concerning the rights and duties of neighbors as found in the Alexandrian *Dikaionmata*,¹⁶ and an older opinion which sought to explain Callicles' action on the theory of a legal servitude of mere private law need no longer be refuted. To secure observance of the rules of mutual consideration on which the community rested, a member who had suffered from their violation was given the right to seize the plot where the violation occurred, unless he was paid off with the amount, once and for all established by law, of 1000 drachmas. This principle is not surprising in view of the fact that Greek law in its earlier stages was familiar with the idea of putting liability on inanimate objects.¹⁷ The idea is related to, if not identical with, that of the "noxal" liability, by virtue of which persons who suffered injury or damage from slaves or animals might take their revenge directly on them, unless the master of the guilty slave or animal took over the liability by paying off the wronged party.¹⁸ There was of course no question of a "revenge" to be taken on the forfeited piece of land, but the principle is equally distant from that of redressing the actual loss. It was rather a primitive way of providing a material satisfaction for the neighbor to whom the plot had proved detrimental.¹⁹

Tisias' neighbor (§§ 3-4), or owned separate plots, each of which had suffered from the flood. Furthermore, what rules were followed, if several judgments were given with respect to the same plot and the owner was unable to pay the penalties? Various answers can be thought of, but our source provides no basis for a hypothesis.

¹⁶ *Arch. Pap.*, VI (1913), pp. 52 f. Operation of the same idea in the Roman *actio aquae pluviae arcendae* has justly been pointed out by Schönbauer, *op. cit.* This author indeed greatly exaggerates its doctrinal importance, owing to his desire to have the early Roman law conform with national socialist slogans.

¹⁷ Cf. R. Maschke, *Die Willenslehre im griechischen Recht* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 64 f.

¹⁸ As for the Greek form of this institution, see Partsch, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁹ A special inquiry, on a comparative basis, into this conception is desirable. I mention the distinction between *vindicta* or vengeance in

It was a rigid and archaic rule, and it seems that its inadequacy was felt in the fourth century B. C. Plato, *Laws*, VIII, 844 C-D, suggested a more flexible and modernized system: if neighbors cannot reach an agreement on how to arrange the flow of water, each may call upon an official, and the party who does not comply with the latter's order is liable to the other for double his actual damage; no longer is there any question of a forfeiture of the estate. No source tells us whether the Athenian law was ever reshaped in this or a similar fashion. But the fact that in the Hellenistic epoch a more liberal principle was adopted at least by other Greek cities can perhaps be inferred from lines 99-102 of the Alexandrian *Dikaionmata*. Here it is ruled that he who, within a certain period upon due notice, does not remove trees planted, or a construction set up, too close to his neighbor's plot has to pay the resulting damage, while his opponent may bring about the removal. It is quite possible that analogous regulations²⁰ existed with regard to obstacles to flowing water.²¹

Finally: If the interpretation suggested in this paper is correct, it may also contribute to the solution of the general problem of the so-called *dike blabes* of the Athenian law. The legal nature of the great variety of actions comprised under the denomination βλάβης²² and the exact import of that conception indeed are still unsettled questions. On the basis of our present knowledge, however, this statement seems to be permissible with respect to all of them: The foundation of the action was the mere fact that the plaintiff had sustained material damage, this notion being understood in a broad sense.²³ The cause of the

the strict sense and *noxa*, i. e., the responsibility resulting from a substantial damage, which is proposed for the early Roman law by F. De Visscher, *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante* (Milan, 1930), III, pp. 233 ff. (reprinted in the author's *Études de droit romain* [Paris, 1931], pp. 109 ff.). Though open to criticism, as shown by E. Rabel, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, LII (1932), pp. 467 ff., De Visscher's study has a bearing upon the problem indicated; cf. also Rabel, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

²⁰ It should be borne in mind, to be sure, that the Alexandrian law visualized conditions in flat country.

²¹ Partsch, *op. cit.*, p. 51, indeed uses Plato's suggestion and the Alexandrian provision to argue against the assumption of a true *dike alimetos* in the Demosthenic case. I hope to have shown that this inference is not inevitable.

²² See, for example, Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 652-64.

²³ Rabel, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

defendant's responsibility, as well as the quality of the harm done to the plaintiff, was different in different cases. This of necessity leads to the conclusion that *dike blabes* was only a common name for a number of strictly defined claims, at least most of which resulted from specific legal provisions,²⁴ while all were characterized by the fact that they were based on a *blabe*, i. e., an unlawful damaging act, behavior, or omission on the part of the defendant,²⁵ so that the plaint could be built on the typical phrase: *ἔβλαψέ με ὁ δέεινα*. But the nature of the damage, the reason for the defendant's liability, and the character of the sanction were specified in each individual statute. Such a universal and practically unlimited remedy as the *dike blabes* appears to be in its presentation by most modern writers²⁶ not only seems contrary to the legalistic character of the classical Athenian law²⁷ but also seems most unlikely on general principles, as it would have encouraged the worst kind of sycophancy.

HANS JULIUS WOLFF.

²⁴ This is rather confirmed than disproved by *Lex. Seguer.*, p. 350, 6: *ἄθεσμος βλάβη· ἥσάν τινες ἄθεσμοι καλούμεναι βλάβαι, περὶ ὧν νόμος οὐκ ἔν κείμενος*. The *ἄθεσμοι βλάβαι* also must have been strictly defined cases, as otherwise the plural would make no sense. One of these probably was the default on a contract.

²⁵ Just what the term *βλάβη* (fem.) implied should be made the subject of a special investigation. The instances given in the dictionaries (Stephanus, Liddell-Scott, Preisigke) convey the impression that it connotes either the damaging act committed by the wrongdoer or, in a general way, the harm suffered by the victim, while the substantial damage, as understood in terms of an appreciable deterioration of property or of the value of a loss, was expressed by *βλάβος* (neut.); cf. the formula *βλάβη* (plur.) *καὶ δαπανήματα*, which is known from the papyri.

²⁶ This view has found its way even into the most recent literature; see U. E. Paoli, *Studi sul processo attico* (Padua, 1933), p. 86. To the best of my knowledge, the only exception is Maschke, *op. cit.*, p. 114, who justly regards Demosthenes' differentiation (*Or.*, XXI, 43) between *βλάβη ἐκούσιος* and *ἀκούσιος* as a generalized conclusion drawn from a number of individual statutes. (In Demosthenes, XXI, 35, *νόμος* obviously is not meant in the technical sense of *statute*.)

²⁷ See E. Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I (Leipzig, 1923), p. 26; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, XXIX (1938), p. 24, n. 1.

The reading¹ of the MSS runs thus (without punctuation) :

τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται

ὦν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων
 βοαθῶν τοὶ γὰρ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλλου
 ἔμολε χθονὸς ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
 κείται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν κτέ.

For the unmetrical γάρ, παρά is usually read (Schroeder prefers ποτέ) ; for the unmetrical ἔμολε, μόλον or μόλεν according as one interprets the preceding words. Most commentators have put a comma after βοαθῶν and taken τοί as a relative referring to the βοαθῶι, with the result: "But honour groweth for those whose fame a god causeth to wax fairer, even the departed champions, who came to the mighty centre of Earth's broad bosom" (Sandys). But who are these "champions" or "helpers"? Whom did they help, and why? When did they come to Delphi, and again why? Whether they were assistants of Agamemnon—that is, the Greek heroes at Troy²—or assistants of Ajax or Neoptolemus, this reading asserts that they came to Delphi and are honoured with festivals.³ We cannot but agree with Wilamowitz that all this looks like "utter nonsense";⁴ and Farnell has demolished it. But Farnell's own view cannot stand. His reading (adopted in essentials by Bowra) runs:

τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται

ὦν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων
 βοαθοῶν τοὶ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλλου
 μόλεν χθονός, ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
 κείται, Πριάμου κτέ.

(In Pindar's own writing βοαθοῶν and βοαθῶν would of course be the same.) This leaves the first sentence in excellent shape;

¹ For details see Schroeder's apparatus.

² But Dissen warily observes that Odysseus (cf. vv. 20 f. and other passages of Pindar) must be left out of this.

³ Cf. also the reading βοαθῶν τοὶ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλλου, which is supported by other evidence for the existence of the word βοαθῶν (cf. *IV*, p. 130 f.). But it is not clear (despite the scholiast) that Pindar has arbitrarily turned an entertainment of god-guests into a reception of heroes.

⁴ *Pindarus*, p. 162.

but the second is ruined by the meaning suggested for *βοαθῶν*, which Farnell says is explained by *κτέατ' ἄγων ἀκροθινίων* (v. 41) and means "he was really no foe to Apollo, but he came to Delphi as a friend." This will not serve: the word can mean nothing weaker than "coming to the assistance"⁵ of Apollo or the Delphians, as a defender in war, as bringing food in a time of famine, and the like; it cannot be used of a mere friendly visit, even with gifts in hand. The true reading, which seems not to have been suggested in full before,⁶ is probably:

τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται
 ὧν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων
βοαθῶν· τῷ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου
 μόλεν χθονός, ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
 κείται, Πριάμου κτέ.

"Honour comes to those whose fame God causes to flourish luxuriantly, rescuing them after their death (from ill-repute): therefore it was that Neoptolemus came," etc. Pindar has in mind those who, like Ajax, fall into disrepute during life (vv. 24 ff.) but are rehabilitated after death, a thought foreshadowed in the *τριταῖος ἀνεμος* passage (vv. 17 f.). This serves perfectly to introduce the story of Neoptolemus—as now set forth—for he achieved posthumous honour at Delphi, and his discreditable past is but hinted. τῷ on this view looks forward to v. 44—precisely because Heaven restores its favourites to good repute did Neoptolemus seek Delphi, though it meant his death: in reality he was being led to the scene of his glory.

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⁵ M. Schmidt, who reads *βοαθέων*, was therefore right, as a matter of idiom, in going on to change *τοι γάρ* (or *τοι παρά*) into *τῷ πατρί*, though that sense spoils the logic of the passage, as Farnell shows.

⁶ τῷ is identical palaeographically with *τοι*. Every part of my suggestion has been separately offered before. Hermann did great service by taking *βοαθῶν* in apposition to *λόγον* and governing *τεθνακότων*. Mezger reads τῷ . . . μολὼν χθονὸς ἐν Πυθίοισι γαπέδοις κείται, but *βοαθῶν*. Frac-caroli (p. 588 n.) reads *βοαθῶν*. τῷ but *μόλον*, which latter he takes as first person: "per questo io venni all' umbilico della terra." Wilamowitz (*loc. cit.*), without knowledge of Frac-caroli's view, repeats it: "Deswegen, weil der Nachruhm des Edlen einen λόγος βοηθός fordert, bin ich nach Delphi gegangen, wo Neoptolemus liegt."

PAGEANT = LAT. *PAGINA*.

The *N. E. D.* says of this word: "origin and history obscure"; in a note we find:

The word . . . is known only in English, and in the Anglo-Latin *pagina*.¹ The two main early senses were 'scene displayed on a stage,' and 'stage on which a scene is exhibited or acted.' The relative order of these is not certain; but, so far as instances have been found, the sense 'scene'² appears first. The Anglo-L. *pagina* is in form identical with the known ancient L. *pagina* leaf (of a book), *PAGE sb.*³; and it is noteworthy that from *pagina* French had, beside the popularly descended *page*, a literary form *pagine*, *pagene* 'page of a book,' which also came into Eng. in the forms *PAGINE*, *pagyn(e)*, *pagen*, and even (in 15th c.) *pagent*, forms which are identical with some of those of *pageant*. There is thus no difficulty so far as concerns *form* in identifying *pagina* 'pageant' with *pagina*, *pagine*, *pagyn*, *pagent* 'leaf' or 'page.' And it is easy to conceive how the sense 'page' or 'leaf' of a MS. play, might have passed into that of 'scene' or 'act'; but direct evidence connecting the two has not been found. On the other hand, some, who take 'stage' as the earlier sense, have suggested for *pagina* a possible passage of sense from 'tablet or slab (for inscription)' to 'board,' and so to 'stage'; or have seen in the 14-15th c. Anglo-Latin *pagina* a more or less independent formation from the stem *pag-* of L. *paginere* to fix, cognate with L. *compages*, *compago*, *compagina* 'fixing together,' 'joining,' *compaginata* 'fixed together' (whence perh. 'framework')³

[There follows a refutation of the etymology based on Gr.

¹ 1431: "Parabatur machina, satis pulchra, in cujus medio stabat gigas mirae magnitudinis . . . , ex utroque latere ipsius gigantis in eadem pagina erigebantur duo animalia vocata 'antelops.'" The meaning "a tableau, representation, allegorical device, or the like, erected on a fixed stage or carried on a moving car, as a public show," in which "scene" and "stage" are combined, may have been the intermediate link between 1) "scene" and 2) "stage"—according to the *N. E. D.*

² "c. 1380 Wyelif," versus "stage" in 1392-93: Cartulary of St. Mary's, Coventry.

This is the opinion of Wyclif and also of our *poet* the "compositore" in the poem of Ambrosius: "Nunc est opus, ut *nam robore ad perveniendum properet*." Thus, this reference to "listening by joining" must come the meaning "to compose, to write" as found in Ambrosius: *aliquid de scriptis componere*.

πήγμα,⁴ and the statement that a supposed *pagina* "boarding" does not exist.]

To the student of Romance the last opinion, which is that of Wedgwood, must be the most convincing. I would accept this with only a slight modification: *pagina*, connected with the family *pangere*, *compages*, illustrates not so much the development "joining" > "framework" > "stage" as "well-joined construction" > "apparatus, machinery, contrivance"—i. e., something which is "prepared" for a certain purpose. One may note the *parabatur machina* which in the text of 1431 is echoed by the phrase *in eadem pagina erigebantur* and the *navem paginatam . . . praeeparat* of Paulinus of Nola.

As for the suggestion of "preparation" with the word *pagina*, Ascoli ("Saggi ladini," *Arch. Glott. Ital.*, VII, p. 579) has pointed to the existence of certain words in the Retoromance dialect of the Grisons (Switzerland) which presuppose a Vulgar Latin "*paginare* "to join," and which have precisely the meaning "to prepare":

anc. Sopraselva (Obwaldisch): *se páina* "si prepara"
anc. Upper Engadine: *appinó* "preparato"

He lists semantic derivations from this meaning, such as:

<i>pinar</i>	"richten, flicken, ausbessern, zurecht machen"
<i>pinar giantar</i>	"das Mittagessen bereiten"
<i>pinar la schierpa</i>	"die Ackergeräte ausbessern"
<i>pinar lenna</i>	"Holz fällen"
<i>pinar la spisa</i>	"temperar la penna"
<i>pinar las vias</i>	"racconciar la strada"
<i>s'ampinar</i>	"sich gebärden, mit Worten oder Taten"

Bertoni has added (*Arch. Roman.*, I, p. 416) the Misox *s'empinó* "vestirsi," and Ascoli himself, in *Arch. Glott. Ital.*, X, p. 466, has suggested that the Italian *pania* "bird-lime," *impaniare* "to catch a bird with lime" belong to the same *pagina*, *compages*

⁴ Gr. *πήγμα*, preserved in Lat. *pegma crucis* (*Acta S. Cassiani*, see Du Cange) in the meaning "machina lignea in qua statuæ collocabantur" is hardly the origin of the Anglo-Latin *pagina*, but rather a parallel to it: > Gr. *πήγνυμι* "to fasten" related to Lat. *pangere*. *πήγμα* has assumed also the meaning of "honey-comb" in Romance (*R. E. W.*, s. v.), as has *impago*.

family of the meaning "to join," "to arrange effectively,"—i. e. to make preparations for a purpose.

One has been too wont to think of *pagina*, as of many other Latin words, as having only one well-known classical meaning: in this case, that of "page." But this sense itself developed, according to Ernout-Meillet, out of an original *pagina* "trellis" (> "written column, page"); and this "trellis," obviously, must have to do with the basic idea of the word-family *pangere* "to fasten within a whole." Thus, to isolate *pagina* from its background is an artificial procedure which cuts into the very life of the word-family. It must not be forgotten that in some cases popular Latin (along with archaic word usage in old Latin) may be the only way along which we may see the connection of a word with its family—or that Romance, as derived from popular, Vulgar, Latin, can serve precisely to cast a light on these underground semantic developments. Ascoli was correct in explaining the words listed above, not directly out of *pagina* "page" (the word as we know it in Classical Latin), but out of a *pagina* visualized within the *pangere*, *compages* family, and partaking of the semantic possibilities inherent in it. Indeed, one is regularly justified in assuming that any semantic nuance developing in one member of a family may potentially spread to the others. Thus for example we see that Romance forms in Retoromance and Italian go back to an **impago*, *-inis* (R. E. W., s. v.) which, like Lat. *compago* (*cerea*), meant "honey-comb" (not "bolt of a door," as does *impages* in Classical Latin); Romance **impago*, that is, draws its meaning from the original idea of "well-joined construction"⁵ (we see also, incidentally, that the *-es*, *-is* formation alternated with the *-o*, *-inis* formation in the same meaning).

Thus the Anglo-Latin *pagina* "apparatus," "machinery" ("something well-constructed and prepared for a purpose"), which is the root of Eng. *pageant*, has its well-deserved place among the offshoots of the *pangere-compages*, *impago* family, which was still productive in early mediaeval Latin. It is not a "more or less independent formation from the stem *pag-*" (N. L. D.), but a *perfectly dependent* on this family. One has

⁵ The family of *pangere* (**pag*, **pang*) along with the variants with *-k* (**pāk*, *pāk*, *pāco*, *pār*), is supposed to be connected with Germ. *jugen*, *jug(e)* and Slav. *poiti* "join" (Ernout-Meillet).

been misled by a belief in the solid contours of *pagina*; and the semantic fluency, the to-and-fro flow within the word-family, has gone unperceived.⁶

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PARLASCIO—PERILASIO.

Under this title Dante Olivieri has discussed, in *Arch. Glott. Ital.*, XXVI (1934), p. 119, the Italian or rather Florentine word (14-16th c.) *parlascio*, *parlagio*¹ "place where the municipal council sat." He suggests that the word is connected with Ital. *parlare* "to speak" (cf. *parlatorium*, Du Cange) only by the secondary influence of popular etymology; the original meaning of the noun was, according to him, that of "amphitheatre," and to support his thesis he offers a careful listing of the available place-names retraceable to this noun—all of which designate towns in which may be found ruins of amphitheatres: from Capua (881 A.D.: *Berolasis*) via Tuscany (936: *Perilasio*, Arezzo; 1031: *Perilasus*, Florence) to Bergamo (806: *Perelassi*),

⁶ A parallel case, where the Romance scholar is in a position to rectify, by tracing the "flow" within a word-family, the rigidity of our "vocabularious knowledge" of Latin, is offered by the remnants of the *frangere* family in Romance. Not only are there to be found herein echoes of *frangere*, *fracta*, *fractio*, *fractum*, *fractura*, *fragilis*, *fragor*, *fragosus*, *fragium*, *fragulare*, *refringere*, *refragium*, *suffringere*, *suffracto*, *suffrago*, but the *R. E. W.* lists also traces of **fragellare*, **fragicare*, **fragmentare*, and **fragum*—all re-listed in Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue latine* (which has done so much to make evident the vitality of Latin words as shown by their survival in Romance). And the list of these survivals as given by the two dictionaries mentioned is still by no means complete: G. Rohlfs (*Arch. f. neu. Spr.*, CLXXI, p. 70) has shown that the Ital. *frana* "ravine" is based on a Latin **frago*, *-inis*, hitherto unattested, and his supposition is justified on the one hand by the existence of *suffrago*, *-inis* (which must have meant not only "Knickehle," but also "ravine"—as did **frago*, Ital. *frana*), and on the other by a **fragu*, *-a* (> Southern Ital. *fraga* "ravine," Galician *fraga*, etc.). Here we are witnessing the same free flow, in regard not only to word formation (**frago*, *-inis* ~ **fragu*, *-a*) but also to semantics.

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 6159, s. v. *palatium*, explains *parlagio*, "Parlamentsgebäude in Florenz" as *palatium* + *parlare*, but *palatium* represents an inmixture just as secondary as would be *parlare*.

and even to German territories (Windisch, canton of Argau, Switzerland: *Bärlis-grube*; Cologne: *Berlich*).

As for the etymology of the place-names and of the Italian word, he sought an etymon that should begin with *p-* (by syntactical phonetics² this could become *b-*: *li Per-* > *li Ver-* > [by a false reconstruction] *li Ber-*) and he finds this in the Gr. *περίβολος* (in mediaeval Latin *peribolus* "urbis murus, deambulacrum, ambitus templi, septum ecclesiae, xystus, porticus"), the meaning of which would have shifted to that of "amphitheatre," and which would have taken on the Romance suffix *-atium*.³

It is this etymology which I must contest: in the first place there is lacking, in all the attestations he offers, the intervocalic *-b-* (*-v-*); one may compare the normal development, *-bul-* > *-bbi-* in *catenabulum* > *Cadenabbia*. Moreover the *-asis* (*-assi*, *-asius*) form points rather to an etymon with *-asius* than to one with *atium*; the suffix accords less with the *-atium* of *palazzo*—*palagio* (cf. Vittorio Veneto *Palasi*) than with the *-aseu* of *caseum* > *cascio* (*cacio*), *aphasia* > *ambascia*, and it shows predominantly in the mediaeval attestations forms with *-s-* (the form *parlagio* may be under the influence of *palatium* > *palagio*, or may contain the development *-si-* > *-is-* [cf. the Capuan form *Berelais*] > *-gi-*: *palagio* itself is a Fr. *palais* Italianized).

Thus I would suggest a Gr. *περίελασις* or **περιελάσιον* (from *περιελάνω* "to drive around," cf. *C. Gl. L.*, II, 402, 35: *περιελάνω*, *circumago*): *περίελασις* is attested in the meaning "a driving or riding around," "a place for driving around, a roadway" (Herodotus), cf. *ἐλασις* "a riding," *ἐλασία* "riding, march," *ἐλάσιος* "a driving away [of the epilepsy]." The predominance of *-a-* in *parlascio* speaks against *περιέλευσις* (from *ἐλεύθω*)—which might at first glance seem to offer an etymon.

The passage from Herodotus in which *περίελασις* is attested (I, 179) refers to the walls of Babylon, built by Cyrus:

ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μονόκωλα ἔδειμαν τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππων περιέλασιν.

²It should be called "South Italian" syntactical phonetics. And this is in contrast with the neohomeroic: the Greek word must have come to the North from the South.

³He must mean *-accus* in the pejorative meaning (cf. Ital. *-accio*: *caccio* "bad wine," etc.), since he says "che abbandonerebbe . . . allo stato di abbandono in cui quegli edifici si trovavano."

The Blakesley edition comments:

These appear to be a mere covered way along the summit of the wall, on each side of it, something like what is seen in the streets of Bern, and in parts of Chester. One great advantage would be the shade which it furnished to foot-passengers. It does not seem necessary to translate *τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν* "room to turn a quadriga," the sense "room for a quadriga to drive round the walls" being as appropriate. Strabo's account is, that there is good room to pass: *ὡς τέθριππα ἐναντιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις ῥαδίως* (xvi. c. i. p. 335).

From the meaning "Mauerumgang," "road on the walls or battlements," the sense "amphitheatre" must have developed. This, however, I am not in a position to attest and must leave it to students in later Greek to do so. The semantic transfer which I am suggesting is surely no more daring than, for example, that which is attested in the Middle Ages, when *amphitheatrum* becomes "cherche de tonnel," "barrel-hoop" (in the mediaeval Abavus glossary; cf. Du Cange, s. v. and Roques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge*, I, p. 250). If an "amphitheatre" may become a "hoop," a "round-way" may become an "amphitheatre."⁴

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NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF THE BATTLE OF LYSIMACHIA.

It has not been noticed hitherto that a bronze coin of a much-discussed but common type in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,¹ is a restrike of historic interest. This coin answers to the following description: \swarrow , 17 mm., 3.26 grms. *Obv.* Macedonian shield, charged with the monogram Mionnet No. 502² (i. e. "Antigonos"). *Rev.* Macedonian helmet; below, Βα σι,

⁴ R. A. Hall, Jr. in his *Bibliography of Italian Linguistics* (1941) lists a treatise which he has not seen personally and which is not mentioned by Olivieri: A. Bellini, *Sulla origine e significato della voce "parlagio": nota filologica* (Girgenti, 1902), pp. 8. I too was unable to find this.

¹ W. M. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Kings* (1856), p. 14, No. 8 (Antigonos Gonatas).

² For the monograms mentioned in this note cf. T. E. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques. Recueil des planches* (1808).

reversed; on l. and r., monograms Mionnet Nos. 94 and 1272. There are faint remains on the *Obv.* of head of Athena to r., and on the *Rev.* of the inscription *Λουσι μαχεων*, and of a lion to r.

It was hitherto doubtful whether the Macedonian issue of this type was introduced by Antigonus Gonatas or by Antigonus Doson;³ but it can now be considered as certain that it was in use immediately after Macedonia had been reconquered by the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁴ After Antigonus Gonatas had liberated Macedonia from the Celtic menace by the decisive battle of Lysimachia, there must have been a sudden demand for his coins throughout the regained territory. We learn from the new evidence that this demand was partly satisfied by the restriking of coins minted at Lysimachia,⁵ the town near which the victory had been won.

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SOME GREEK AND GRECIZED WORDS IN RENAISSANCE LATIN.

In *Utopia* (1516), Book I, St. Thomas More satirizes certain persons by calling them *Morosophis*.¹ The editor of the standard edition of *Utopia*² tells us that More took the word from Lucian's *Alexander*, 40; it appears there in the form *τῶν μωροσόφων*. Liddell-Scott-Jones cite no user of the word except Lucian, who perhaps invented it. Accordingly it seems established that the word in *Utopia* came from *Alexander*. Yet the next editor of *Utopia* will do well to consider whether it is not more probable that More, instead of taking it directly from

³ Cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Corinth*, III, 1 (1930), pp. 61 f.; D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *Olynthus*, IX (1938), pp. 331 f.

⁴ Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas* (1913), pp. 165 f.

⁵ For the type used for the restriking of the coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, cf. *Proc. Mus. Nat. Hist. Brit.*, p. 196, No. 11, and S. W. Grose, *Numismata Graeca*, II, No. 416.

¹ Robinson's translation of 1931 gives "these wretched and foolish archæologists."

² Cf. Tupper, ed., *The Utopia of St. Thomas More* (Oxford, 1895), p. 48, n. 2.

Lucian, borrowed it from his friend Erasmus. It occurs in *Moriae Encomium*,³ which Erasmus wrote in More's home in 1509 and which was published in 1511. Its presence in that work can easily be explained, for Erasmus had translated Lucian's *Alexander* into Latin in 1505 or 1506 (published 1506).⁴ Although More too had translated writings of Lucian, there is no evidence that he knew *Alexander* well or that in 1516 he remembered τῶν μωροσόφων; we do know that Erasmus had remembered it. And it is more likely that More remembered what he read in Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium* than that he recalled a phrase from Lucian's *Alexander*.

The word occurs at least four more times in Erasmus' works. He places it among *novata* in *De Copia* (1512; *Op. Om.*, I, 12 C). In a letter of 1519 he writes: "Philosophia tum per morosophos suos libris ac linguis, per tyrannos gladiis etiam, grassabatur in pusillum ac simplicem Christi gregem, vestigiis et in haec usque tempora relictis."⁵ So in his *De Magnitudine Misericordiarum Domini Concio* (1524): "Cur tu, Morosophe verius quam Philosophe, obturatis adversus hunc Doctorem [Christum] auribus, Platonibus auscultas, & Aristotelibus?" (*Op. Om.*, V, 580 B). When in *Enarratio Psalmi XXXIII* (1531) he paraphrases *Acts*, xvii, 18, he describes the Stoics and Epicureans as "... μωρόσοφοι, hoc est, vere stultam sapientiam hujus mundi profitentes ..." (*ibid.*, V, 382 D). Tunstall, Bishop of London, complains in a letter to Erasmus (1523) of the dangerous prevalence of "... Stoica quadam morosophia ..." (*EE.*, V, 292, 72); he must have learned the word from Erasmus or More. In *EE.*, X, 15, 129 and in the *Antibarbari*,⁶ Erasmus employs a related term, *philosophastri*, which he had found in

³ *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Clericus (Lugdunum Batavorum, 1703-06), IV, 409 A: μωροσόφους. The latest translator, H. H. Hudson, has "foolosophers" (*The Praise of Folly* [Princeton, 1941], p. 10).

⁴ Cf. C. R. Thompson, *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1940). In his version of *Alexander*, Erasmus translates τῶν μωροσόφων by "qui desipienter sapientes sunt" (*Op. Om.*, I, 239 E).

⁵ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1906—), III, 486, 229-31. This work will be referred to in the text as *EE.*

⁶ Text in A. Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor, 1930), p. 290.

St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, II, xxvii: "philosophaster Tullius." One of his correspondents has the same word (*EE.*, VI, 396, 123). Compare *theologastris*, in a letter to Erasmus from John Eck, the famous opponent of Luther (*EE.*, III, 209, 25). I fail to find this word in the dictionaries.

Erasmus' ἀριστοτελικώτατος,⁷ applied to St. Thomas Aquinas in *Moriae Encomium* (*Op. Om.*, IV, 469 B), may have been suggested by Lucian's Ἀριστοτελικός. Lucian is the only source given for this adjective by Liddell-Scott-Jones.

Following are a few additional specimens of transliteration of Greek words in Erasmus: *catalalis* (*EE.*, IV, 91, 1 and n.), *philautiam* (*ibid.*, II, 95, 177; cf. IX, 16, 31; IX, 257, 25; *Op. Om.*, IV, 448 B-449 A), *battologiam* (*Op. Om.*, I, 832 E), *dysangelos* (*EE.*, IX, 257, 48), *philobarbarorum* (*ibid.*, IX, 178, 23). That these Latinizations are not in Du Cange, Lewis and Short, or the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* does not, of course, mean that Erasmus was the first to use them, although he may possibly have been.

Erasmus' fondness for inventing "Greek" nonce-words may be illustrated by some examples drawn mainly from his letters: *philoscoti* (i. e., Scotists: *EE.*, V, 409, 3), *philalazonia* (*ibid.*, VII, 94, 73), *cacatilem* (*Op. Om.*, I, 824 F), *evangeliphorus* (*ibid.*, I, 831 B), *cacolycos* (*EE.*, IX, 257, 47-8), *tyrologum* (i. e., a friar: *EE.*, VII, 129, introd.), ἐπιφήτης (*ibid.*, VI, 419, 76), διπλωματοφόρος (*Op. Om.*, IX, 1118 B), ἀρχιτύραννος (*EE.*, X, 54, 14), ἀνθελληνίζω (*ibid.*, X, 231, 19), μακρογραφία (*ibid.*, X, 301, 36), πτωχοτύραννοι (i. e., the friars: *ibid.*, IV, 288, 38). Naturally there are numerous ones made from proper names, e. g., φιλέρασμος (*ibid.*, X, 181, 65; X, 311, 85), φιλοβουδαίοι (i. e., partisans of Budé: *ibid.*, X, 125, 9).⁸

More writes *comicotragicopolemon* (*ibid.*, IV, 230, 515) in a letter to Erasmus. But Erasmus exceeds that with πτωχοτυραννοφιλομονοσμαχία (*ibid.*, IV, 208, 13).

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⁷ Cf. Hudson's rendering, "Aristotelianest" (*Op. Om.*, I, 832).

⁸ Erasmus was once offended when a critic termed him *porrophaquam* (*Op. Om.*, IX, 1099 A): "oursi," he retorted, "toties utar hac dictione, aut quasi utar iam inscite" (*EE.*, V, 319, 125-6).

REVIEWS.

Inscriptiones Graecae: Vol. II et III, editio minor. Pars tertia, fasciculus posterior. Edidit JOHANNES KIRCHNER. Pp. vii + 363-922; 2 Plates. Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1940. M. 196.

The issue of this volume of *I. G.*, II² virtually brings to completion the monumental work begun by J. Kirchner with the publication of the first fascicle in 1913. Only the necessary indices and *fasti* remain. Its indefatigable editor, whose lamented death occurred on June 27, 1940, in his eighty-first year, has in this instalment enriched scholarship with the publication of 8212 inscriptions, 1894 of which, according to our count, had received no previous mention. He has included sepulchral material which ranges from inscriptions copied by early scholars such as Pittakys and Ross and never again edited to the most recent inscriptions found in the excavations of the Agora and the Ceramieus. His work in this fascicle is marked by the same meticulous accuracy and painstaking completeness as that in its predecessors. A volume would be required to treat this admirable work as it deserves with its innumerable new readings and its store of helpful and pregnant suggestions cached in the notes. By way of illustration, it will be impossible for anyone to discuss the topographical problems of Attic demes without reference to the notes in this volume. Kirchner's death is an irreparable loss, but he lived to finish his appointed task and he leaves as a monument this true *magnum opus*.

The initial terminal date of the archonship of Eukleides, which has been accepted for other volumes of *I. G.*, II², is modified in the case of this fascicle. The editor has included sepulchral inscriptions which were negligently omitted from the first volume of the *editio minor*, fifth century inscriptions published since 1924, the year of publication of *I. G.*, I², and many late fifth century inscriptions hitherto unedited. Sepulchral inscriptions for Christians, which were included by W. Dittenberger in the *editio maior*, have been entirely omitted. They will be published in a separate sylloge of Christian inscriptions now being undertaken by J. Leitzmann and G. Soteriou. Also omitted is a considerable number of small fragments such as Dittenberger in his earlier publication judged should be included.

The main divisions of the book are twofold: *tituli sepulcrales* and *tituli memoriales*. First are published eight public funerary monuments (II², 5220-5227). Then in order follow the sepulchral inscriptions of private Athenian citizens arranged according to demoties (II², 5228-7861); twenty inscriptions of *ισοτελαί* (II², 7862-7881); sepulchral inscriptions of foreigners arranged according to ethnics (II², 7882-10530); and, then, sepulchral inscriptions of persons of uncertain origin (II², 10531-13177a). Many of this last group are metrical. A section of *varia* (II², 13178-13187) concludes the private monuments. Next follows a separate class of funerary inscriptions (II², 13188-13228) which contain the pronouncements

of curses against violators. These were erected for the most part by Herodes Atticus (cf. P. Graindor, *Hérode Att.*, pp. 114 ff., and Dittenberger, *Syll.*², no. 861, note 16). The second main division is a group of inscriptions which were set up in memory of the dead (II², 13229-13247). To the volume there are appended lengthy *addenda et corrigenda* in which Kirchner publishes 135 additional inscriptions, and finally *addenda nova* with 125 new inscriptions. Of this latter group alone, 68 are unpublished inscriptions from the excavations of the Athenian Agora conducted by the American School of Classical Studies. It will be more useful to add some details to this admirable volume (with a few corrections resulting from a comparative study of the squeezes now in the collection of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton) than to fill a page with mere laudation of the vastness of this great scholar's achievements.

No. 5301. A false reading of a demotic in this inscription has resulted in its publication among the list of Athenian citizens. The actual text is Ἀρτέμων | χρηστός, which must be substituted for Kirchner's reading of Ἀρτέμων | Ἀξηγιεύς.

No. 5500. The text as given by Kirchner reads as follows: Μειλισ[ία] | Τειμοκλέους | Ἀλαιέως | γυνή. In line 2 the form of the patronymic must be corrected to Τειμοκλήους. Moreover, the item in Kirchner's first line should not be read as the *nomen* of a woman; it is rather an ethnic. In the line above, the lower part of the first two letters of a name are preserved. These traces can only be interpreted as the initial letters of a patronymic, and the line above this patronymic must have contained the woman's *nomen*. According to Kirchner's classification, the inscription should not be published among the funerary inscriptions for citizens of the deme Halai, but on p. 665 among inscriptions containing fragmentary names of Milesians. The correct text reads: nomen | \ | — — | Μειλισία | Τειμοκλήους | Ἀλαιέως | γυνή. On the subject of the frequent intermarriage of Milesians and Athenians, see Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, XV, col. 1616.

No. 5743. Kirchner publishes for this columella the following text: Εὔκλεια | ΑΓ — — | Ἀφ[ιδναίου] | γυνή. Our squeeze reproduces the surface of the stone to a distance 0.07 m. below the word Εὔκλεια, and it can be reported that in this space no traces of any letters are visible. Nor do they show on our photograph. This determination is also confirmed by the description of this stone made by the epigraphists of the Agora excavations at the time the stone was discovered. Only seven letters were reported as inscribed. Lines 2-4 must be attributed to a false reading.

No. 5766. In previous publications of this inscription, it has not been noted that the word θυγάτηρ is part of a different inscription made by a different stonecutter from the remainder of the preserved text.

No. 6047. Kirchner corrects Meritt's reading for line 2 from Εὐκλεία to Εὐκλεία. The word Εὐκλεία, however, is preserved to the right of the stone, and the position was omitted by the stonecutter.

No. 6302. In line 1. Kirchner has erred in changing θυγάτηρ to θυγάτηρ. In the *cautio principis* (2. 1. Meritt *Hesperia*, III (1931), no. 90) to say:

No. 6316. For ἐκ Κεραμέων, read [ἐκ Κεραμ]έων; see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III (1934), no. 91.

No. 6648. In line 1, for [.]av[.], read Φαν[ώ].

No. 7197. It is, we believe, a safe conjecture that this inscription is more correctly published as lines 1-2 of no. 7198. The latter is reported by Kirchner as lost, but the inscription published as 7197, now bearing the Epigraphical Museum No. 6150, preserves the identical name with the letters at the right edge in the same fragmentary state as they are shown in T. Preger's original majuscule publication of 7198 (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIX [1894], p. 140). Moreover, Kirchner's date for no. 7197 agrees with Preger's determination that the script was of the fourth century.

No. 7281. The demotic in line 3 should be read as [Πρ]ασιεύς. [Λου]σιεύς is not a possibility.

No. 7775. The form of the patronymic in line 2 was inscribed as Αευκίδου, not Δεύκιδος. For the name, see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen*, p. 278.

No. 7779. For Ἐπιγ[έ]νου, reproduced by Kirchner from Meritt's original publication, read Ἐπιγόνου. The omicron is preserved.

No. 8861. The third letter of the *nomen* should be read as a rho, not a gamma, and the preceding letter is an omicron. Δορκ[άς] is a possible restoration.

No. 9411. The *nomen* in line 1, composed of widely spaced letters, may be restored as Σο[φί]α. The inscription occupies three lines (marks to indicate the beginning of a new line have fallen out of Kirchner's text in nos. 5928, 12551, 12736, 13038, and 5718a).

No. 10122. The text of this inscription is almost completely preserved. It reads: Εὐνους | Σίμωνος | [Π]τολεμαεύς (with iota omitted). This should be substituted for Kirchner's text, which now reads: [Εῦ]νους? | . . . ωνος | [Πτ]ολεμαεύς.

No. 10258. The letters -- ορον are preserved of the patronymic. The first omicron is above the first nu of the line below.

No. 11969. The name in line 2 should be read as Σαδόκον (cf. Thucydides, II, 29, 5). In the third line, an epsilon can be read in the fourth letter-space. This person may have been a native of the town Πρόερνα; see Strabo, IX, 434.

No. 12313. For the reading Νικῶ | Νικρ --- should be substituted Νίκων | Νικίου. In addition, two certain letters of the ethnic in line 3 are preserved, so spaced that the restoration [*Ηπ]ε[ρω]ώ[της] is possible. Additional letters, however, may be recovered from a better squeeze.

No. 12551. Retention of Koehler's restoration of [Πυθί]λ[λ]ου for the patronymic is impossible, for the apex of the uncertain lambda is between the third and fourth letters of the line above and in the first letter-space is preserved the top sloping stroke of a sigma. The line reads Σ . . Λ . ου, for which there are several possible restorations.

No. 12786. Large type for the name in line 2 is not justified, since the letters are identical in size with the following ones. The letters of lines 2-4 were inscribed in stoichedon order.

No. 12961. For Φιλόμηλος | . . . ωνος, read Φιλόμηλος | [Ξ]έγωνος.

No. 13038. Attention should be called to the fact that the name Χαιρεστράτη was incised in a *rasura*. The second line, instead of

being an added item as Kirchner writes, may have been part of the original inscription.

No. 13167. This inscription has hitherto been known only from a transcription furnished to W. Dittenberger by Otto Lüders, the first secretary of the German Institute in Athens. This transcription was first published as *I. G.*, III, 1375 and has now been republished in identical form as *I. G.*, II², 13167. Kirchner's text reads as follows: πολλοὶ ΙΟΤΟΤΩ | περιοδεῦσαι | ἐνθάδε κίμε | μάτην πονέσαι | χ<ρ>όνους. Contrary to so many cases of the transmission of faulty texts, we are fortunate in possessing a control over Lüders' copy; for the stone, undiscovered by Kirchner, is now in the Epigraphical Museum with the number 9866. The writing is in a modified cursive script of the third or fourth century of our era. Sigma is in the form of a cursive epsilon with the middle stroke omitted. In three cases Lüders has misinterpreted this form as an iota. A beta in the eighth letter-space of his first line was misread as an omicron. Since the loop of the following letter, which is really a rho, is partly chipped away, Lüders read the preserved strokes as a tau. The horizontal stroke over the final omega of the line is a mark of abbreviation indicating that the word should be expanded as a genitive plural, βροτῶ(ν), a form which is frequently attested after a preceding form of πολλοί. Above the pi of πολλούς, there appears the lower part of a vertical stroke. The following text is offered: ι --- | πολλούς βροτῶ(ν) | περιοδεύσας | ἐνθάδε κίμε | μάτην πονέσας | χρόνους.

Only in the *addenda nova* does this reviewer encounter a section which is not entirely satisfactory. Here Kirchner was dependent on the transcriptions of others, although he apparently possessed squeezes of most of the texts, the majority of which are inscriptions from the Athenian Agora. Several errors in reporting the Agora inventory numbers have already been corrected in a communication to the editors of *Hesperia* and these have been included in a publication in that journal (X [1941], pp. 398-401). Some textual corrections are noted below.

No. 7834a. The text of this inscription, which has been reported by Kirchner as [Ἀρι]σταγόρα | [Ἀρισ]τοτέλους | .ς.ς.έως | [θυγ]άτηρ, should be corrected to read: [Ἀρι]σταγόρα | [Ἀρι]στοτέλου | [Πει]ραιέως | [θ]υγάτηρ.

No. 7840a. The text in the *editio minor* reads: Θεόξενος | πείθου | .ς.ς.ς.ιδης. For this should be substituted: Θεόξενος | Νικ[ο]πείθου | Βερ[ε]νκίδης.

No. 8104. This inscription was known only from Fourmont's copy, as published by A. Böckh (*C. I. G.*, no. 822), until its rediscovery in the Athenian Agora (see Kirchner in the *addenda nova sub* no. 8104). Kirchner does not change Fourmont's reading of Αἰσχρώ for the *nomen*, although the stone now reveals that this must be corrected to Αἰσχρον. This feminine name is attested from II², 601, 602, 101; cf. *Epigraphica*, 1935, 101-102; *Flacourtiennes*, p. 49.

No. 9513a. The patronymic which Kirchner reads as Ἰαπ. . . . should be corrected to Ἰαπρίων.

No. 10279. The brackets should be removed from the ethnic in line 3, for the letters are plainly preserved in this inscription, and occur in the Agora.

No. 12114a. In place of $M\eta[\nu]\acute{o}\delta o[\tau\omicron s] \mid \Phi o---$, read $M\eta[\tau]\rho o\delta\omega[\rho---] \mid \Phi\rho---$. The rhos are certain.

No. 12547a. A new reading for the ethnic in line 3 may be offered where Kirchner reads only an eta, which is below and slightly to the right of the second omicron of $[T\iota]\mu o\delta\delta\tau[ou]$. Following this eta is a tau and preceding it is an upright stroke of what may well be a nu. The ethnic may be restored as $[A\iota\gamma\iota]\gamma\eta\tau[is]$.

No. 13056a. It should be noted that the text published by Kirchner was inscribed over a four line inscription which had been carelessly erased. The fourth line comprised the word $\theta\nu\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$, and in the first line part of the woman's name is visible as $E\delta.\tau...is$, for which the restoration $E\delta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota s$ may be suggested; cf. *S. E. G.*, IV, no. 12.

Kirchner has given the place of discovery and the present location of all inscriptions whenever this information was known to him. In many cases, however, he has been forced to report that an inscription could not be found, and sometimes he has given its present location incorrectly. This information is of importance; so we note in the following list such inscriptions which are now to be found under their proper number in the Epigraphical Museum. No. 5735 is now E. M. 8830; no. 5923, E. M. 10489; no. 6234, E. M. 9092; no. 6254, E. M. 2926; no. 6406, E. M. 278; no. 6595, E. M. 10013; no. 6814, E. M. 2872; no. 6826/7, E. M. 9127; no. 6848, E. M. 9717; no. 6877, E. M. 1945; no. 6986, E. M. 9722; no. 7024, E. M. 9723; no. 7160, E. M. 2096; no. 7214, E. M. 9151; no. 8362, E. M. 10977; no. 9134, E. M. 5102; no. 10243, E. M. 8146a; no. 10495, E. M. 9306; no. 10555, E. M. 3345; no. 10727, E. M. 25; no. 10936, E. M. 9773; no. 10978, E. M. 10286; no. 11318, E. M. 9362; no. 11595, E. M. 427; no. 11670, E. M. 3625; no. 12062, E. M. 9405; no. 12622, E. M. 9441; no. 12650, E. M. 3078; and no. 13195, E. M. 12466. Both no. 8385 and no. 11268 have now been transferred to the Epigraphical Museum (*sine nr.*)

There are also several instances in which the Epigraphical Museum number as reported by Kirchner has been found to differ from the number written on the squeeze in the Institute for Advanced Study. The Princeton numbers were transcribed by a technician in Athens at the time the impressions were made. Although no control can be exercised over these figures, it can be demonstrated in a few cases that these, and not Kirchner's, are the correct numbers, so the entire list is presented here by way of comparison. Our no. 5615 is marked, not as E. M. 5254 (Kirchner), but as E. M. 5224; no. 5662, not E. M. 10960, but E. M. 11060; no. 5909, not E. M. 1706, but E. M. 9706; no. 6098, not simply as E. M., but as E. M. 495; no. 6819, not E. M. 4716, but E. M. 9716; no. 7017, not E. M. 9141 (this is correctly published as no. 7246), but E. M. 9149; no. 7071, not E. M. 10956, but E. M. 11056; no. 7381, not E. M. 10453, but E. M. 10455; no. 7410, not E. M. 10802 (this is correctly published as no. 6364), but E. M. 1802; no. 7633, not E. M. 10955, but E. M. 11055; no. 8444, not E. M. 9207a, but E. M. 2907a; no. 8552, not E. M. 10841, but E. M. 9741; no. 10743, not E. M. 8854, but E. M. 8851; no. 11057, not E. M. 3947, but E. M. 9347; no. 11292, not E. M. 8507, but E. M. 5807; no. 11561/2, not E. M. 6188, but E. M. 6182; no. 11602, not

E. M. 3234 (this appears to be *I. G.*, III, 962), but E. M. 3231; no. 11763, not E. M. 3889, but E. M. 9389; no. 12816, not E. M. 9459, but E. M. 9457; no. 12888, not E. M. 8805, but E. M. 8865; no. 12903, not E. M. 16568, but E. M. 10568; no. 12943, not E. M. 11105, but E. M. 9464; no. 12948, not E. M. 9699, but E. M. 9692; no. 13029, not E. M. 11110, but E. M. 11510; no. 13064, not E. M. 11077, but E. M. 11087; no. 13099, not E. M. 9471, but E. M. 8897; and no. 13106/7, not E. M. 11112, but E. M. 11512. No. 7947 is incorrectly reported as E. M. 19997. No. 12883, which Kirchner states he was unable to locate, is correctly reported as E. M. 8883 and a squeeze is now in Princeton.

Of interest to Americans will be the Attic funerary inscriptions which have been transported to the United States. These are now to be found in Baltimore (II², 9391a, 10575a, 11646, 11865a, and 12721a); Boston (II², 11790); Cleveland (II², 12872); Kansas City (II², 5495a, 5511a); Minneapolis (II², 12961a); New York (II², 7090, 7287, 11771a, and 12013 at the Metropolitan Museum; II², 6984a, 10711a, and 11840a in the private collection of V. G. Simkhovitch); Philadelphia (II², 11012, 11118, 11874, 11911, 12091); and St. Louis (II², 7061a). Eight of these had not previously been published, and Kirchner acknowledges his indebtedness to Sterling Dow of Harvard University for supplying information concerning them.

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ARTHUR BERNARD COOK. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion.*

Volume III: *Zeus God of the Dark Sky* (Earthquake, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, Meteorites). Part i: Text and Notes (pp. xxix + 974). Part ii: Appendixes and Index (pp. 975-1299). Cambridge, University Press, 1940.

A quarter of a century after the appearance of the first volume (1914) Professor Cook's massive work is now complete, with a grand total of 3696 pages. It consists of two main parts: the first, which is entitled *Zeus God of the Bright Sky*, is comprised within the first volume; the second, *Zeus God of the Dark Sky*, occupies the two remaining volumes. Volume II (1925) deals with the manifestations of Zeus in thunder and lightning; Volume III contains the discussion of the other phenomena of the Dark Sky which are named in the subtitle, a section called "General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as God of the Dark Sky," and some 131 pages of Addenda to all three volumes. The Index in Volume III (99 pages) is not a comprehensive index to the whole work, but, like the Index in each of the other volumes, covers only the single volume. Like the other two indexes it is divided into two parts, the first containing references to "Persons Places Festivals"; the second, arranged to "Subjects Authorities." Like the two earlier volumes the final volume is richly illustrated, containing eighty-three plates and 222 figures in the text. It is impossible to praise the manage-

ment of the Cambridge University Press too warmly for their high-minded devotion to scholarship in the publication of this whole vast work and for the care and skill which are evident in every detail of the production of the books themselves. They have erected a noble monument of English learning and English book-making.

The multitude of scholars to whom "Cook's *Zeus*" is already familiar will find that the new volume is simply a continuation of the work which has long been in their hands. They will be able to use it exactly as they have used the previous volumes. Indeed, the three volumes are so exactly alike in form and spirit that it would seem as if they had been born at a single birth and not at wide intervals in the space of a quarter of a century. "Year in, year out," says Professor Cook, "I have steadily pursued the plan originally laid down for the scope and contents of the book." It is amazing that an enterprise of such magnitude has been carried through with such inflexible purpose and that the initial aspiration has been fulfilled with such completeness and perfection. For this achievement the author deserves the admiration and homage of the learned world.

In particular, he has not allowed himself to be turned aside by the criticism of earlier reviewers from the intention of permitting himself the right of unlimited digression. The objection that "one cannot see the forest for the trees," and similar facetious remarks, have not disturbed him. "I have deliberately chosen the more devious method," he says, "and I can only fall back on Herodotus' plea that 'my subject from the outset demanded digression.'" For this one can only be grateful, because, whatever derogation it may be to the dignity of the august personage who plays the title-rôle in the piece, the chief value of the book lies in its innumerable digressions, large and small. In the present volume the meteorological phenomena with which Zeus is connected provide an opportunity for the introduction of long studies on related matters of great interest and importance. The longer and more significant of these are devoted to the complex of myths and cults connected with the Arrephoroi, the daughters of Kekrops, the birth of Erichthonios, and the relations of Hephaestos and Athena; to the use of the sieve, or holed vessel, in rain-magic, in marriage, and in the mysteries, together with the myth of the Danaides; to the birth of Athena, the east pediment of the Parthenon, and the lore connected with the olive, snake, owl, and aegis of Athena. Each of these sections occupies approximately one hundred pages, together with the illustrative plates. Other topics of great interest which are discussed at great length are Aristophanes' *Nephelokokkygia*, the clouds in cult and myth, the Tritopatores, rain-magic in ancient and modern Greece, the myth of Danaë, the ritual of the Dipolieia, floating islands, and the Hieros Gamos.

One may suspect that Cook's book will be used more often as a work of reference than for continuous reading,—and this in spite of the fact that it is written in an engaging style, devoid of pedantry and illuminated not infrequently with humorous observation. The reader is beset by formidable obstacles which he must go around. The continuity of the text is interrupted by footnotes so extensive that often there are only two or three lines of text to a page, or even none. The

footnotes, indeed, occupy much more space than the text itself. The wide-ranging erudition in the text demands slower and more thoughtful reading than the beguiling style has patience for; the extended digressions disturb the unity of treatment. In these respects it must be acknowledged that there is justice in the criticism that one cannot see the forest for the trees. Zeus is elusive. For these and other reasons it is not a book of first resort for one who wishes to learn, with some philosophical breadth, what Zeus was to the Greeks. But as a work of reference concerning Zeus and a thousand other things it is indeed a work of first resort. One will turn to it as he does to Pauly-Wissowa, Roscher, Daremberg and Saglio, Frazer, and Hastings. Its wealth of learning, its full documentation, literary and archaeological, its countless plates and figures, its full bibliographies, its résumés of research and controversy, make it indispensable. It will not always be easy, however, to find what one wants. The indexes are full and generous, but no index could do justice to all the items that should be recorded. And in the indexes no device has been adopted to enable one to find the principal discussion of a topic. One is reminded of the difficulty and embarrassment encountered in the use of Otto Gruppe's great *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*.

The manifestations of religion in the Greek world were so pervasive and touched so many aspects of its life and culture that students are affected by a variety of motives and purposes in their investigation of them. Cook's book brings into sharp focus one particular method of approach. He is, by predilection, an aetiologist. The purpose of the aetiologist is to explain how things came to be as they are,—what was the origin of the incidents of a myth, of the details of a rite, of the figures and symbols in artistic representations, of the names and epithets of gods. Men have always been inquisitive about such things. The very aetiological myths which are the object of our own study are the product of instinctive groping in this direction. The *Aitia* of Callimachus, Plutarch, and many other writers are evidence of the persistent interest of the ancients. At the present time inquiries of this sort have been vastly stimulated and facilitated by the prolific discoveries of archaeologists and anthropologists. We have come to see that the origin of the religious phenomena of Greece is often clearly to be discerned in the prehistoric culture of the ancient world or to be conjectured in the primitive cultures of the present day. Research along these lines has already led to many brilliant discoveries, and we may be sure that it will be more and more fruitful in the future. But in a book like Cook's one may ask whether a too constant preoccupation with aetiology may not be detrimental to its larger purpose. It seems to show its effect both in what he has done and in what he has left undone.

The use of archaeological material as evidence for restoration of the details of ancient culture is a method of investigation which, on occasions, will justifiably place the investigator in a position where Cook exhibits these qualities in the best of the way, and the results of his researches are always impressive and stimulating. But it cannot be denied that they are sometimes blemished by defects which are not uncommon in the work of investigators in this field.

Investigation of this kind, by its very nature, must operate by means of conjecture, in the interpretation of the objects of evidence, in their restoration, in the determination of their mutual influence upon one another, and in many other aspects of their study. But the enthusiasm of the investigators and their craving to know and to understand lead them too often to promulgate hazardous guesses which, though extremely plausible and not impossible, are still utterly uncertain. The method of inquiry by hypothesis is sound and fruitful, and it is to be expected that many hypotheses will be proposed which will not stand the test of scrutiny. Even if it is rejected, a hypothesis may open up further paths to explore. But too many unsound hypotheses only add to the confusion. The sowing of tares is a bad business. A clever guess is not enough; it must save *all* the appearances. Searching dialectic is needed to substantiate it. The brilliant guessers would do more for scholarship and make things easier for others if they would apply the dialectical process themselves, more critically, before they propose their guesses to the world. Now it is to be regretted that Cook has not always done this. He supports his conjectures with great learning and winning plausibility, but one fears that too many of them will not be approved in the judgment of scholars. This is the more to be regretted—and here is the principal point—in a book which the world would like to accept as a rounded and authoritative work on a great subject. It is unfortunate that hazardous guesses should form so large a part of its structure.

Another failing of archaeological investigators is that they not infrequently give undue time and attention to matters which after all, in the large view, are trivial and unimportant. They are led to this by the very richness of their material and by their conscientious determination to be exhaustive and thorough. Nothing, indeed, is worth seeking but the truth, but not all truth is worth the seeking. It should not always be a matter of pride to have devoted long and laborious research to the substance of a footnote. The determination of values in these matters is difficult and delicate, but at least the element of value should not be disregarded. One of the values, to be sure, is the satisfaction felt by the investigator himself when he has duly completed a piece of research, however uninteresting or insignificant the results may be to others; and there is always the chance that they may prove to be more important than is at first suspected. Cook has claimed the right to inquire into any problem that presents itself in the course of his main task, and in doing so he has carried through by way of digression many pieces of inquiry of major importance. But besides these there are disquisitions, both touching Zeus and touching other subjects, the chief worth of which, it would seem, lies in the gratification which the author feels in his own thoroughness. Again it is to be regretted that the proportions of his larger design in a book on Zeus are somewhat distorted by the obtrusion of too many minor matters,—minor, at least, in their present setting.

Some justification and illustration of these criticisms may be found in an examination of the first chapter of the new volume, entitled "Zeus and the Earthquakes." This chapter consists of twenty-nine pages and three plates. Of the twenty-nine pages,

which include six figures, about six pages are covered by the main text and about twenty-three by footnotes. In these twenty-nine pages are discussed such things as the incidence of earthquakes in Greece, notable earthquakes of ancient times, the attitude of primitive peoples and of modern Greeks to earthquakes, the words *ῥηξίχθων*, *ἐνοσίχθων*, *ἐνοσίγαιος*, *γαῖήοχος*, and the cosmological views of Babylonians, Pythagoreans, Thales, Artemidorus, and the Christian fathers. The direct evidence which is cited for the connection of Zeus with earthquakes is: 1) *Iliad*, I, 528 ff., where Olympus is shaken by the nod of Zeus; 2) the closing lines of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, where an earthquake is included in the cosmic convulsion with which Prometheus is overwhelmed by Zeus; 3) the earthquake which is caused by Pisthetaerus, the "new Zeus," at the end of the *Birds* of Aristophanes; 4) the inclusion of the epithet *σεισίχθων* among the many which are applied to Zeus in the *Orphic Hymn to Zeus* (15, 8); 5) reports of two earthquakes, one in Antiocheia on the Orontes and the other in Smyrna, in the second century A. D., for which Zeus seems to have been held responsible. But the principal reason for asserting the connection of Zeus with earthquakes is that "Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus, his trident being originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god."

Now the theory that Poseidon is but a specialized form of Zeus is developed at great length in Volume II (pp. 582 ff., 786 ff.). It rests upon etymological and archaeological arguments. After a long discussion of the name Poseidon, Cook concludes that the first element in the compound is connected with *posis*, "lord," and that the whole name, *Potei-Dan*, or the like, means "Lord Zeus," just as the Homeric *potnia Here* means "lady Hera." On the archaeological side Cook describes at great length, and with abundant illustration, the history of the shape of the thunder-weapon in the art of the Near East and Greece. Since the weapon sometimes appears as a three-pronged spear he raises the question whether the familiar attribute of Poseidon was originally identical with the thunderbolt of Zeus. On the basis of evidence which he adduces he answers the question in the affirmative. In particular he discusses the marks in the rock beneath the north porch of the Erechtheum. If it was originally believed that these marks were caused by Erechtheus, the "Cleaver," a lightning-god like Zeus *Kataibates*, and if Poseidon, with whom Erechtheus was identified in the fifth century B. C. (if not earlier), wielded the lightning,—that is, if his trident was originally the thunderbolt,—"the transition from the cult of Erechtheus to the cult of Poseidon is much facilitated." Direct evidence that Poseidon was thought of as a lightning-god is almost non-existent. "Once, and once only, in the extant remains of Greek art is he represented brandishing a bolt as though he were Zeus." The object referred to is a tetradrachm of Messana, which is assigned to the 4th century B. C.

Concerning the arguments for the identity of Poseidon and Zeus, Cook frankly acknowledges that classical antiquity as a whole viewed the trident as a fish-spear. "But," he says, "the point is not what the Greeks and Romans of the classical age took the trident to be, but what it originally was." This, of course, may be the "point" if Cook chooses to regard it so. But it is not the only

point, and perhaps not the most important point. Cook, like other aetiologists, has a taste for abandoning the bright beauty of the known world of history to pick his way uncertainly in the shadowy prehistoric world of dimly seen and intangible shapes. What happened in the "olden times" has an irresistible fascination for all, children and scholars alike. But too much insistence on the origin of a thing distorts the proper understanding of the thing as it is when the origin is forgotten. One does not know any more about the meaning of "wicked" in modern English by being told that it originally meant "bewitched," and if he tries to understand it in the light of this derivation he is only led astray. The greater bulk of the idea of a god is not the seed from which it sprang, but the increment which came afterwards.

But, even if we assume that the origin of the trident is properly the "point" in the present inquiry, are we really convinced that Zeus and Poseidon were at the beginning somehow one? How did the differentiation come about? In the first place, why should a purely honorific title like *Potei-Dan*, "Lord Zeus," a title which implies no particular attribute or function, come to be recognized as the name of a new divine personality distinct from Zeus? Did this new god become the god of the sea after he had received his name? If so, why? Or was it the god of the sea, already recognized, to whom the name "Lord Zeus" was later applied? If so, there was no new god, but only Zeus,—if, as Cook says (I, p. xii), "the unity of an ancient god consisted less in his nature than in his name." In the second place, if the Greeks knew that Poseidon was "Lord Zeus," god of the thunderbolt, why did they interpret the lightning-fork of the thunder-god, in designs borrowed from the east, as a fish-spear? Was it the chance resemblance of the lightning-fork to a fish-spear that generated the idea that the god with the lightning-fork was the god of the sea? Doubtless, some plausible concatenation of the undated events could be devised. But plausibility is not enough. Plausibility may be only a mask which makes the false look like the true. If plausibility were enough, we might say that Zeus and Poseidon were always two distinct gods, as distinct as their names, that the name Poseidon has no etymological connection with the name Zeus (Kretschmer might be right in his suggestion that Poseidon comes from *Potei Das*, "Lord—Husband—of the Earth-goddess"), that the fish-spear had always been the attribute of Poseidon (the three-pronged fish-spear, *τρίαινα*, was after all in actual use by fishermen), and that the representation of the three-pronged lightning-fork in art had some influence on the representation of the three-pronged fish-spear which is held by Poseidon in Greek works of art. Whether something like this is true or not, we cannot accept with any confidence the theory that "Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus."

This being so, there is little justification in treating Zeus as a god of earthquakes. One cannot take seriously the passages in Homer, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes as evidence of it. A little shaking of the earth might naturally be expected to accompany the manifestation of Zeus' royal power on such impressive occasions. If these documents have little weight, the later ones that are cited have still

less. One wonders, therefore, that Cook should have chosen to give the prominence of a special section to "Zeus and the Earthquakes" when the whole discussion, interesting and useful as it is in numberless details, rests upon so insecure a foundation. And this prominence is the more surprising in view of the fact that none of the more mature and spiritual aspects of Zeus is honored by a special caption and a special section in the framework of the book.

After this example of the exuberance which characterizes Cook's work, it may seem captious to complain that anything has been left undone in a book so comprehensive. But there is some justification for doing so. Putting it briefly, one may say that the subject of the book is not primarily Zeus, but things about Zeus, τὰ περὶ τὸν Δία. It may be that the etymon of Zeus is latent in the book, and that the attentive reader will have grasped it when he has reached the end. But the author has not made it easy for him to do this. The etymon of a god is not the sum of all the things that the historian can discover about his epithets, attributes, and functions, the myths that were told of him, and the rites that were performed in his honor. It is the idea of him which is lodged in men's minds. To know Zeus is to know this idea of him. To be sure, it is not an idea perfect and unchangeable, laid up in the heavens. It is an idea which is never quite the same at two different places, at two different times, in the minds of two different men. It embodies just so much of the traditional connotation of the name as a particular person at a particular time and place is aware of, together with the enrichment or impoverishment caused by his own intellectual, moral, and aesthetic disposition. No Greek who ever lived knew, or could know, the infinitely Protean god whom Cook presents. Perhaps it is too much to ask, when he has given us so much (for which we should be, and are, deeply grateful), that he should also have expounded the complex history of the idea and its more important manifestations. But it is just the lack of this element of philosophical exposition and interpretation which leads one to say that Cook's book is not one which would meet the needs of an inquirer who wished to know what Zeus meant to the Greeks,—unless he is willing to construct for himself the idea of Zeus, at the cost of much labor, out of the materials with which Cook supplies him in abundance. Perhaps the things which we miss could have been provided, without any reduction in the value of the book as it is, if Cook had been willing to write a straightforward and continuous exposition of his views on Zeus, with the essential documentation, and to relegate to excursions the hundreds of topics, large and small, which are embedded in the text and the footnotes. Or perhaps he planned to give us what we miss when he expressed the hope, in the preface to Volume II, "to conclude at long last with a general survey of the Sky-god and his cult as constituting one factor in the great fabric of Greek civilisation," and then was unable for some reason to fulfil his promise. But a reviewer can do nothing more odious than to linger over what an author has not done, especially when what he *has* done is so stupendous and breath-taking. Professor Cook has flown high and far on strong wings, and it is unbecoming for jackdaws on the ground to scold at him.

ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκύς ἐν ποτανοῖς,
 ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαϊόμενος,
 δαφουιὸν ἄγραν ποσίν·
 κραγέται δὲ κολιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.

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CHARLES H. BUCK, JR. A Chronology of the Plays of Plautus.
 Baltimore, 1940. Pp. 112. (Diss.)

During the past twenty-five years many new studies have appeared on the chronology of Plautus' plays and the development of his art.¹ Numerous criteria have been used to determine the relative order of the plays, e. g. historical allusions (Maurenbrecher, Püttner, Westaway, Enk), the amount of originality (Westaway), metrical form (Püttner) and especially the relative frequency of lyric (Sedgwick), the use of Greek words (Hough), the development of Plautus' art (Sedgwick, Hough), the handling of the intrigue (Hough), link-monologues (Hough), periodic sentence-structure (Schneider). As a result of these studies, many different chronologies of the plays have been established; although the conclusions have shown a surprising agreement in many respects,² there is still great uncertainty concerning the date of many comedies.

One turns therefore to Dr. Buck's newly published dissertation with the hope that it will contain a thorough examination and evaluation of the work which has recently been done, and that it will give more definitive results than have as yet been attained. Dr. Buck's work, begun under the guidance of the late Professor Tenney Frank, contains much of interest and value, but leaves one with a feeling of regret that the author has not given to the subject as thorough a treatment as could be desired. Buck believes that the measuring-stick for the chronology is the events of the age (p. 1), and in his analyses of the individual plays he seeks to determine their dates by allusions to contemporary events, drawing occasional support from the metrical arguments of Sedgwick. Buck refers to the chronologies of Westaway, Sedgwick, and Hough, and states

¹ Cf. K. M. Westaway, *The Original Element in Plautus* (Cambridge, 1917), pp. 76-82; W. B. Sedgwick, *C. R.*, XXXIX (1925), pp. 55-58; *C. Q.*, XXIV (1930) pp. 102-5; J. N. Hough, *A. J. P.*, LV (1934), pp. 346-64, LX (1939), pp. 422-35, *Class. Phil.*, XXX (1935), pp. 43-57, *T. A. P. A.*, LXX (1939), pp. 231-41; J. Schneider, *De enuntiatis secundariis interpositis quaestiones Plautinae* (Dresden, 1937), pp. 169-82; P. J. Enk, *Handboek der Latijnse Letterkunde*, II, 1 (Zutphen, 1937), 2 vols., *passim*. The results of earlier investigations are summarized in B. Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus und Verschleifung im alten Latein* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 141-46, and especially in V. Püttner, *Zur Chronologie der Plautinischen Komödien* (Ried, 1906).

² The one exception is Schneider's chronology based on the development of the periodic sentence in Plautus. His results seem far from successful; cf. Hough in *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), pp. 500 f.; Duckworth in *C. W.*, XXXII (1939), pp. 17 f.

(p. 21) that these studies "have shown agreement in their conclusions which is far too close to be considered coincidence; the resultant groupings of the plays . . . cannot be disregarded in any subsequent attempt to date single plays by means of allusions to contemporary events." One looks in vain, however, for any consideration of the chronologies of Westaway, Hough, etc., in the Conclusion (pp. 105-7), where Buck gives his own chronological listing of the plays.

The Introduction (pp. 1-24) is perhaps the most suggestive and interesting part of the dissertation. Here the author summarizes the theories concerning Plautus' life and dramatic activity, and attempts to reconstruct his biography. He interprets *in operis artificum scaenicorum* to mean that Plautus was an actor in Atellan farce and dates his popularity as a *Maccus* sometime before the outbreak of the Second Punic War. Plautus retired from the stage and invested his earnings in a mercantile venture which failed; he returned to Rome as a laborer (perhaps in a mill, although Buck, p. 23, considers this of little importance), and was already well on his career as a playwright at the beginning of the war. The increase in theatrical performances attests his popularity, as do the frequent *instaurationes*, which Buck explains (pp. 14 f.), not on religious grounds, but by the desire of the authorities to please the public. The fact that there were eight performances of the *ludi plebei* in 205 B. C. Buck attributes to the popularity of the *Miles Gloriosus*, usually dated in that year (p. 16). Much of this reconstruction is of course hypothetical, but Buck handles his material for the most part convincingly. I do not see the reason for assuming that *Bacch.* 214 f. is an actor's interpolation and that Plautus himself was playing the part of Chrysalus (p. 4, note; cf. p. 32, note, p. 66, note); one might equally well argue from the reference to Sarsina in *Most.* 770 that Plautus played the part of Tranio. The discussion of the union of Greek new comedy and native Italian farce (p. 22) could have been strengthened by reference to Little's recent paper on Plautus and popular drama.³

In the body of his work (pp. 25-104) Buck analyzes the plays of Plautus, calling to our attention all topical allusions that will aid in the dating and using metrical arguments where they seem most valid.⁴ It is impossible in a review to discuss his treatment of the individual plays. The author presents new material and after careful examination rejects or accepts older theories. His views on the *Amphitruo*, *Casina*, and *Menaechmi* seem particularly well presented; in the *Casina* he follows most scholars in accepting a late date against Mattingly and Robinson whose recent attempt to date the play early on numismatic evidence seems unfounded. At times Buck may see historical allusions in the text where none really exists; this is perhaps the case with the *Asinaria* and the *Bacchides*. The *Euclidius* may have been presented several years earlier than he assumes. For *Bacch.* 214 f. does not necessarily mean that the *Epitaphium* must have been presented very early (p. 67); the

³ A. M. G. Little, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, XLIX (1938), pp. 295-28.

⁴ Especially in the earlier play; see pp. 151. For Buck's criticisms of Sedgwick on individual plays, cf. pp. 23, 43 f., 54, 61, 61, 67, 92, 102.

passage does not refer to the popularity of the *Epidicus*, but to Plautus' own fondness for it, and it does not follow that the *Epidicus* must therefore be later than the *Pseudolus* (p. 69); also, names like Thebes and Epidaurus need not indicate a date after the return of soldiers from Greece, i. e. after 194 B. C. (p. 68); Buck's arguments here seem particularly weak.

Perhaps Buck's most serious omission is his failure to consider Enk's treatment of the separate plays.⁵ Since Enk, a mature Plautine scholar, has worked from historical allusions and has thus used practically the same method as Buck, and since his work, written in Dutch, is perhaps less widely known than it deserves to be, I shall place their chronologies side by side for purposes of comparison:

	Enk		Buck
<i>Menaechmi</i>	ca. 215		
<i>Asinaria</i>	212		
<i>Mercator</i>	212		
<i>Rudens</i>	? (211-206)		
<i>Amphitruo</i>	207-206	<i>Asinaria</i>	207
<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>	206-204	<i>Mercator</i>	206
		<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>	205
<i>Cistellaria</i>	before 201	<i>Cistellaria</i>	202 (cf. p. 63)
<i>Stichus</i>	200	<i>Stichus</i>	200
<i>Mostellaria</i>	200-199		
<i>Epidicus</i>	196		
<i>Persa</i>	196		
<i>Curculio</i>	? (199-193)		
<i>Aulularia</i>	195		
<i>Trinummus</i>	194	<i>Aulularia</i>	194 or later
<i>Captivi</i>	193	<i>Curculio</i>	193 or later
		<i>Mostellaria</i>	193 or later
		<i>Poenulus</i>	191
<i>Pseudolus</i>	191	<i>Pseudolus</i>	191
<i>Bacchides</i>	190	<i>Epidicus</i>	190
<i>Truculentus</i>	189	<i>Bacchides</i>	189
		<i>Rudens</i>	189
		<i>Captivi</i>	188
<i>Poenulus</i>	187	<i>Trinummus</i>	187
		<i>Truculentus</i>	186
		<i>Amphitruo</i>	186
<i>Casina</i>	186 or 185	<i>Menaechmi</i>	186
		<i>Persa</i>	186
		<i>Casina</i>	184

Buck assigns the plays to a twenty-four year period but dates no plays between 200 and 194; fifteen plays are dated in the last decade of Plautus' life, four in the year 186. Enk has a thirty-year period with no interval of more than two or three years without a play. If Plautus began to write plays before the outbreak of the Second Punic War, as Buck assumes (pp. 19, 23), Enk's chronology would seem more probable; but Buck's arguments against an early date for the *Menaechmi* seem decisive, and, furthermore, he thinks that the earlier plays, having less of Plautus' originality and metrical innovations, were rejected by Roman critics. Five of the

⁵ See *supra*, note 1.

plays on the two lists agree (including of course the *Stichus*, *Pseudolus*, and *Miles Gloriosus*), five more are within two to four years, but of the remaining six are from five to seven years apart, in the case of one (*Persa*) there is a difference of ten years, the *Amphitruo* and the *Rudens* have dates on the two lists approximately twenty years apart, while there is a spread of thirty years for the *Menaechni*. It is difficult not to be sceptical when one views these conclusions, reached independently by different scholars using similar methods.

It will perhaps be instructive to turn again to the lists of the plays based on different criteria and to include these studies in our consideration of the chronology since Buck has failed to do this. If we place side by side the chronologies of Püttner, Westaway, Sedgwick, Hough,⁶ Schneider, Enk, and Buck, it seems possible to arrive at the following definite conclusions. There are at least four plays which should be dated before 200, the year of the *Stichus*;⁷ these plays are the *Asinaria*, *Mercator*, *Cistellaria*, and *Miles Gloriosus*; all lists are in agreement here, with the partial exception of Schneider, whose method seems to lack validity.⁸ To the middle period between 200 and 191 (the date of the *Pseudolus*) belong the *Aulularia* and the *Curculio*, perhaps also the *Rudens* and the *Amphitruo*, although the last two are dated by Enk in the early period, by Buck in the late period. For the period after 191 there is complete agreement (again with the exception of Schneider) on the *Bacchides* and the *Casina*. There are thus twelve plays where the results of the different tests are in fair accord, not, to be sure, as to the exact year, but in the grouping of plays as early, middle, and late. The remaining eight plays (*Captivi*, *Epidicus*, *Menaechni*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Poemulus*, *Trinummus*, *Truculentus*) seem considerably less certain, and in most cases the same play (e.g. *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, *Poemulus*) is dated by different tests as early, middle, and late.

Buck's dissertation is an important contribution to the study of Plautine chronology, and his views on the individual plays will deserve serious consideration in all future study of the problems. His dating of several of the plays can hardly stand, but, as he admits (p. 106), positive identification is extremely hazardous in many instances. It may be doubted if there are as many allusions to Scipio's career as he suggests; Buck at times appears to under-rate the Greek nature of the plot in his search for topical allusions.

⁶ Hough (A. J. P., LV [1934], p. 361) gives the lists also of Püttner, Westaway, and Sedgwick, but somewhat inaccurately; Püttner dates the *Truculentus* about the time of the *Stichus* and places the *Trinummus* after the *Pseudolus*; also Hough presents Sedgwick's list of 1925 which is misleading, as Sedgwick revised his chronology at many points in 1930.

⁷ The only date which has been derived for the *Stichus* and the *Pseudolus* is that of 187 or 186, given by Bontemy, *Revue de la Littérature Classique* (1936), pp. 29-31, who considers our present chronology as a reworking of the play, presented in 187 or 186. It is unfortunate that Buck ignored this article, since Bontemy uses for the *Stichus* the same method which Buck employs elsewhere.

⁸ See *supra*, note 2.

It is to be hoped that greater certainty concerning the date of many plays can be achieved by further investigation. Every important advance in our knowledge of the chronology has great value for a better understanding of the development of Plautus' dramatic technique.

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The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXXVII, Session 1936-37. Papers presented to Professor J. L. Myres in Honour of his 70th Birthday. London, Macmillan & Co., 1940. Pp. x + 286; 30 plates.

This volume of the *Annual*, published in honor of Professor Myres, contains twenty-nine articles on various subjects. It would be impossible within the compass of a review to discuss, however briefly, all this highly interesting material, and it becomes necessary to make a selection of those articles which in the reviewer's opinion seem especially important or otherwise provocative of comment.

Many of the articles are written by former pupils of Professor Myres and by scholars whose interest in the particular subject of their contribution has been aroused through comments, whether written or spoken, by the eminent scholar to whom the volume is presented. Consequently there is a preponderance of articles on subjects to which Professor Myres has made his most important contributions. The articles are arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the authors.

In the second article of the series C. W. Blegen has set forth in a brief statement his conclusions with regard to a revised chronology of Trojan antiquities. In this way the immensely important material from the new excavations at Troy has been made available for use in comparative chronology in advance of the final publication.

In the subsequent article, first presented as a lecture during an Easter cruise in the Mediterranean, A. W. Brøgger compares the Greeks of the colonizing period to the Vikings of more than a millennium and a half later. He is of the opinion that the Greeks roamed farther afield than is generally assumed: that they circumnavigated Africa and landed on the Azores, that they went by sea as far north as Scandinavia and may well have reached the shores of the western hemisphere. However extravagant these claims may seem to scholars whose horizon is limited by the written word, it is important to bear in mind, as Brøgger points out, "that, in reality, *most* of the things which have happened in the long history of mankind have not been written down at all. This is one of the truths which gives archaeology its great advantage and power." The adventures of the Vikings, which were, like those of the Greeks, the concomitant results of colonial expansion, are discussed at some length by the author and compared to the enterprises of the Greek Viking age.

Professor V. G. Child discusses the stroke-burnished ware of Neolithic times, and on the basis of certain obvious similarities in

shapes and fabric he points to a continuous area of dispersion, reaching from Moravia to the Mediterranean and from Malta to the Euphrates. He wisely refrains from drawing any far-reaching conclusions of an ethnological nature but discusses the chronological data—or their absence—for the period concerned.

It is natural in a volume dedicated to Professor Myres that Cypriote and Oriental archacology should occupy an important place among the contributed articles. An interesting amphora from Cyprus of the early Iron Age is minutely described by P. Dikaïos, and certain features of Cypriote conservatism are illustrated by the representations on the vase.

H. Frankfort discusses the origin and significance of the Cretan griffin and the distribution of the griffin motive in the Aegean and the East. Unknown to the Babylonians, the griffin became especially common after the middle of the second millennium when Assyria emerged as an independent center. It plays an important rôle in Mitannian as well as in Cretan and Egyptian art; but its primary source is to be sought in Syria, where it makes its earliest appearance and where it also survives the fall of the Minoan civilization.

C. F. C. Hawkes in a hyper-hyphenated article discusses the use and significance of the double axe in prehistoric times. He argues for the view that the double axe of stone, found in Central and Northern Europe, is derived, though indirectly and with some modifications, from the Cretan double axe of bronze. He even goes so far as to assert with confidence that not only the form but also the religious significance of the double axe spread from Crete to the west of Europe. Whatever may be said for or against the author's thesis, the terminology used throughout the article seems highly infelicitous. The following specimens picked at random suggest the linguistic flavor of the treatise: "the well-known drooping-bladed copper axe-adzes of East-Central Europe"; "the hammer-butted shaft-hole battle-axes"; "the displaced shaft-hole and tendency to hammer-buttedness"; and such alliterative delicacies as "Breton Bell-beaker folk" and "British B 1 beaker culture" are served up with reckless prodigality.

A highly significant series of solar discs, belonging to the pre-Hittite period, are discussed by H. Z. Kosay, the excavator of the necropolis at Alaca-Hüyük, where these objects came to light. The combinations of these discs or wheels with some animal figures, especially those of the bull and the stag, show beyond a doubt that they were not used merely or primarily as decorative designs but were certainly endowed with symbolical significance.

The article by J. D. S. Pendlebury on Lasithi in Crete is charmingly written and very informative, though some of his conclusions, set forth with modest reserve, are likely to be questioned. He says, "the excavations of the famous site of pottery at the end of the 19th century . . . have shown the arrival of the Aegeans in Mainland Greece; and that the Dorians 'brought with them Proto-geometric pottery—the use of iron, the practice of cremation in the place of inhumation, and' . . . a new style of dress which needed the use of the fibula." The most refreshing feature of the article is its recognition of the continuity of human progress, and the

importance he attaches to the understanding of local conditions of the present time as a key to unlock many of the secrets of the past.

C. F. A. Schaeffer has contributed an article on a very fine krater from Ras Shamra, decorated with chariot scenes on both sides. The vase deserves this detailed stylistic study, but the author seems to me to go too far in trying to attribute mythological meaning to one of the scenes. The "chain" or "cord" by which the large bird seems to be tied round the neck could equally well be a long worm or a snake on the point of being swallowed (similarly on the sherd in fig. 26); or, what is more likely, a simple filling ornament, such as the painters of this class of vases applied in every available space. Would not an ostrich, like a chicken or goose, be tethered by the feet rather than the neck?

There are several articles on classical topics, the most significant of which seems to me to be M. N. Tod's new study of the Greek acrophonic numerals. This is in the nature of a summary of three earlier articles by the same author together with the addition of the new material that has appeared since these were published. It will be a welcome help to epigraphists and historians to have this difficult subject brought up to date by the author who has done so much to untangle many of its baffling intricacies.

Although archaeological articles predominate, there are several contributions on historical and philological subjects. Two of these, one by A. Andrewes and another by T. J. Dunbabin, have to do with Herodotus' account of the relations and the wars between Athens and Aegina. The early war with Aegina in which Athens was defeated, with the help of Argos, Dunbabin dates in the early seventh century, and more precisely in the reign of Pheidon. He connects the legislation about the size of pins with Pheidon's monetary reforms on the supposition that pins, like spits and hooks, had currency value before the introduction of silver money. The embargo on Attic pottery, used by others as evidence for the date of the war, Dunbabin takes to have been restricted to dedications in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia, the site of which has not yet been discovered. Archaeological evidence points to no period at which Attic pottery was not in common use in Aegina.

The later wars mentioned by Herodotus are discussed by A. Andrewes, who gives a chronological summary of the events affecting the relations of Athens and Aegina up to the time of their reconciliation in 481.

OSCAR BRONEER.

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The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXXVIII, Session 1937-38. London, Macmillan & Co., 1940. Pp. xii + 154; 35 plates.

In the thirty-sixth volume of the *Annual of the British School*, the late J. D. S. Pendlebury and Miss M. B. Money-Coutts published an extensive report on the exploration of the Plain of Lasithi, conducted by members of the school, and especially the results of the excavation of the cave of Trapeza. In the present volume are given

the results of further explorations of the plain and of the excavations conducted there in 1937 and 1938 by members of the British School led by the late J. D. S. Pendlebury, whose methodical work can be detected in every section of the report.

The first part of the volume (pp. 1-56), prepared by Pendlebury and Miss Money-Coutts, is devoted to the prehistoric remains found especially in the caves of Skaphidhia and Meskine and on the Kastellos. These seem to supplement the evidence obtained in the Cave of Trapeza and to prove that the famous cave fell into disuse as a dwelling-place by the beginning of E. M. II and was used only as a burial place in the ensuing M. M. period by the people who had settled in the open and especially at the site of Kastellos. This last site seems to have been abandoned after the M. M. III period. The pottery from this and adjacent sites is fully described as well as the few miscellaneous objects in terracotta and stone.

The second and longer part of the volume (pp. 57-145) is devoted to the description of the remains of the site of Karphi in the plain of Lasithi at a short distance from the modern village of Tzermiadho. The names of the authors are not given, because, as is stated on p. 59,

"Where all have worked towards the results, it seems best to preserve the anonymity of the contributors, particularly since every section is the work, if not of several hands, at least of several minds."

This noble gesture on the part of the authors of the report will be appreciated especially by all those who have toiled faithfully in the excavations of various sites but had no chance to contribute in the publication of the results. The site of Karphi dominates the easiest entrances into the plain of Lasithi, and at its prime it seems to have been occupied by a population of about 3,500 people. One-third of the site has been excavated, enough to give a clear picture of the ancient town. Its houses, built against each other, are separated by paved, winding roads. Some of them are of the "megaron type," while others seem to belong to simplified Minoan forms. Their remains are described and illustrated clearly and their appearance picturesquely restored on the basis of the evidence and of modern native practices. A temple, clearly Minoan in type, was also uncovered and among its debris were found some clay figurines of the Minoan Goddess. At a short distance from the site two groups of tombs were excavated, composed of a round or rectangular chamber and a processional *dromos*. The type of these vaulted tombs certainly is not Minoan. A good many of the objects discovered—those in metal, stone, and bone—are described and excellently illustrated. The publication of the clay objects and vases was deferred, since the vases especially could not have been mended by the end of the season of 1939 and made ready for publication.

An interesting account of the "Shrine of Eros" (pp. 113-19) is added by Peter H. Davis at the end of the volume.

The history of the site is well established by the authors of the report. It seems that it was inhabited in the Intermediate Period (approximately the period is exactly dated ca. 1100-900 B. C.), at the end of which it was abandoned. Its architecture presents Minoan

and non-Minoan elements. The "megaron type" of the houses and the "vaulted tombs" are the most important non-Minoan elements and they are attributed to the Achaeans. The city itself is believed to have been built by the Minoan people of the plain and their Achaean overlords, when they were forced to the hills by the Dorian invaders. In their new city they remained until the "first rush of the invasion had spent itself." Then they abandoned the site and descended to the plain once more.

The reviewer will find few things on which to comment in this splendid report. But there are a few points, perhaps minor, which could be brought forth. The reader will notice the omission of "dimensions" in the description of the houses and their parts; it is rather cumbersome to obtain these by referring each time to the scale in the plans. Perhaps the application of the Homeric term "megaron" to the main room of the house is unfortunate. It follows, however, a common practice, especially among scholars who work in Crete. Certainly the main room of the Homeric architectural unit was known as the "domos." Telemachus takes Athena, in the guise of Mentès, into the "domos" to entertain her. In the "domos," or main room, the suitors are feasting, and the "domoi" of Alcinoüs were filled with guests (*Odyssey*, α 126, 144; θ 57-58). The fact that the authors themselves use the term "prodomos" to indicate a vestibule in front of the main room will seem to indicate that the main room should be called a "domos." The term "megaron" should be used to indicate the entire unit composed of the "prodomos," "domos," and the "thalamos" (or of the first two only).

In their description the tombs are referred to as "tholoi," but no description is given of the construction of the vaulting. To judge from the "Ideal Composite Section" of plate XII, the corbel vaulting was used in their construction. One would wish to see a drawing of the incisions on the stone disc 438, before he could believe that they "illustrate the final and degenerate form of Minoan lettering" and the implications deduced from them. As for the significance of the "σήματα λυγρά," perhaps we may refer to Harland's "Scripta Helladica" (*A. J. A.*, XXXVIII [1934], p. 84) for the exact meaning of that Homeric passage. The history of the site and the rôle played by the Achaeans and Dorians are very interesting. One could assume, however, that the Lasithi plain was comparatively safe from invaders and that the so-called Achaean lords of Karphi would have felt the need of a temple of their own, as they seem to have felt the need of keeping their own grave types. Such a temple has not been located as yet.

In general the reports contained in the present volume are characterized by the high degree of accuracy and scholarly presentation which we have come to expect from the publications of the British School at Athens.

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HOMER A. THOMPSON. The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1940. Pp. v + 160; 3 plates; 105 text figs. \$5.00. (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV.)

When one considers the antiquity of the Tholos at Athens and its many centuries of service as a governmental building, its varied fortunes, the nature of its function, the fact that the majority of the male citizens of Athens, at least once in their lives, had spent a tenth of a year in most intimate association with it, and, finally, the peculiar style of its architecture, it seems a bit surprising that Greek literature reveals so little consciousness of its existence. We might with reason expect to find some witty allusion to the Tholos and its occupants in the writings of the comic poets, but at least no such allusion is now extant. Most of those for whom today the name has any meaning undoubtedly associate it with what Socrates has to say of having been summoned to the Tholos by the Thirty to receive instructions for the arrest of Leon of Salamis. Andocides relates that, in the excitement created by the mutilation of the Hermae, the prytanes were ordered to pass the night in the Tholos. Demosthenes twits Aeschines with having been supported there for two years at public expense while serving as grammateus. Aristotle records that the prytanes dined together in the Tholos, and that during his twenty-four hours in office the epistates, together with the third of his colleagues whom he selected for the purpose, was required to remain on duty there. Pausanias supplies the additional information that the prytanes offered certain sacrifices in (or at) the Tholos, and that there, too, were "certain silver images of no great size." This is all that Greek literature has to offer on the Tholos. The ancient lexicographers naturally were interested in the name, and from them we learn that a second name, Skias, i. e., Sunshade, was employed because of the peculiar form of the roof. Because this is the name which occurs in the inscriptions, we infer that it was the official designation. It should be added that inscriptions tell us that the Skias was the official repository for standard weights and measures.

As recently as 1930, Judeich, in the second edition of his *Topographie von Athen*, admitted that despite modern discussions and researches nothing new had been added to our knowledge of the Tholos and that the interior arrangement of the building was still obscure. Three years later, in the southwest corner of the Agora, the American excavators began uncovering the remains of a circular structure which obviously must be identified with the Tholos. In the next campaign that area was completely laid bare, and in 1937 and 1938 Thompson, supplementing the previous discoveries of his colleague, Myron Vanderpool, explored the lower levels of the Tholos and its immediate neighborhood, thereby securing evidence not only for a reconstruction of the building and but also making standing of some at least of its vicissitudes through its long history, but also regarding certain structures of an earlier age which it displaced. The scope of the study under review is best presented in the author's own words: "The present report is little more than an

attempt to present the evidence for the reconstruction and history of the buildings. The epigraphic and literary evidence bearing on the Tholos has been discussed repeatedly and at length by others. Detailed consideration of the historical significance of the new material had best wait until the excavation of the Agora, and of the North Slope, is more nearly complete."

Even with these limitations Supplement IV constitutes a not inconsiderable contribution to the *Hesperia* publications. Pages 3-44 are devoted to the description and interpretation of architectural remains in the immediate neighborhood of the Tholos and anterior to it in date; in pages 44-92 will be found a detailed analysis of the Tholos proper: its location, state of preservation, plan, and kindred topics; next are treated such matters of interest as the monuments within the Tholos precinct, water supply, and roads and drains; this is followed by a brief survey of the chronology of the Tholos, a discussion of the cults associated with it, a report on miscellaneous finds which shed light on the purpose and use of the building, a brief statement regarding its identification and purpose, and a final note on the identification of Bouleuterion and Metroon. Appended to the text are a very welcome chronological index covering the history of the site from neolithic times to the present day, a general index, and three plates. Interspersed throughout the text are abundant photographs and drawings serviceable in elucidating what is necessarily a very intricate problem.

Thompson's investigations of the Tholos region reveal that it was occupied as early as the Middle Helladic period, but its dedication to administrative purposes dates from the first quarter of the sixth century, at which time there was erected, slightly to the north of the site of the later Tholos, the first of three buildings (C, D, and E) to which he has applied the label, "Primitive Bouleuterion." This earliest building (C), though too small to have served as a place of meeting, might well have housed records of the Boule, official seals, and similar equipment. It takes us back to the time of Solon, who is reputed to have founded the Council of Four Hundred. D, erected shortly afterward, faced C across an open court. It ultimately contained three rooms of unequal size, and Thompson regards it as the domestic establishment of the early prytanes. Cuttings in the rock to the west of these two buildings suggest that here in the open air were held the meetings of Solon's Boule. We are told little of the arrangement and function of Building E, the remains of which are extremely scanty, but it lay between C and D and is clearly of later date. All three buildings were displaced in the last decade of the sixth century by the "Old Bouleuterion," a large rectangular structure covering not only most of the space once occupied by its predecessors but also ground to the west and south.

South of this area, and including most of the site of the later Tholos, we come upon an elaborate complex of rooms (Building F) about a colonnaded court of irregular pattern, the largest archaic building in this region. The western portion seems to have consisted of kitchen and storerooms. Immediately to the south are the remains of a small structure which Thompson identifies as a bake-house, and to the north, approached from a corridor between

storerooms and kitchen, are two ancient "broiling pits," the earlier of which measures 6.75 m. in length, about 0.70 m. in width, and about 0.65 m. in depth. This whole western section is viewed as a unit and called the domestic quarter; the eastern section, with its pretentious court and adjoining rooms, is regarded as designed for living and dining purposes. A small rectangular structure, fitting into space left vacant at the southwest corner of F and apparently of contemporary date, may have served as a chapel. Thus Building F and its several annexes are roughly equated by Thompson with D, just as they in turn gave way to the Tholos.

As if to repair the inadequacy of the written record, the Tholos is today "one of the best preserved buildings of the Agora." As has always been known, it is a circular building, but its dimensions prove to be larger than had been supposed. Whereas, on the basis of computations suggested by its use as a dining hall to accommodate the fifty prytanes and certain supernumeraries, Fiechter had allowed an inner diameter of slightly more than 15 m., the actual diameter proves to be 16.9 m.

The original plan of the building involved "a solid outer wall, a doorway toward the east, possibly another toward the north, and six interior columns for the support of the roof." Eight blocks of the lowest course of the wall remain *in situ*, and one block of the second course. Stumps of five of the six columns are still in place, and it is seen that they were not concentric with the encompassing wall but so placed as to form a broad open space from north to south. The original floor of trodden earth in course of time was succeeded by mosaic pavement, both now being hidden by a still later pavement of marble slabs bedded in concrete, thirty-one of the slabs being still in place. Many fragments of the original roof-tiles of terracotta were found in the fill all about the building. The problem of reconstructing the roof from which they came presents much difficulty, but Thompson is convinced that it had no lantern, and he finds confirmation for his view in the name *Skias*. At least four centuries subsequent to the construction of the Tholos, a porch was added on the east, precisely in line with the east-west axis of the building.

Adjoining the Tholos on the north, and directly above the ancient "broiling pits," are the remains of a rectangular annex, contemporary with the Tholos itself, and identified as the kitchen of the prytanes. The identification is made the more plausible through the presence of a capacious drain that seemingly served the structure. Presumably the wall of the Tholos facing the kitchen was provided with a special doorway through which the servants passed to serve the diners. Another annex, in direct contact with the west wall of the Tholos but having no communicating doorway, was divided into two narrow compartments. Thompson suggests with some hesitancy that it may have served to house either domestic equipment of the Tholos or the food and vessels and utensils which were the property of the prytanes.

The original construction of the Tholos can be assigned with reasonable certainty to approximately 470 B.C., inasmuch as the building, which it displaced, and in fact overlies, are known to have been renovated in 479 and shields recovered from a pit dug close

to the Tholos at a date subsequent to its construction provide the year 460 as a *terminus ante quem*.

The story of the varying fortunes of the Tholos through its career of roughly one thousand years, briefly summarized in pages 132-37, is at once a tribute to the careful observation and learning of the archaeologist who made the story intelligible and a reminder of the many exciting events in the long history of the city which it served: party strife and insurrection, rivalry between Macedonian overlords, Roman pillage and vandalism, barbarian incursion and destruction. Again and again, after the turmoil had ended, the building was restored, until at last, for some unknown reason, sometime in the fifth century of our era the prytanes abandoned it to decay. Thompson finds reason for believing that they migrated a few yards northward to the Metroon, which had been built in Hellenistic times above the ruins of Building D, "to spread their common tables once more precisely in the spot where they had begun to dine together a round thousand years before."

In concluding his report Thompson speaks briefly of several subsidiary matters, some of which may be noticed here. In late Roman fill close to the Tholos there was found a small marble plaque with an inscription referring to the plants of certain deities called *ταῖς Πωσφόροις* (*sic*). A priest of these deities had been named in an inscription belonging to the middle of the first century B. C., and that he had some official connection with the Tholos is to be inferred from an additional phrase found in later inscriptions. The chief contribution of our new evidence is the information that the gods in question were female. They may have been associates of Artemis Boulaia, long known from inscriptions and named on a stone found in the neighborhood of the Tholos in the campaign of 1934. Thompson is inclined to identify with her a small statue found in the near neighborhood beneath the floor of a late Roman house which intruded upon the Tholos precinct. Though the Phosphoroi are not yet clearly known, they may have been included among the unspecified deities referred to in prytany decrees which mention sacrifices offered preliminary to meetings of the Ecclesia. That the prytanes should have had their own rites is what we might have expected, even without the express testimony of both Demosthenes and Pausanias.

Another decree, datable in the year 191-0 B. C., records the services of a committee appointed by the Boule to replenish the equipment of the Tholos and to inspect and inventory drinking vessels, tripods, etc. We seem to learn from the document that furnishings had been donated by Queen Laodice, wife of Antiochus III, and by some king, presumably Antiochus himself. Thompson points out that a natural inference would be that the cheap table-ware, found in abundance about the Tholos, gave way on state occasions to richer equipment. Another point of interest is the fact that, although the inscription, as usual, employs the term *Skias* in speaking of the building, the adjective applied to the fund from which the committee made its purchases is derived from the word *tholos*.

In concluding this survey of Thompson's work, the reviewer confesses that he has done scant justice to its contents. It has been his purpose to single out for mention chiefly those features which

might have the widest appeal. Thompson has left no stone unturned in making his study and he has reported his findings with his usual meticulous care. His results may not have overthrown many accepted ideas regarding the Tholos, but they do constitute a vivid and consistent picture of an institution regarding which previously there have been only the haziest notions based upon the scantiest of testimony. There should no longer be any excuse for a scholar's equating Tholos with Prytaneum, as the reviewer found to be the case in a recent publication. There seems to be slight occasion for adverse criticism of the work before us. It is abundantly documented with plans and photographs, careful examination of which is essential to an understanding of the argument, and only one misprint caught the eye of the reviewer. He did, however, have some doubts as to the adequacy of the statement printed on p. 44: "The round shape of the building is happily suited to the angle of the ancient roadway and may indeed have been suggested by the exigencies of the site." So violent a departure from the form and arrangement of the buildings which the Tholos replaced would seem to call for some other explanation than the exigencies of the site.

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H. JEANMAIRE. *Couroi et Courètes. Essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique.* Lille, Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1939. Pp. 638. (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille*, XXI.)

Jeanmaire's book is a long one, and the first hundred pages or so are not reassuring, but I found that it became more and more interesting as I read on, until, when I had finished it, I was convinced that Jeanmaire had made an extremely valuable contribution to our knowledge of antiquity. Perhaps his book is too long, but much of his argument requires the elaboration that he gives it.

The title may be misleading, for the book delves into a vast area of religion, folklore, and social institutions. The classes of Homeric society, African initiation-rites, Tom Thumb, Theseus and the Minotaur, Lycurgus, werewolves and leopard societies, these are but a few of the subjects that Jeanmaire finds it necessary to study in detail in the development of his theme.

Through a study of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* he proves that the earliest Greek societies were organized in much the same way as those of the African continent today, where many features of the ancient Mediterranean culture still survive. Fundamental were the age-classes: *paides*, *kouroi*, *gerontes*. Of tremendous importance, as his study of African society shows, was the transition from childhood to adulthood. When the boy became a *kouros*, entitled to full participation in community life as warrior and citizen. This transition involved a period of seclusion, lasting several months, when the boy, having been hazed through ordeals of various kinds and taught all the traditional wisdom of the community. There were many features to

this period of seclusion. To mention but a few: frightful masked figures tormented the boys, but were finally unmasked; boys were dressed as girls part of the time; there were weird symbolic rites in which the boys died, went to the realm of the dead or of the gods, and were born again to a new life. There were corresponding rites for the girls.

These age-classes and initiation-rites of primitive Greek society left many traces in classical Greek society. They can be seen in the customs of the Apaturia, Thesmophoria, Oschophoria, Stepteria, and numerous other festivals, and in the whole structure of the Spartan community. Many myths have their origin in initiation-rites; for instance, Theseus and the Minotaur, the rape of Persephone, Apollo and the Python, the birth of Zeus on Dictæ. Not that Jeanmaire believes that initiation-rites are the one and only explanation of the phenomena that he adduces; but he proves that they throw light on much that has hitherto been obscure.

This is but the baldest statement of Jeanmaire's position. It can be appreciated only through a careful reading of the book. I am convinced that his method is sound and fruitful. He belongs to that group of students who find the roots of a people's religion and mythology in their social and political institutions. And to those classicists who may be frightened away by Jeanmaire's use of evidence from darkest Africa I can say that he has used the comparative method with wisdom and caution.

No doubt Jeanmaire has made mistakes in details. I, for one, could wish that he had avoided two ancient errors: he talks about earlier and later parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and about Apollo as a sun-god in early times (p. 280). But minor errors do not affect the validity of his general thesis.

The book is provided with an adequate index, bibliography, index locorum, and table of contents.

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JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*. Translated by E. O. LORIMER. Edited with Bibliography and Notes by H. T. ROWELL. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xv + 342.

This belated review is intended not so much to call the attention of readers of the *A. J. P.* to Carcopino's book, which will be known to all, as to add one more deserved encomium to the many already bestowed upon it by earlier reviewers.

The volume is one of a popular French series, written by different authors on the daily life of a civilized people at some great moment in their history, and it has all the advantages of concentration upon the time of Trajan, with the necessary reflections upon the days immediately preceding and following. The distinguished author focuses a bright light upon a time and place of brilliant achievement in human history.

Enthusiasm for Rome pervades all of these pages and there is an uninterrupted flow of lucid writing that will, I think, capture all readers—lay and learned alike. The book has stylistic distinction

and rests on great learning. It is immensely interesting, it has speed, color, and imagination; at the same time one will be using Carcopino side by side with Friedlaender, for its erudition. The two qualities of brilliant authorship and scholarship are fused,—to make a mine of information a living book.

Complete mastery of all of the many phases of ancient life discussed here may lie beyond the competence of one scholar or of one reviewer, but Carcopino has provided Notes and References to the original sources and to the learned literature that will provide the student with a background of information and discussion on myriad problems open to a variety of different interpretations. Dissent at many points is probably inevitable in the case of an independent and provocative work, such as this is. But Carcopino is entitled to his own considered and mature judgments, and the careful reader's numerous marginal questionmarks accumulate not so much for purposes of criticism as for future reference, for his own later confirmation or for confutation.

To illustrate: the pages on "The Decay of Traditional Religion" are written with characteristic spirit and with penetrating observations, while the pages that follow, on "The Progress of Oriental Mysticism" and on Christianity, rise to real eloquence. But, impressive as these pages on the pagan worship are and apparently convincing, they leave many doubts in my mind. Carcopino overemphasizes, I think, the lack of personal religion in pagan Rome; the note that is struck at the outset (p. 121) is repeated at the close of the book (p. 276). But we must remember the ancient use of the words *pater* and *mater* in addressing divinity, as an indication of the presence and force of a personal feeling in Roman pagan religious institutions and practices. A feeling of personal relationship existed in domestic worship, just as long as the cult of the Lares and Penates was valid. Readers of Sallust's *Catiline* will not have failed to find it there. The *Aeneid* gives us striking proof of such a close, personal relationship between worshipper and God, whether in the use of the phrase *animis inlabere nostris* (*Aen.*, III, 89) or, even, in the mockery of *Aen.*, I, 407-9. Nor is it true, I think, that the old, traditional religion had lost its power over the human heart. The State cults, after Caligula and Nero, may not have had the power to awaken enthusiasm and patriotism as they did in the days of Augustus, but the worship of the individual had not died, and peasant and philosopher clung to beliefs that were, in varying degrees, a composite of tradition and speculation, but they were still effective. The apparent indifference to moral values in the history of Roman religion may easily be overemphasized and this has been done repeatedly in the past. But it might be well to recall the triple alliance of virtues and loyalties in the old significance of *pietas*—despite Lucretius' condemnation of what he believed that word meant to many of his contemporaries. And Jupiter's crowning combat of *Optima Maxima* cannot have lost all of its moral values, in spite of the presence of a devaluation in the religious and religious beliefs and practices. The example of the Vestals and the cult of the *Fides* were lessons in ethics. The pictures of divine and man that appear in the *Aeneid* may suggest a divorce of religion and ethics and may shock the modern reader, but an illuminat-

ing essay still remains to be written on *Vergil's* conception of the relation of *religiosus* to *bonus*. It is hardly fair to single out the festival of Anna Perenna, as typical of Roman festivals and their meaning to the pious. The *Terminalia* of Ovid's *Fasti* will occur to anyone as illustrative of a different sort of religious experience, probably still regarded by many with reverence in the Empire period. Carcopino emphasizes certain aspects of the beginning of Juvenal's XIIth Satire, but it might well be argued that these aspects which appear so prominently here are but the background of an unexpressed, affectionate regard for deities who, in this place, required no further expression of devotion than is implied in the sufficiently eloquent phrases, "Queen of Heaven" and "Tarpeian Jove," with all that these terms implied or evoked. Juvenal's rejection of belief in a lower world of punishments is no proof of his disregard of all mythologies or of orthodox worship. Skepticism there undoubtedly was in the minds of all thinking Romans but Petronius' account of the ceremony of the *nudipedalia* is poor evidence to prove that. There is plenty of agonized skepticism even in the *Aeneid*! Skepticism and reverence often go hand in hand. In the next place, Carcopino does not make out a case of indifference or of real lack of orthodox faith either for Tacitus or for Pliny. Much more space would have been required for that. Tacitus' well-known account of the Jews (*Hist.*, V, 5) does not "praise" their belief in one eternal and supreme God—even if he had done so, that need not have implied forgetfulness of Stoic rationalization, which, in Rome, balanced Oriental conviction and belief in monotheism,—while Tacitus' *Germania* reflects merely a natural sympathy for an ancient primitive belief which Tacitus could properly respect and even admire, all the more as Roman orthodox paganism had deep affiliations with the numinism of German worship in the forest. As for Pliny, Carcopino again overemphasizes certain factors in Pliny's account (*Epist.*, IX, 39) which appear in the foreground—but they do not imply a lack of belief in local cults and divinities or of love for them; for Pliny wished, primarily, to write his friend, the architect, of the colonnade, and there was no occasion or, at least, no need to dwell on the respect or reverence he may have felt for rites and gods. Even Ovid might be cited as an example of a Roman whose sophistication did not dull his love of simple ritual that had a powerful appeal in which age, folklore, and "religion" all played a part. We find evidence of Pliny's deeper devotion in other letters. Likewise the letter about Pliny's election to the augural college (*Epist.*, IV, 8) does not prove the "indifference" to the rites that Carcopino attaches to it. It would have been quite extraordinary if Pliny had, here, seized an opportunity to appear as un-Roman mystic, jubilant and ecstatic over the "incomparable privilege" of interpreting signs of the Divine Will. To dismiss Pliny's real feelings as "wholly worldly" or as those of a more or less cynical courtier is unfair, I believe, to the believer that Pliny essentially was.

As for the wane of the imperial cults, that is as effectively presented as could be done, in the space of a few pages. No one would quarrel with the thesis that this cult rapidly lost its power over the mind or the conscience of the common people. But the

continued hold of the old Roman religion and an awareness of the need of association of religion with *Virtus* can still readily be seen not only in pages of Cicero and Horace but also, later, in passages of Juvenal, Persius, and Statius, such as are cited on p. 134, or in the superb prayer of the Stoic, recorded by Seneca (see n. 125, p. 301). Such passages present the reverse side of the scene which Carcopino has chosen to present with all of the skill of his scholarship from his point of view, as the correct one.

Carcopino has made an immense field of knowledge his own, and his presentation of many phases of Roman private life, set forth in nine chapters and 276 pages, packed with information, carries the marks of his individual originality, interpretation, and mastery throughout.

The French edition has no illustrations, but Dr. Rowell, the editor of the American edition, has increased the value of the book for American readers by his addition of 23 carefully chosen illustrations. An invaluable Index, also, has been added to the text in the American edition. I can write of the work of the editor with appreciation and feeling. Rowell's chapter on "Sources of Information" is the work of a learned scholar, whose discrimination and own wide command of all of this material is further amply demonstrated in the "Notes." He has increased the number of these by about 250, and many of them have been expanded in order to bring Carcopino's Notes as up to date as possible. I have found many corrections of original references as given in the French edition. The editor has also revised the text at a number of points in order to present more complete and precise descriptions of the problems discussed. All of this work was a labor of love, and all the more commands our admiration and gratitude.¹

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WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE. *The Ancient Greeks. Studies toward a Better Understanding of the Ancient World.* Princeton Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xi + 254. \$3.00.

This readable and interesting book deals only with certain loosely connected aspects of Greek history, Greece before the Greeks, When the Greeks became a People, The Earliest Greeks, Tyrants and the Emancipation of Men's Minds, The Persian Wars, Absolute Democracy, the World War of 431-404 B. C., Thucydides the Historian, The Lost Opportunity, World Empire. The treatment of the tyrants and of Thucydides is excellent, but in general there are no new aspects of Greek history or culture offered in the preface. In fact, much

¹ Events that I have found are the proper objects of persistent contemplation, I think, and are, in the main, such as can hardly have been provided in view of the wide scope of the work and the many references. They are a reflection of the dedication of which the Author and Editor.

is reprinted, sometimes with slight revisions, from previous articles¹ by Prentice (*T. A. P. A.*, LI [1920], pp. 5-18; LVI [1925], pp. 162-71; *Class. Phil.*, XXII [1927], pp. 399-408; XXV [1930], pp. 117-27; *Jahresh.*, XXXI [1938], pp. 36-41), with no mention of this fact or of Prentice's authorship of the articles. In chap. VI much is reprinted from Prentice's article of more than twenty-five years ago in the *Unpopular Review*, V (1916), pp. 332-48, with no mention of the article. The book is based mainly on German sources and, though the result of forty years' teaching, it often shows memory of lectures of years ago by his former professor, Eduard Meyer, which he heard when a student at Halle (I heard them both at Halle and at Berlin). When Meyer is quoted, the reference is to the antiquated 1901-1903 edition and not to the second edition of *Die Geschichte des Altertums* (1935-1937). Beloch also is often cited, though without quotation marks (pp. 69, 89-91), and on p. 89 "as it seems to me" should be "as it seems to Beloch." Professor Prentice is very skeptical and in general discredits the authority of ancient authors, though he accepts the Draconian Constitution as given in Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (chap. IV). Often he uses such phrases as "incredibly foolish" and "childish." So with regard to Miltiades' waiting for his turn at Marathon Professor Prentice seems to be prejudiced against democracy. "Absolute democracy is as vicious as absolute monarchy" (p. 152) and leads to "the unrestricted power of the largest class of voters, the most thoughtless, the most bigoted, and the most irresponsible." "Nor was freedom of mind promoted in any large degree by democratic institutions. The perfect fruit of democracy seems to be standardization, which is a blight upon individuality" (p. 92). Page 143 speaks of "absolute power to those who were the most unfit to make important decisions, who had as little education and knowledge of large affairs as they had of property, who had no stake to lose, no hostages, who were commonly unintelligent, unreasoning and easily led by demagogues and spellbinders." Or again (p. 145), "Many, if not most of them, were ignorant, shortsighted, and incapable of reasoned judgment: some of them were altogether thoughtless, reckless and violent." These are harsh criticisms in view of what the Greeks did in literature, philosophy, and art, and in view of Pericles' retiring disposition and honest politics, far removed from spellbinding. Nor were the masses vain and greedy (pp. 150, 151). No city of the same size in the same time has produced so many intelligent men as Athens. Thucydides (II, 65, 5) was right when he said that in the time of Pericles Athens became very great (*μεγίστη*), which Prentice (p. 152) wrongly interprets as the "best government in all its history." In general Professor Prentice disapproves of Pericles. "The policy of Pericles led his people into a disastrous war, and the political changes . . .

¹ This review was written immediately after the appearance of Professor Prentice's book but because of an abundance of reviews could not be printed earlier. I find that Professor W. F. McDonald also calls attention to this reprinting in *A. H. R.*, XLVII (1942), pp. 569-70. See now "Communications" of Prentice and McDonald in *A. H. R.*, XLVIII (1942), pp. 223-24.

made Athens after his death incapable of winning the war." But Thucydides (II, 65, 5-9) thinks otherwise, and he had a better chance to judge of Pericles than Professor Prentice. Thucydides is not so vague (p. 155) and does discuss definitely the causes of the war (p. 199). Thucydides makes much of the economic causes of the war and describes vividly the plague as a cause of Athens' failure to win the war, subjects sadly neglected by Prentice (cf. Smith, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, LI [1941], pp. 267-301, and now J. H. Finley's *Thucydides*). Probably Thucydides was present on many occasions when Professor Prentice thinks he was absent (p. 202).

The account of Homer or no Homer and of the Homeric Question, and the denial of Homer's historicity are unsatisfactory (p. 4, n. 3, for "Achians," read Achaeans). It will not please the "Unitarians." There is decided evidence on almost all important early sites in Greece for a great change in forms of houses, burial customs, pottery, etc., about 2000 B. C. Few archaeologists would say "there is no convincing evidence of any sort" (p. 6) for the change from Early Helladic to Middle Helladic. The change could not be due to "internal dissensions" (p. 7). The description of the bathroom at Tiryns is misleading (pp. 12, 13). There was no soap or shampoo, no "Turkish bath," and to say that "it requires no tub" shows ignorance of the terracotta bathtub found by Schliemann. On the grave stelae of Mycenae (p. 14) the chariots really have two men, but one has dismounted and is in front ready to fight. The purpose of the chariot was to carry the warrior to the battle and not to fight from. The art is typically Mycenaean and not "distinct from the Mycenaean" (p. 15). But then Prentice believes (p. 27) that the Mycenaeans were not Greeks of any kind. The discussion of Tholoi is bad and would have profited by a reading of such articles as Pfuhl, "Zur Geschichte des Kurvenbaus" (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXX [1905], pp. 331-74). More than "a little of its circular foundation" of the tholos in Athens has been found (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV), and to say (p. 18) that "the best preserved one is at Eleusis" is careless, since there is none at Eleusis. In note 20 occurs the same mistake, where Epidaurus and not Eleusis must be meant. The silver bowl (p. 20) is a rhyton and, though broken before put in Grave IV at Mycenae, was much more complete than Prentice believes, since many more fragments were found and published by Staïs, *Ath. Mitt.*, XL (1915), pp. 45-52, 112, Pls. VII-VIII. The new fragments show that an enemy is landing by boat and the city is defending itself against an attack from the sea. Schliemann, Staïs, and Tsountas are to be preferred to Bury, who had no authority for attributing the rhyton to "one of the rock-tombs." On one of the Vaphio cups a bull is not "goring a hunter" but a lady toreador has her legs around the bull's horns. The description of the Tiryns frescoes (p. 22) is not entirely correct (see now, Duell Oettinger, "A Review of the Problem of the Tiryns Frescoes," *Archaeological Studies from the Museum*, II [1942], pp. 190 ff.). The throne in the Palace of Minos is now at the end of the council chamber (p. 29) but in the middle. There is little about the Palace of Minos and its wonderful works of art. It is said (p. 28) that from 2000 to 1600 B. C. "a Minoan kingdom came and to control Crete, the kings of which were perhaps at least nominally

vassals of the Egyptian sovereigns." The Cretans at this time were vassals of no other nation. Few, if any, Mycenaean objects have been found in Macedonia. The discussion of Greek colonization is weak, and I find no reference to Burn's good article, "Dates in Early Greek History" (*J. H. S.*, LV [1935], pp. 130-46) or to his book, *The World of Hesiod* (1936). There is no reference to Hecataeus, who is important for early history and genealogies (p. 45), nor to other logographers such as Xanthus, Charon, Hellanicus, who with Hecataeus were ably treated by Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (1939). According to Prentice, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* existed in written form in the sixth century B. C. (p. 42), and writing "was not introduced among the Greeks until the eighth century B. C." What about the writing on tablets of the twelfth century B. C. found at Pylos, which may prove to be Greek in Cretan characters? In any case this is writing in Greece before 700 B. C. For the inscription on the Dipylon jug (pp. 42-43), which might be of the eighth century, and with regard to which it is not so uncertain "where or when the vase itself was made," better references could be given to *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII (1918), p. 141; *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVI (1921), pp. 339-44; *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 27; *Mus. Belge*, XXXVII (1923), pp. 307-9; *Klio*, XVII (1921), pp. 262 f., 267; and to Rodney Young (*Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 228), who there wrongly says that the inscription is not Attic.

Not all ancient traditions agree in assigning Homer "to the eastern side of the Aegean." Salamis, Argos, Athens, Egyptian Thebes, Thessaly, Ithaca, Pylos, even Rome (Suidas), etc., are mentioned in ancient epigrams or by Lucian. Prentice is skeptical of much in Homer. "It is hardly conceivable that in the Homeric Age the siege of a town could have lasted more than a few months" (p. 49). In view of what male and female toreadors did at Cnossus to make a Minoan holiday, there is no impossibility, as Prentice thinks, in imagining (p. 55) a man leaping from horse to horse, as described in *Iliad*, XV, 679-86. On the same page Eugeammon is spelt with one m. Tyrtaeus (p. 58) is dated in the seventh century and said to come from Miletus, and the story of the lame Athenian schoolmaster going to Sparta to help with his marching songs is not told. Prentice thinks it only probable that there was a first Messenian War and that "we have no reliable information about it." Plato (*Laws* 629 A) certainly believed that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian. Bowra (*Early Greek Elegists*, pp. 40-42) says, "There are good reasons for believing that he was born and bred a Spartan. . . . He lived, beyond question, at the time of the Second Messenian War." Some have even dated him in the fifth century. There is more than one colossal statue (p. 71) of Ramses II at Abu Simbel with Greek inscriptions. Prentice is unfamiliar with the contributions made to history by the excavations at Olynthus. The Chalcidic League, or State as I should prefer to call it, started about 432 B. C., not in the fourth century, and was not dissolved in 379 B. C. by Sparta. Sparta captured Olynthus but allowed it to keep its autonomy and government, which became even stronger, as the coins show, with eleven names of magistrates from 379 to 348 B. C. Rather than point out further peculiarities, I should like to protest against the idea (p. vii) that "not much new information about

Greek antiquity has been acquired in the last century." What about the contributions of Dinsmoor, Dow, Kolbe, McGregor, Meritt, Raubitschek, Wade-Gery, West, Wilhelm, and others to our knowledge of Greek history? What about the Tribute Lists, especially for the early years and for the assessment of 425/4, where there is space for the names of at least 388 cities to be restored. These give more information on many points than Thucydides, who says nothing about Cleon's increase in the assessment of the Empire. It would almost seem as if Thucydides himself was unfamiliar with their details. If Prentice had studied carefully recent researches, his book would have been much better. He would, for example, not have said (p. 108) that the Persians "did not dare to attempt a landing" at Phalerum after the battle of Marathon. So Herodotus, but archaeology and epigraphy prove that they brought their ships close into shore and attempted to land (*Hesperia*, IX [1940], pp. 56-59; cf. also Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1079 f.; *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 75). The history of Phyle and Thrasybulus is certainly better understood since Raubitschek's restoration of the stele set up for the Heroes of Phyle (*Hesperia*, X [1941], pp. 284-95). I could cite many other examples, but it is certain that archaeology has added much new material² and that it also has verified and supplemented many ancient literary accounts of which philologists had denied the reliability.

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The *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus Translated into English Verse with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix of New Notes on the Text by ARCHIBALD Y. CAMPBELL. London, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.; University Press of Liverpool, 1940. Pp. xxi + 95. 3s. 6d.

There are many translations of the *Agamemnon*, "probably on the whole the greatest spiritual work of man," as Swinburne said. It is like nothing else in literature, "simple and strange, grave and sensational, ornate and stiff," says Campbell. But we must read the Greek so as really to understand and enjoy the *Agamemnon*. As Mrs. Humphrey Ward said: "I shall never forget the first time when in middle life I read in the Greek the *Agamemnon*. The feeling of sheer amazement at the range and power of human thought . . . which a leisurely and careful reading of that play awakened in me, left deep marks behind." It will never be possible to convey in a translation all the great qualities of the *Agamemnon*, which has had a tremendous influence on later drama down to O'Neill's *Mourning*

² Cf. now also Rostovtzeff, "How Archaeology Restored the Past," *Review*, XXXI (1932), pp. 713-29; Deussen, "The Greek discovery of Greek Archaeology with History," in *Studies in the History of Culture, The Disciplines of the Humanities*, ed. by W. G. Lambert, I, 1935, 216.

The play has been often performed with great success in Greek in modern times. I have witnessed it at Athens and twice at Cambridge, Mass. (June 16th and 19th, 1906, when Professor Goodwin published a good prose translation with the Greek on the right-hand page and English on the left—an arrangement reversed by the Loeb Classical Library). The performance at Cambridge, England was in May, 1921, and the present translation of Campbell, based on his own revised Greek text of 1936, was acted at the University of Liverpool on the 17th and 18th of February, 1939.

The introduction contains some facts about Aeschylus and his humanistic appeal to modern times. "For in this country, at all events, the principles of liberty, of humanity, of justice based upon reason and tempered with mercy, exercise as strong an appeal as ever; and they are principles that for modern Europe are now in greater jeopardy than they have perhaps ever been. Indeed they are causes which, like all best things, not only require constant renewal if they are to be preserved in undiminished vigour, but have their existence only by and in such revitalisation." Then follow two cautions about the *Agamemnon*, that its ultimate theme is virtually the establishment among mankind of the Rule of Law and "the pace of an Aeschylean play is leisurely, and between these crises are long passages of poetic and rhetorical embroidery, serving partly to disclose the previous history of immediate issues, partly to comment upon the actual developments of the dramatic action." In section III Campbell discourses on the aims and methods of his translation. He proposes to produce something which should sound like the original, deviating from the original, if necessary, to preserve features more important. Besides sonority Campbell tries to keep in view the reader and to re-create by hook and by crook an immediate and direct intelligibility to an audience. Campbell succeeds in giving us rhythm, euphony, and cadence, even in his blank verse renderings of the iambic trimeters. He also indulges in rhetoric, and the *Agamemnon* is rhetorical and robustly rhythmical. Each little wave has a swell, a smooth back, and a tiny splash. The waves must not merely slap and slop and surely must not be dry sand. Campbell seems not to have attained his aims but has produced an excellent translation or paraphrase, diluting and dilating the original 1673 lines of Greek into 2064 English verses. Why put in such lines as "O, never fear! / This marine product stretches for thy feet" (1135-6)? There should be some sort of metrical conformity to the original in length and number of verses. Ideas in the original should be retained and ideas not in the original should be excluded. The poetical translations of Browning and Fitzgerald are superior to that of Campbell, especially that of Fitzgerald, which is all too little known. For an accurate translation Smyth's prose version in the Loeb Classical Library is excellent. The trouble with Campbell's translation is that he has adopted 600 emendations of previous scholars, 200 of his own, and has 30 more in the appendix. Moreover, the translation is often jingling and even trite. Where, however, there is jingling assonance in the Greek, as in *κρατούντων τῶν . . . γνώσει γέρον ἄν*, Campbell (1998-2002) has none and injects modern ideas like that of the bridge.

"What? threats from thee, that pliest the nether oar,
To them that, on the bridge control the ship?

Christianity and culminated in St. Paul in his praise of love (1 Cor., 13, 1 ff.) and became a part of our Western ideals of mercy, right, and justice,—a rather extravagant statement which does not take into account Christianity's ideas of humility and its positive contributions. But Miss Macurdy certainly proves that the Greeks had virtues which are lacking in some modern nations. The Homeric αἰδώς, which does not exist in the Doloneia (a subject which causes a digression on *Iliad*, X), gives way to σωφροσύνη. σόφρων and κόσμος are characteristics of the ideal democratic Athenian. But Miss Macurdy has not used the important monograph by Carl E. von Erffa, *Αἰδώς und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokrit* (*Philologus*, Supplementb. XXX, 2 [1937], pp. 1-206). Hesiod's δίκη leads to the classical δικαιοσύνη and on to the ἀγάπη of the New Testament and to Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty." Wordsworth's ode owes much to Aeschylus through Merrick, Gray, and Horace. In this connection such books as Sven Lönnborg, *Dike und Eros*, L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, R. J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, B. Daube, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen in Aischylos' Agamemnon*, E. Wolff, *Philanthropie bei den alten Griechen*, H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum* might have been read, and it is interesting to find no reference to Shorey in the discussion of Plato (p. 178). Everywhere one feels the influence of Gilbert Murray and of other English scholars such as Burnet, Thomson, Farnell, to the neglect of Americans. For example, the estimate of L. A. Post, who has written many articles about Menander and translated him, is to be preferred to that of Tarn (p. 168) who finds him the "dreariest desert in all literature." Miss Macurdy is naturally partial to Euripides, her first love. She regards his *Electra* as a protest against Sophocles' *Electra*, his *Heracles* as a criticism of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. She rates the prayer of the *Trojan Women*, a protest against the rape of Melos (884-8), higher than Sophocles' chorus on the Heavenly Laws (*O. T.*, 863 ff.). She even goes so far as to say (p. 137) that Sophocles is "not interested in ideas." Many would find as much religion and as gentle virtues in serious Sophocles as in the realistic melodramatic Euripides. As for Pindar, a reading of Robinson's little book on *Pindar, A Poet of Eternal Ideas* might have discovered more love and pity in Pindar that would have qualified the statement (p. 72) that "his range of thought is too narrow and he is too thoroughly and consciously an aristocrat by birth and intellect to be a great poet." For Solon we need references to Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator*; for Sappho to Robinson, *Sappho and her Influence*; for Theognis to Highbarger's many articles and his book on *Megara*. We miss references to Jaeger's *Paideia, the Ideals of Greek Culture*, etc. Articles also are sadly neglected, such as that on the famous drinking song about Harmodius and Aristogeiton (*C. W.*, X [1917], pp. 138-42), Professor Gulick's "Notions of Humanity among the Greeks" (*Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects* [1912], pp. 33-65), and Professor Hewitt's many articles on Gratitude (*T. A. P. A.*, XLIII [1912], pp. 95-111; XLV [1914], pp. 77-90; XLVIII [1917], pp. 37-48; LV [1924], pp. 35-51; *C. W.*, XVIII [1924], pp. 148-51; *A. J. P.*, XLIII [1922], pp. 331-43; LII [1931], pp. 30-48).

The reference on p. 78, n. 6 to Murray should be either to *The Athenian Drama*, III or better to *Euripides*, pp. xxiv ff., and the translation (cited from Murray) of Herodotus, III, 8, that "a people does none of these things," omits the word *μούναρχος*. It would be better to add "which the monarch does." On p. 77 is an inadequate translation of Pindar's famous couplet. *λιπαραί* is not "lovely" but shining, referring to the bright sunlight of Athens; *κλειναί* is famous or renowned rather than "splendid"; *δαιμόνιον* is divine rather than "marvelous." There are several errors in the book, which seems to presuppose a wide acquaintance with Greek and Greek problems and yet is meant to be popular and transliterates Greek words even to the extent of using such phrases as (p. 59) "the Moirae are called *Klothes*, Spinners." Would not the average non-Greek reader think of clothes in connection with spinners? One peculiar confusion is Atlanta for Atalanta (p. 76), the reverse of a liberty permitted itself by the University of Oxford in sending Latin felicitations to Emory University, moved in 1919 from Oxford, Georgia, to near Atlanta, for the centennial celebration in 1936, "ut vos Atalantae more scientiae poma amatoribus vestris proiciatis," a pun which introduced to America a new version of the famous footrace.

Despite irrelevancies and certain peculiarities, the book is a charming, scholarly, and interesting reminder that we should still believe in the gentler virtues of humanity, justice, mercy, and pity, in which the Greeks were not so inferior as some have supposed.

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A. H. M. JONES. *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 393. \$7.00.

Just over a century ago there appeared Otfried Müller's *Antiquitates Antiochenae*, at once a landmark in the history of scholarship and an early token of the importance which attaches to the history of the cities in the study of Greco-Roman civilization. Müller's book was followed by a long and honorable line of monographs, one of the most recent of which is Cadoux's distinguished history of Smyrna. From time to time there have also been written comprehensive studies of city administration, as for example the works of Kuhn, Liebenam, and Abbott and Johnson.

Our evidence for this phase of ancient history has grown so fast, and has become so unwieldy, that it is staggering to think of trying to master all of it, and not many scholars would have the courage or the confidence to set about writing a comprehensive and authoritative, and still readable, treatise on it. This is what Mr. Jones has done. In an earlier volume, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1927; reviewed in this Journal, LXII [1911], pp. 161-7), he collected and made available the principal material on which a study of city administration may now be based. In this volume he presents, in a series of narrative chapters, an analysis and interpretation of this material.

Jones' theme is "the development of the Greek city under the rule of the emperor." He divides his material first according to

topics. The larger sections describe the spread of civic institutions over the Near East; the city's relations with the suzerain; its internal politics; and the civic services. Within each section, chapters treat these topics in the Hellenistic age, under the Roman republic and the empire, and in the Byzantine age. A final section assays the achievement of the cities, economic, political and administrative, and cultural. The text is readable and vigorous. The notes, placed at the end of the volume, serve not only to cite the sources but to accommodate involved or controversial matters which do not belong in the body of the book.

Jones' general policy, he states in his preface, is to cite the original authorities, though he sometimes cites as well modern works which he has found especially useful. "The references are in many cases not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to give typical illustrations. . . . The reader will thus in most cases . . . be able to satisfy himself of the truth of a statement by direct reference to the original documents on which it is based instead of having to consult one or more modern works before getting back to the source of the argument." This is one of the principal points which a book of this kind raises. The charge that can be made against such a work is that it is incomplete and even superficial. On the other hand it is a great thing, in these days of many books, to get all the sources before one in one convenient volume; for, as Jones points out, his method "has the further advantage that it makes plain how slender is the evidence for many modern theories, which often pass untested on the authority of a great name." The choice of this method imposes a burden, for it calls for courage, wisdom, and skill on the part of the author, and for understanding and restraint on the part of the reader. If all these conditions can be fulfilled (and Jones carries out his part of the bargain admirably), then the result is a book which will be able, in spite of its limitations, and if you will deficiencies, to provide something that a work whose chief bulk consisted of bibliography could not give. Any specialist who reads such a book as this will think of things about which he knows more than the author seems to—or at least more than the author has chosen to give. To cite one example, one can learn more than Jones tells us about municipal building officials from W. K. Prentice's article "Officials Charged with the Conduct of Public Works in Roman and Byzantine Syria," *T. A. P. A.*, XLIII (1912), pp. 113-23 and G. M. Harper's study "Village Administration in the Roman Province of Syria" in the *Yale Class. Studies*, I (1928). Yet Jones' treatment of these officials is adequate and the reader will not be misled if he is not, in this place, furnished with the special bibliography of the subject. The thought of that other book that might be (who could write it?) must not be allowed to obscure the fact that this book and its predecessor are the only convenient—and in some cases the only—sources of reference for many of the ancient cities.

When a work possesses the magnitude and importance which Jones' has, it no longer seems impertinent or captious to offer suggestions on a few points on which supplementary information might be given in the future revisions which such a book as this deserves to have. In the present review these suggestions will be

confined to matters which concern the Roman and Byzantine periods. Jones has not given full consideration to the circus factions, the Greens and the Blues, which played such an important part in the political and social life not only of Constantinople but of the provincial cities as well, in the imperial period (cf. pp. 254, 280). The vulgate holds that these were merely sporting organizations; but it has been shown that they were much more than this (see G. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, XI [1936], pp. 617-716; Y. Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice, Phocas et Héraclius," *ibid.*, pp. 499-536; G. I. Bratianu, "Empire et 'démocratie' à Byzance," *Byz. Ztschr.*, XXXVII [1937], pp. 86-111). The factions represented the political parties of the time, and their voice throughout the eastern empire was much more powerful than one might think possible under a despotic government. The division was not merely political but was social and administrative, since it could be carried down into the location and demarcation of the quarters which the parties inhabited in Constantinople and the provincial cities. Moreover, the factions were organized as local militia and as such played a major part in the defense of the cities. They also embodied the rivalries of the religious sects, which were as much expressions of nationalism and social conflict as they were of theological disagreement. There was naturally a good bit of urban patriotism, and one of the few channels through which this could find expression was that of religious partisanship (see, for example, E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* [London, 1916]).

Another addition which the reviewer would make to the book would be a discussion of the official records which the cities kept of their histories, the *acta urbis*, and the local annals which were from time to time compiled and published. One misses, too, an adequate discussion of the social and political position of the Jews in the cities of the empire. The importance of the question of their status in the administration of the cities is exemplified in C. H. Kraeling's article "The Jewish Community at Antioch," *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, LI (1932), pp. 130-60.

Any government looks bad on paper. The Hellenistic governments and even more so the Roman administration look astonishingly bad. Here, however, we must remember that we have often precious little paper to look at. Moreover, a bad government will work, sometimes quite well, if its people want it to work. Herein may lie some of the reasons why the Roman government, in spite of crises and breakdowns, managed to last as long as it did, and, if it lasted as long as it did in the east, while it fell so comparatively quickly and easily in the west, part of the answer, perhaps a considerable part, must lie in the temper of the people. If one sometimes feels that the evidence that we do have gives precisely the opposite of the picture (even though Jones marshals it with considerable skill), and if one moves through the history of the period with an air of incredulity, it must be remembered that there is another side of the picture, disconcertingly different and often baffling, which Jones cannot give us in this book. Counterweights there must have been, and these must be sought elsewhere. Some of them, at least, are to be found in the mosaics of Antioch on the Orontes

and of Philippopolis in the Jebel Druze, in Synesius and Libanius and in Plotinus, and in the architecture of the "dead cities" of Syria. To seek the meaning of all these things must be the task of others, and for them Jones has gathered rich material. Perhaps a part of the reason why the tale of the late Roman government sometimes seems so unreal, and so singularly dreary, is that we have as yet no full-scale social and economic history in the light of which we may read Jones' narrative.

This book and its predecessor together form a monument of which any scholar might well be proud. They will be welcomed by all students who deal with such subjects, and especially by those who know from their own experience how extraordinarily difficult the author's task was.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

T. Macci Plauti Epidicus. Edited with Critical Apparatus and Commentary, in which is included the work of the late Arthur L. Wheeler, by GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH. Princeton Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xi + 464; 4 pls. \$7.50.

Good news is in great demand nowadays, and the publication of this volume would be excellent news at any time. It is, I believe, the first edition of a Greek or Latin play with complete critical apparatus and full exegetical commentary for the use of scholars, to be produced by an American. It sets a very high standard for future editors.

The editor had the advantage of using Professor A. L. Wheeler's notes on about 200 lines of the text and occasionally quotes from these notes in his commentary. Wheeler had also procured in 1930 complete photographic reproductions of the text of the *Epidicus* in manuscripts B, E, V, and J, which enabled Duckworth to make a complete collation of these four MSS. He depends on Studemund for the readings of A, and, when he thinks it worth while to mention those of F and Z, quotes them from Goetz's second edition. For the commentary he found some useful material in the editions of Ussing, Gray, and Ammendola, "but both Gray and Ussing are sadly out of date, and Gray and Ammendola are school editions" (p. ix). Wheeler and Duckworth were correct in their belief that a new critical edition and a new commentary to this rather "different" play were needed.

The short preface (pp. vii-ix) is followed by the text (pp. 3-89) with critical apparatus, which "contains full information concerning the text of A, all the variant readings of BEVJ, and the authority for departures from the reading of the manuscripts; other emendations and suggestions are relegated to the commentary" (p. viii). Duckworth's editing is conservative; he belongs to the modern school of editors who show more interest in understanding the text handed down to them than in altering it. He accepts emendations when they are clearly needed; I have found only one of his own in the text (560: *voltus turbatur tuos*; a good solution of the difficulty). He is not hasty in assuming the activity of that

somewhat outmoded villain, the *retractator*; he brackets very few lines, and only where there is really troublesome and awkward repetition.

The commentary, covering pp. 93-414 (322 pages on 733 lines), deals most impartially and completely with all the different types of problems which the play involves: textual, linguistic, metrical, historical, and those concerned with the plot and structure of the play, and its relation to the Greek original. The plot is a very complicated one, and the lack of a Plautine prologue (probably lost; cf. the commentary, pp. 97-8, 154, 207-8) makes it somewhat obscure without careful study. Various "difficulties" and "inconsistencies" have been noted and extensively discussed by scholars. In the twentieth century these discussions have moved away from theories of *contaminatio* and *retractatio* and centered largely about the speculations in regard to the nature of the Greek original made by Dziatzko (*Rh. Mus.*, LV [1900], pp. 104-10), Fraenkel, and Jachmann, among others; and most recently and exhaustively by W. E. J. Kuiper (*Het Origineel van Plautus' Epidicus* [Amsterdam, 1938]). The last-mentioned scholar believes that he can restore in full detail from the Latin plays the plot and structure of their Greek models, but his reconstructions have been considered by most of his reviewers as on the whole more imaginative than cogent, though containing many valuable analyses and ideas. Duckworth has previously given briefly in his review (*Class. Phil.*, XXXV [1940], pp. 86-90) his opinions of the various elements in Kuiper's attempted reconstruction of the original of this play, and he discusses them more fully in his commentary. He shows good judgment in rejecting 1) Kuiper's strange theory that Epidicus deceived and intended to continue to deceive the youth Stratippocles (as well as his father Periphanes) into believing that Acropolistis the harp-girl was his half-sister, 2) his belief that two different *milites gloriosi*, a Euboean and a Rhodian, appeared on the stage in the Greek play, and 3) his unnecessary and complicated theory about the use of a "check" instead of cash in the fake purchase of the hired harp-girl. He is doubtful with good reason about the existence in the Greek original of the delayed prologue spoken by a god which Kuiper invariably introduces into his reconstructions—though there must have been more exposition *somewhere* in the early part of the original than is now found in the Latin play.

Duckworth accepts, in common with the great majority of scholars, the theory, originating with Dziatzko, that in the Greek original Stratippocles married his half-sister Telestis. Since I have already published an article (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXI [1940], pp. 217-29) in which I attempt to show that there is no evidence at all for the marriage of ἀδελφοὶ ὁμιόπατριοι in New Comedy—a favorite type of dénouement in Kuiper's reconstructions—I shall not discuss the matter further here.

The commentary is full and complete and easily one of the best, four plates which show lines of the play as they appear in the MSS. BBEVJ, a list of abbreviations, a thirteen page Plautine bibliography, and an index to the commentary. The up-to-date bibliography will be most helpful; it can be used advantageously in connection with

Enk's comprehensive bibliographies of Plautus in his *Handboek der Latijnse Letterkunde* (II, 1 and 2 [Zutphen, 1937]).

Some readers would have expected Duckworth to preface his text with a general introduction to the play and the complicated problems connected with it, and he may receive some adverse criticism for not having done so. He has preferred to put all this prefatory material into the commentary, which contains short introductions to all the scenes of the play. He asks his readers to go through the play with him; they should withhold their criticism until they have done so. They will find all the information in the notes, and with no more repetition than would have resulted from the more usual arrangement. Those interested in special topics will find the Index to the commentary useful.

The *Epidicus* is a lively play with a rather original plot. It is to be hoped that this edition will encourage its reading in graduate courses, and even with college upper-classmen who are majoring in the Classics; and that Professor Duckworth will be able to publish similar editions of some of the other less commonly edited Plautine plays.

The volume is most accurately and beautifully printed in large, clear type. Classical scholars can be grateful to Mrs. A. L. Wheeler, the Princeton University Press, the Dean West Classical Foundation, and the Princeton University Research Fund, as well as to the editor, for making its production possible.

CLINTON W. KEYES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Livy, Vol. VI (Books XXIII-XXV). With an English Translation by FRANK GARDNER MOORE. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press; London, William Heinemann, 1940. Pp. x + 519; 5 maps. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

With this translation the Loeb Livy has reached the tenth of thirteen volumes, leaving VII, VIII, and XIII to bring it to completion. Professor Moore, the fourth to share in the task, has produced a translation which is, for the most part, good and readable. It preserves the rapidity, if not always the grace and richness of the original. "And herein Livie of all other in any tounge, by myne opinion, carrieth away the prayse."

Horace laid down the principle:

nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
 interpretres;

and St. Jerome, quoting him with approval, added: *si ad verbum interpretor, absurde resonant*. In certain passages this seems to be the case with the present translation: there are some awkward and stilted sentences (one on p. 119 lacks a verb); a too frequent use of the English to translate the Latin participle; a continual use of the words "and," "for" to begin a sentence (on p. 443 five sentences begin with "and"); Kalends appears on p. 113 but the date on p. 383 is after the modern reckoning; conscript fathers

(p. 359) is not a translation and conveys little, if any, meaning to an English reader.

The limited space available for notes in the series has been well used. An excellent appendix on Syracuse, which shows, as does the translation of the passages on the siege of the city, a personal acquaintance with the place; a good index; maps of southern Italy, Sicily, and Spain; plans of Syracuse and Tarentum, complete this useful volume.

D. O. ROBSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO.

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. Second Edition. Baltimore, 1940. Pp. 192. (*William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series*, published for Yale University by the Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia [removed 1941 to Iowa City].)

The standard work on the pronunciation of Greek was for many years Blass' volume, *Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen* (Berlin), the third edition appearing in 1888; the corresponding volume for Latin was Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein* (Heilbronn), which came out in 1885. Both these were supplanted in 1920 by the first edition of Sturtevant's *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Chicago), which went out of print some years ago. The present second edition of this invaluable work is thoroughly revised and much enlarged, with complete utilization of the recent literature. It will be the standard, indispensable work on the subject for years to come.

There are not many major points on which Sturtevant has changed his views. The most important is that he now regards the Greek voiced mutes β , δ , γ as voiced aspirates in the classical period, changing to voiced spirants in Hellenistic (§ 90b, § 94, § 95, § 97); but the evidence for aspiration seems to me to be very slight and unconvincing. Further, the summary (§ 97) on the pronunciation of the mutes disregards the quite certain variation of κ , γ , χ between velar and palatal varieties in accord with the nature of the vowel which followed. The citation of abnormal orthographies without the equivalents in normal spellings makes at times (e.g., in § 52) a considerable difficulty in following the argument; not all users of the book can be expected to appreciate the rarer words thus disguised. In fact, there are many paragraphs which will be rather puzzling to teachers who ought to have this book, and use it, if they have only a scant command of phonetic and linguistic terminology; but perhaps I am afflicted with an unwarranted eagerness for speaking in simple terms.

The major defect is still that on the nature of the accent of Greek, the author continues to follow a view presented in *Class. Phil.*, 11 (1907), pp. 441-60; that the Greek teachers who came to Rome in the second century B. C., and later, infected their students with the practice of marking Latin with an accent which was essentially one of musical pitch, while other persons continued to

use the older Latin accent characterized by greater energy of articulation—a social difference of dialect which disappeared by 300 A. D., when the accent of energy again became universal; see my *Sounds of Latin*, § 66 and note 2, for literature and details. It is only thus that one can explain the phenomena of the language which are produced by a stress accent and also the statements of the Latin grammarians that Latin had a pitch accent like that of Greek; and can explain also the apparent conflict of word accent and of metrical accent in Latin verse, the solution here being that in verse the word accent was (as in the speech of cultivated Romans) an accent of higher musical note, and the metrical accent was one of greater energy. Sturtevant had no allusion to this theory in his first edition, when Abbott's article had appeared but mine had not; in this second edition he rejects it on grounds enumerated in § 213, which fail, however, to convince me.

Now a series of small points. P. 19: it is confusing to transliterate Greek inscriptional Η, where it has the value of [h], by the letter η; the customary practice is to use h. § 5a: "Varro allowed theoretic considerations to convince him that h was not a letter!" it should be explained that Varro always says *littera* when he means "sound," and never uses *sonus* in the meaning "sound." § 33: the attitude that the first vowel of Eng. *vacation* represents approximately the sound of Greek ε and of French é does not agree with my appreciation of the normal pronunciation of *vacation*. § 35: the Old Persian proper names which he cites as *Kambujiya*, *Huvaxštra*, *Vištaspā*, are respectively, in the Old Persian orthography, to be normalized as *Kabūjiya* (the *m* is not written), *Uvaxštra* (the *h* is not written), *Vištāspa* (the long vowel is definitely indicated in the writing); these errors are in the first edition also, p. 133. § 54b: *τάχυρος* should be *ταχύρος*; and note 51 is in error, since a semivocalic glide may precede as well as follow a *u*-sound. § 85, on the origin of certain voiceless semivowels, liquids, nasals, from clusters containing a laryngeal consonant, is new material, and may well be the solution of this puzzling problem. § 89: in giving the value of Greek σ Sturtevant identifies English, French, German *s*; but *s* is alveolar in English and German, and dental in French. The same inaccuracy is found when equivalents for Latin *s* are given, § 187.

Now a few items from the chapters on Latin. § 120: Sturtevant speaks of "the change of originally unaccented *a* and *o* to *e* in closed syllables"; but *o* changed to *e* only in medial open syllables and when absolutely final. § 126-§ 126d: Sturtevant gives no satisfactory interpretation of the vowel variation *maximus* / *maxumus*. § 139: he lists *neutiquam* among the words containing the diphthong *eu*, although metrical evidence shows that this was *ne* + *utiquam*, with elision, giving *nūtiquam*. § 145: he fails to list, among the exceptional diphthongs arising by contraction, *ou* in *prout*, Horace, *Sat.*, II, 6, 67. § 193c: he regards the failure of *m* to become [ŋ] before *qu*, while it does make the change before *c*, as indicating a labial affection of the *q* from the beginning of the articulation; but all the examples (as in *quamquam*, *quicumque*) can be explained as the result of recomposition. Against his view is also the fact that **kom* + *voveō* became *convoveō*; and this change, even should

it be by analogical extension, indicates that the labial element could hardly be strong enough in *qu* to require the retention of *m*. P. 192, addendum to § 178b: he states that *gm* was not [ɣm] because *e* remains unchanged in *segmen*, *tegmen*, whereas *e* regularly became *i* before [ɣ]; but these words have late *gm*, developed by syncope, cf. *tegimen(tum)*, *tegumen(tum)*, and may have kept the *e* by the influence of *secō* and *tegō*.

These are minor points, however, and I heartily commend Sturtevant's *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* to every person who is interested in knowing how the ancient Greeks and Romans spoke Greek and Latin. For we do know, within very narrow limits of error, how they spoke; and I am confident that any modern who spoke Attic Greek according to the tenets set forth in this volume would be understood by Xenophon and Euripides, and anyone who spoke Latin in this way would be understood by Caesar and Cicero: only he would have to follow these tenets with accuracy (unlike most classicists of my acquaintance), and of course he would still be recognized as a foreigner. But what a thrill it would give both parties to the conversation!

ROLAND G. KENT.

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JAMES MORTON PATON, editor. *The Venetians in Athens 1687-1688*. From the *Istoria* of Cristoforo Ivanovich. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 104. (*Gennadeion Monographs*, I.)

The *Gennadeion Monographs* published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens are to be devoted to source material in the Gennadeion Library at Athens and to general studies in related fields. Most volumes in the series will therefore probably be concerned with problems in Byzantine, mediaeval, and modern times. This first volume does not present material from the Gennadeion Library, but extracts from a manuscript in the Harvard College Library, the *Istoria della Lega Ortodossa contra il Turco*, by Cristoforo Ivanovich, Canon of San Marco. A few sentences therein are sure to interest all lovers of Greek antiquities. "Avvertito Sua Eccellenza [Francesco Morosini] trovarsi nel Tempio di Minerva le monizioni de' Turchi insieme con le loro principali donne e figli, stimandosi ivi sicuri per la grossezza delle mura e volti del detto tempio, ordinò al Conte Mutoni che dirizzasse il tiro delle sue bombe a quella parte." After some technical details about how the gunners overcame the difficulties of hitting their target, the author concludes "... restando in questo modo rovinato quel famoso Tempio di Minerva, che tanti secoli e tante guerre non aveano potuto distruggere."

That Morosini and his gunners did this is, of course, the story of the day, and is not corroborated by other accounts, and as the editor says, "they have no better authority than the wish to magnify the importance of the Captain General." Ivanovich's narrative as a whole, although not this detail, is based largely on the *Attesti* or official

communiqués issued by the Venetian Inquisitori di Stato. In calling attention in the notes to the many cases where Ivanovich's version of events differs from other accounts, such as Morosini's own reports, the editor generally concedes the greater accuracy of other sources. He claims for the *Istoria* only that it "may well present a fairly complete and accurate picture of the course of events as seen by an intelligent Venetian in the somewhat uncertain light of official statements."

The notes and the four appendices show an extensive use of Italian archival materials. The new sources most fruitfully tapped by Professor Paton are the reports sent from Venice by agents of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They touch on many details of the war and furnish valuable light on political rivalries in Venice.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

FREDERIC C. LANE.

THOMAS A. KELLY. *Sancti Ambrosii Liber de Consolatione Valentiniani*. A Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary. Washington, D. C., Catholic Univ. of America, 1940. Pp. xxi + 324. (*Patristic Studies*, LVIII.)

This dissertation is a welcome addition to the literature concerned with St. Ambrose, who has been called by De Ghellinck ". . . le père de l'hymnologie latine du peuple chrétien." Dr. Kelly has published this short text of the *Consolatio*, with an excellent translation (the first complete translation into English to this reviewer's knowledge), preceded by an introduction which deals with the historical value of the work, as well as grammatical analyses and a study of its prose rhythm. A lengthy commentary follows the text and translation.

This touching funeral sermon on the death of Valentinian was delivered by the Bishop of Milan in 392. It is written in a beautiful, rhythmic prose and is an excellent example of the literature of transition, in which the rhetorical style of the ancients is sweetened by the gentle spirit of early Christianity. Dr. Kelly is to be congratulated on his success in transferring this spirit into English.

The footnotes to the Introduction are occasionally superfluous, since they often deal with self-evident or non-controversial material, such as, for example, notes 39 and 40 on page 21. Although Dr. Kelly's treatment of Ambrose's language is fairly complete, it is to be regretted that he neglected to compare it more fully with other works by the same author, in order to determine its relationship to what the late Mgr. Schrijnen called "le latin chrétien," Vulgar Latin, and the work of contemporaries such as Ambrose's disciple St. Augustine, certain portions of whose work were intentionally vulgarized. In this connection see the latter's *Retractationes*, I, 19. Marrou's superb *St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938), should have been included in the general bibliography.

LOUIS FURMAN SAS.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 223. \$2.75.

Both the specialist and the beginner owe Professor Goodenough a debt of gratitude for this very valuable *Introduction to Philo*. It is easily the best book to place in the hands of the student and at the same time it affords the specialist the best balanced view of Goodenough's own studies which have contributed so much to a reappraisal of Philo's significance for the history of religion.

Anyone competent to write an introduction has already arrived at certain conclusions. It is a disservice to the reader to pretend otherwise. The test of a good introduction is whether the author deals fairly with his materials, revealing both the objections to his thesis raised by competent scholars and the extent to which the thesis is unsupported, as yet, by evidence. Judged by these standards Goodenough has produced a model introduction. His own thesis, i. e. that Philo is the key to an understanding of Hellenistic philosophy which serves as the bridge between normative Judaism and Hellenistic Christianity, is clearly stated in the preface and is apparent throughout the book. This thesis is not unduly pressed, however, and the author not only acknowledges the limitations of his own competence, e. g. in the field of halachic studies, but also states the task awaiting the investigation of the scholar.

Beginning with a chapter on Method, the author deals in successive chapters with Philo's Writings, the Political Thinker, the Jew, the Philosopher: Metaphysics, the Philosopher: Man and Ethics, and the Mystic, followed by a biographical note and index. Goodenough's special contributions are to be found, in summary form, in the chapters on the Political Thinker and the Mystic, but the other chapters are hardly less illuminating. To cite but one example, no student of Paul can afford to miss the discussion of Philo's conception of man on p. 152 and following.

While this reviewer happens to share Goodenough's thesis at least to the extent of regarding it as the most useful hypothesis for further studies, he believes that the introduction will prove equally useful to those who dissent. Philo can no longer be regarded as an isolated, if intriguing, figure in the history of religious thought. All serious students must accept the challenge to integrate Philo in the total picture. This, again, is the service a good introduction should render.

One cannot refrain from comment on the clarity and vigor of the author's style as well as the sense of interest and even excitement he communicates to the reader. The dedication to the staff of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America is not only a graceful gesture but in keeping with the finest tradition of scholarship and worth noting in such a time as our own.

ALEXANDER C. PURDY.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Bloch (Bernard) and Trager (George L.). Outline of Linguistic Analysis. Baltimore, *Linguistic Society of America*, 1942. Pp. 82.

Bloomfield (Leonard). Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages. Baltimore, *Linguistic Society of America*, 1942. Pp. 16.

Duckworth (George E.). The Complete Roman Drama. All the extant comedies of Plautus and Terence, and the tragedies of Seneca, in a variety of translations. Edited, and with an introduction. New York, *Random House*, 1942. 2 vols. Pp. xlv + 905; 971. \$6.00.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, LIII. Cambridge, *Harvard Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. 184.

Howard (Leon). The Connecticut Wits. Chicago, *Univ. of Chicago Press*, 1943. Pp. xiii + 453. \$4.50.

Lindner (Gladys Dudley). Marcel Proust. Reviews and Estimates in English. Stanford University, *Stanford Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xviii + 314. \$3.50.

McGeachy (John Alexander, Jr.). Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West. Chicago, Private ed. distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries, 1942. Pp. iii + 203. (Diss.)

Minar (Edwin L.). Early Pythagorean Politics in Practice and Theory. Baltimore, *Waverly Press*, 1942. Pp. ix + 143. \$2.00. (To be ordered from Connecticut College Bookshop, New London, Conn.) (*Connecticut College Monograph*, No. 2.)

Nyikos (Lajos). Athenaeus quo consilio quibusque usus subsidiis Dipnosophistarum libros composuerit. Basel, *Friedrich Reinhardt*, 1941. Pp. 117.

Ringler (William). Stephen Gosson. A Biographical and Critical Study. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. viii + 151. \$2.00. (*Princeton Studies in English*, XXV.)

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXIV, 4

WHOLE No. 256

WHEN WAS THE ALEXANDRIAN CALENDAR ESTABLISHED?

All those who have occasion to deal with Egyptian documents of the Roman Imperial period and all those who are concerned with the more detailed history of Egypt in Roman times come to be very familiar with the calendar which is variously named the "Alexandrian," the "Fixed," or the "Julio-Egyptian." The exact details of this calendar, and especially the precise terms of the coördination between this Alexandrian calendar and the Julian calendar, are set forth quite fully and conveniently in all handbooks of chronology and of papyrology.

Also very familiar to all students of these subjects is the older Egyptian calendar of exactly 365 days each year, usually called the "Wandeljahr" or the "Revolving" year from the circumstance that being approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ day shorter than the natural year it necessarily falls back through the seasons at the steady rate of 1 day every 4 years. And to a certain extent—but a diminishing extent¹—this calendar too continued in use in Roman Egypt alongside the fixed Alexandrian calendar.

In the details of the arrangement of their months and days the older revolving calendar and the newer fixed Alexandrian calendar are precisely alike, except for the addition of 1 extra day in the fixed calendar each "leap" year, as we would say in modern terms. That is to say, the new Alexandrian calendar is simply the older calendar so modified as to prevent for the future its steady movement back through the seasons of the natural

¹ The best general estimate of the extent of the continued use of the revolving year will be found in U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I (1899), pp. 790-806; and for the continued use of the revolving calendar in astronomical texts see more recently O. Neugebauer, "Egyptian Planetary Texts," *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XXXII, part II (1942), p. 230 and note 25.

year. Hence, in considering the problem of when this new Alexandrian calendar was established, the question becomes more precisely: At what point was the old revolving year arrested in its movement and so transformed into the Alexandrian year?

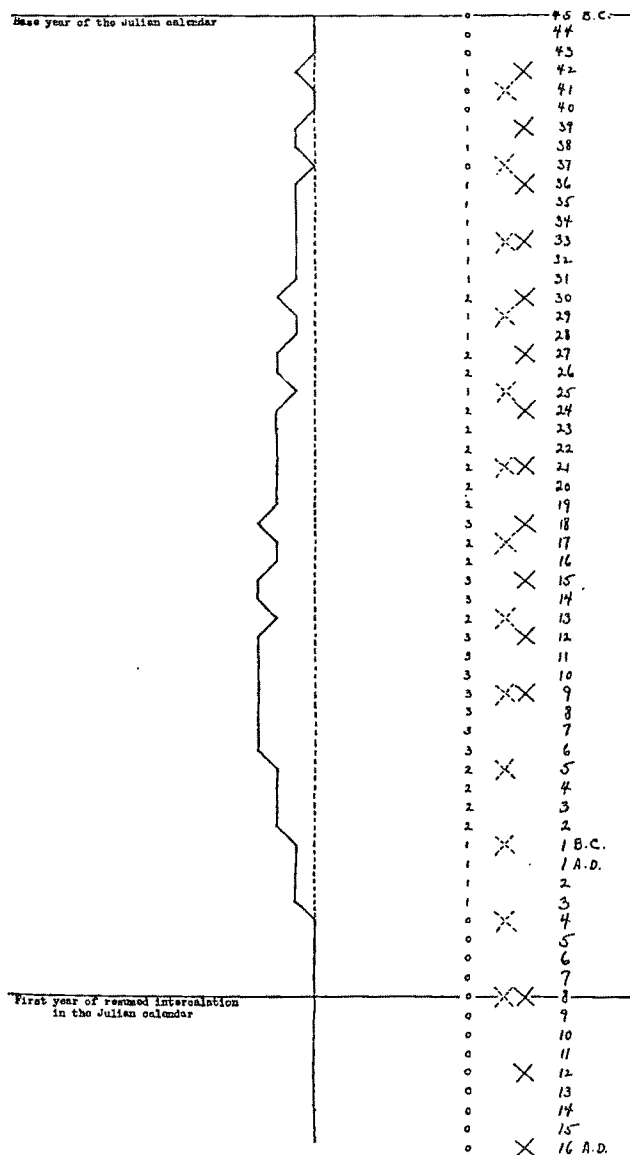
This very simple yet quite exact statement of the problem might very well lead anyone who is not familiar with the literature of the subject to wonder how it can possibly be true that this problem has in fact constituted a crux around and about which much paper, ink, and conjecture have been expended by modern scholars, particularly since the 50's of the past century.² For the sake of clarity and simplicity the present paper will not enter into a detailed critique of this literature. To do so would require much space and would contribute nothing truly essential to the solution of the problem itself. This paper will deal only with the pertinent evidence and aim no higher than to let the simplest and the neatest explanation stand visible.

Since the elements of the problem are so conveniently adaptable to graphic exposition, and more particularly because the existing literature demonstrates that one man only has in fact, without the aid of visualization, succeeded in seizing and holding the essential features of the solution,³ it appears advisable to organize the demonstration as a series of charts, accompanied by necessary notes and supplementary discussion.

By way of preface it should be said that the data upon which these charts are based are, in every particular, common and accepted knowledge among students of this problem, and more generally among students of this portion of the field of technical chronology. It is true that within the past hundred years several new items of evidence have come to light from the fields of epigraphy and papyrology, but, as it happens, each of these new items of evidence, though very welcome, has merely confirmed data already well known. In short, the following charts might

² The most convenient guide to the essential items of this literature is the bibliography in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I (1906), p. 236. More recent writings have been equally puzzled, without exception, though without the heroic length and fertile device of their predecessors.

³ He was Ludwig Ideler. See immediately below, and pp. 397-8 below, where his statement of the solution is quoted in full at the conclusion of this paper. It will be noticed that though Ideler stated his solution in the clearest German he did not succeed in being understood by his immediate successors in this field.



KEY: The solid line represents the course of the Julian calendar as it was actually in use; the jagged line represents the course of the Julian calendar as it ought to have been, but was not, in use among the Romans.

Along the right margin the years in which intercalary days were actually inserted are indicated by crosses in solid line; the years in which intercalary days ought to have been, but were not, inserted are indicated by crosses in broken line. Also shown in the right margin is, year by year, the total current divergence between the actual and the ideal calendars.

have been drawn up equally well more than one hundred years ago; and, as we shall see, there is no essential feature of these charts which was in fact unappreciated by Ludwig Ideler, the father of the modern study of chronology, when he wrote his epoch-making book in 1825.

CHART I (p. 387)

45 B. C. to 16 A. D.

The divergence between the *ideal* Julian calendar and the *actual* Julian calendar because of the over-frequent intercalation carried out by the Roman priests between 45 and 9 B. C., followed by the re-convergence of the *ideal* and the *actual* calendars because of the omission of intercalation in 5 and in 1 B. C. and in 4 A. D.; * to show, in each year, the exact amount of the current divergence between these two forms of the same calendar.

This chart is not restricted in its application to the case of any single date. The relative positions indicated in this chart may be applied to the case of any specific day of the Julian calendar; except, of course, that in leap years, since the positions indicated take into consideration the insertion of the intercalary day, they are applicable only to the part of the year following that insertion.⁵ So, to take as example August 31st, the date that becomes involved in Chart IV below, the present chart shows that in 30 B. C. the actual, but incorrect, Julian calendar had fallen two days behind the correct Julian calendar. Hence, August 31st in terms of the correct Julian calendar is seen to have fallen, in that year, on August 29th in terms of the actually current calendar.

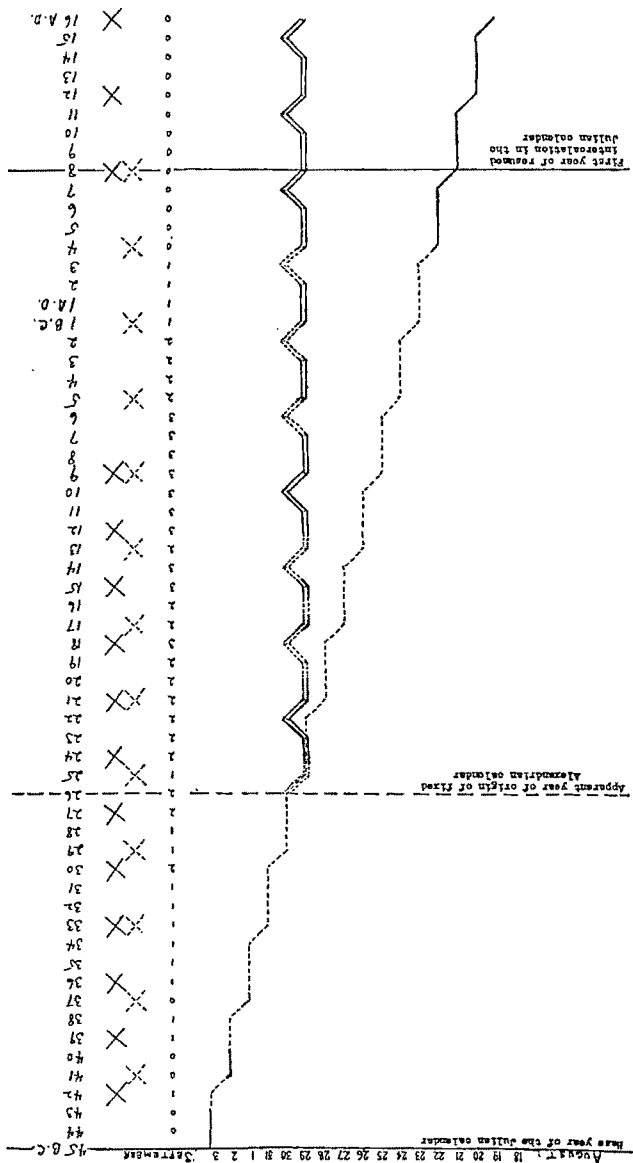
CHART II (p. 389)

45 B. C. to 16 A. D.

The retrocession of the first day of the old Egyptian revolving year in terms of the *ideal* Julian calendar, together with the position of the first day of the new fixed Alexandrian year in terms of the same calendar; to show the *apparent* point of original divergence between the old and the new Egyptian calendars.

* The evidence for this irregularity in the Julian calendar is Solinus, I, 46-7; Macrobius, I, 14, 6 and 13-15; and Suetonius, *Aug.*, 31. A convenient modern statement of this evidence is found in W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (1928), pp. 104-5.

⁵ The intercalary day was inserted on *VI Kal. Martias* (= February 25th) in current Roman practice; see, most conveniently, Kubitschek, *Grundriss*, p. 104.



Key: Broken lines are used to indicate all features of the chart which had no actual historical existence, being simply ideal reconstruction or projection of the correct course of the Julian calendar system. Solid lines are used to indicate all features of the chart which do in fact coincide with the actual historical course of the Julian calendar system.⁹ The single broken line indicates the position of the first day of the revolving year in terms of the ideal Julian calendar. The double broken line indicates the position of the first day of the Alexandrian year in terms of the same ideal Julian calendar.⁷ Just as in Chart I the actual leap years are indicated by crosses in solid line, the correct but merely ideal leap years are indicated by crosses in broken line. Also, the total current divergences between the actual and the ideal calendars is indicated year by year.

The body of evidence upon which this chart is based is extensive and various. Since this evidence has already been marshalled several times,⁸ it will suffice here to point out its essential character and then the precise limits of its bearing upon the problem we are seeking to solve.

Essentially each item of this evidence, however various its origin or its purpose, whether it be a scrap of papyrus document, a poorly cut, rough-appearing inscription,⁹ a set of charts to serve astronomers and astrologers,¹⁰ or a book of antiquarian lore,¹¹ serves us to one end only: to establish in some precise year the exact amount of the accumulated divergence between the old Egyptian revolving year and the fixed Alexandrian year.¹² And, since we do in fact already know the rate at which the divergence accumulated, Chart II could just as well be con-

⁸ Of the several cases where solid lines stand on the chart in direct connection with broken lines, the reason for the solid line from 45 to 43 B. C. and for the solid lines from 4 to 16 A. D. will appear from a comparison with Chart I; the reason for the solid line from 41 to 40 B. C. and at 37 B. C., and for the solid lines from 24 to 20 B. C., at 17 B. C., at 15 B. C., from 12 to 7 B. C., from 5 to 3 B. C., and from 1 B. C. to 2 A. D. will appear in Chart IV.

⁹ It will be noted that the curious eccentric course of this double line, as also of the solid double line in Charts III and IV, is due to the established practice of inserting the intercalary day at the very end of the Alexandrian year which was ending late in August of the Roman year preceding the Julian leap year. All the more extensive handbooks contain a statement of this phenomenon. For an especially clear statement see T. C. Skeat, "The Reigns of the Ptolemies, with Tables for Converting Egyptian Dates to the Julian System," *Mizraim*, VI (1937), p. 21.

¹⁰ Most extensively and conveniently in Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I, pp. 789-806 and in F. Hohlmann, *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden* (1911), pp. 48-50.

¹¹ Cf. the careless-appearing double inscription published by H. Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, X (1872), pp. 27-9 and plate.

¹² Such are Theon of Alexandria's tables showing the exact relative position of the old Egyptian revolving year and the Alexandrian fixed year in each year from 138 to 372 A. D. See the edition of H. Usener in Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, III (1897), pp. 359-81.

¹³ Censorinus, *De Die Natali Liber*, XXII, 9-12.

¹⁴ It is true that the several papyrus documents which by their mention of an intercalary day (a 6th ἡμέρα ἐπαγομένη) betray merely which years actually were leap years are no more than useful confirmatory evidence.

structed from a single item of evidence as from "all the archives of Egypt." But it is a remarkable and a reassuring fact that every single item of our evidence actually is consistent with the data yielded by every other item.

Since, then, the evidence is so abundant and entirely consistent, Chart II would appear to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the new Alexandrian fixed year must have originated out of the old revolving year at some time in the quadrennium 26 to 23 B. C. The first actual divergence would have arisen on August 29th 22 B. C., which must have been the first day of the new year for the old revolving year, but the intercalary day, and hence the last day of the old year, for the fixed calendar. This is the solution generally accepted at the present day.

It must be understood perfectly, however, that this solution, represented graphically in Chart II, is precisely nothing other than an ideal calculation, a theoretical projection back to the point of the original divergence of two steadily diverging courses. It is an *ideal* calculation, a *theoretical* projection, because in it no account is taken of the known historical course of the contemporary Julian calendar,¹³ as represented graphically in Chart I. This solution cannot therefore be entertained as representing the actual historical origin of the Alexandrian calendar.

Before proceeding to Chart III where Charts I and II are combined to show the true historical origin of the fixed Alexandrian calendar it should be emphasized that there is nothing whatsoever in the abundant and consistent evidence to support as historical fact any of the portions of Chart II represented by broken lines.¹⁴ In all calculable probability none ever existed.

¹³ W. Kubitschek, in his *Grundriss*, p. 69, note 1 remarks upon the fact that this situation as it may have affected Egypt "ist bisher anscheinend nicht berührt worden." Actually Ideler had treated the question, but his work on this problem had seemed discredited long since; cf. the conclusion of this paper, below, pp. 397-8.

¹⁴ The statement of Theon of Alexandria in his commentary on Ptolemy's tables, often quoted (as for example by Ginzel, I, p. 227 and by Kubitschek, *Grundriss*, p. 69) in support of the theory that the Alexandrian calendar was actually established in the fifth year of Augustus — 26 B. C., will bear no such interpretation. An examination of Usener's fine edition of the *Fasti* of Theon in Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, III, pp. 359-81, where also in his commentary, p. 372, Usener quotes Theon's statement in full, shows clearly the intensely practical

CHART III (p. 394)

45 B. C. to 16 A. D.

The retrocession of the first day of the old Egyptian revolving year in terms of the *actual* Julian calendar, together with the position of the first day of the new fixed Alexandrian year in terms of the same calendar; to show the *real* point of original divergence between the old and the new Egyptian calendars.

aim of the tables and the merely theoretical interest of the statement that the revolving year and the Alexandrian year began their divergence from the fifth year of Augustus. It will be noted that neither Theon nor his tables is party to any claim that such had been the historical fact. The tables extend only from 138 to 372 A. D. In his commentary Usener (p. 374) projects the tables back to the period from 30 to 21 B. C., but that is no more than to represent in a table the same theoretical point of origin stated in words by Theon and represented in graphic form above in Chart II.

The passage of Panodorus quoted by Ginzel (I, p. 227, note 2) is entirely similar to that of Theon. It likewise states only that the fifth year of Augustus served astronomers as the calculated point of origin of the divergence between the two calendars.

The evidence from 9 B. C. of a double dating in terms of the old Egyptian revolving year and in terms of the Alexandrian year quoted by Ginzel (I, p. 229) is entirely erroneous. In the first place the passage referred to in the Rhind Papyrus (*P. Rhind*, I, 5 = I h 10: d 9 in G. Möller's edition, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind* [1913]) was interpreted only as being a double dating in terms of the revolving year and the Sothic year, not the Alexandrian. Also, even this interpretation cannot stand. It is specifically rejected by Möller in his commentary, note 14, p. 75.

I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Richard A. Parker of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago, in calling to my attention a new interpretation of this same passage in the Rhind Papyrus. The double date means that Epiphi 10 in terms of the Alexandrian calendar is equivalent to the 16th day of a lunar month forming part of a twenty-five-year lunar cycle scheme based upon the Egyptian revolving calendar (cf. O. Neugebauer and A. Volten, "Untersuchungen zur antiken Astronomie IV, Ein demotischer astronomischer Papyrus, Pap. Carlsberg 9," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, Abt. B, IV [1938], pp. 383-406; O. Neugebauer, "Egyptian Planetary Texts," *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XXXII, part II [1942], pp. 242-43; and the unpublished work of Richard A. Parker). Since these lunar months were begun entirely by rule and not by observation, reference to the cycle scheme can be counted upon to yield the true date in terms of the Egyptian revolving calendar; i. e., Epiphi 10 in terms of the Alexandrian

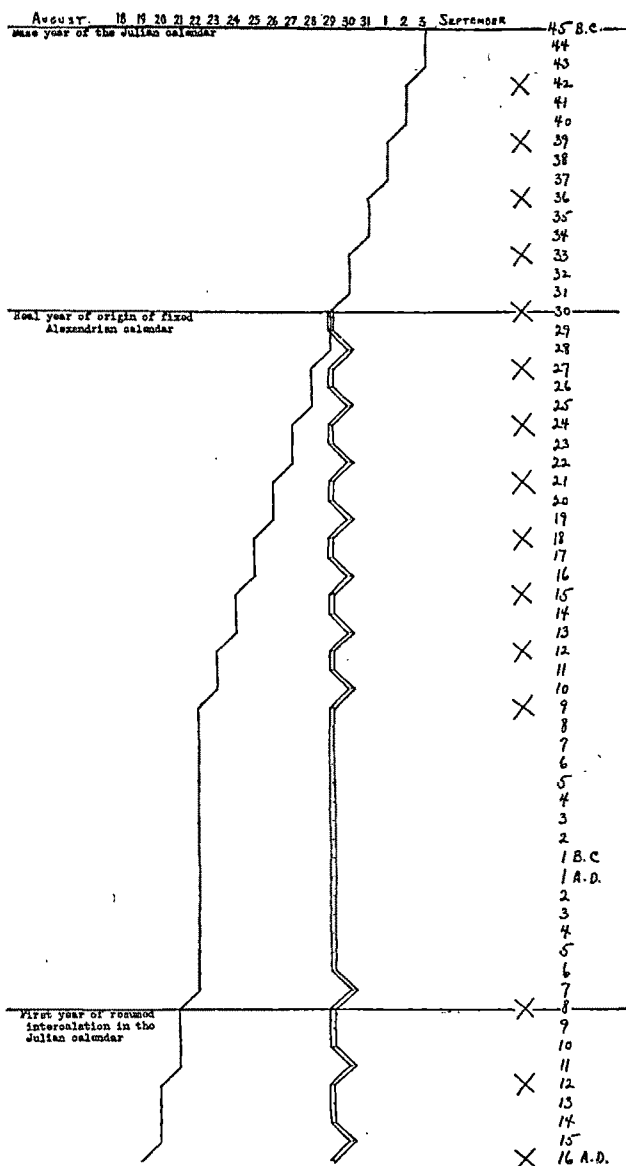
It will be noticed that in this chart intercalation has been introduced in the Alexandrian calendar at the same intervals as in the contemporary Julian calendar. That is to say, the new fixed Alexandrian calendar is treated as being fixed not essentially in relation to the natural year, but fixed rather in relation to the Julian calendar. To be sure, after the removal of the error in the contemporary Julian calendar the course of the Alexandrian calendar would no longer be disturbed; but the fundamental assumption that the Alexandrian calendar was actually subordinated to the Roman, was in fact essentially a "Julio-Egyptian" calendar, may not be readily acceptable to those who come to the problem from the Egyptian rather than the Roman side.¹⁵ It is by no means surprising, however, to find that the Alexandrian calendar was essentially a Julio-Egyptian calendar, serving the practical purpose of providing an

calendar is, in 9 B. C., equivalent to Epiphi 14 in terms of the Egyptian revolving calendar. This corresponds exactly to the indications of Chart II, which shows an interval of 4 days between the single broken line (Egyptian revolving year, in terms of the ideal Julian calendar) and the double solid line (Alexandrian year, in terms both of the ideal and the actual Julian calendar; see above, note 6). But, to be sure, the use of this lunar calendar in the Rhind Papyrus, and the calculations based upon the stated equivalence of the two statements of date, do not constitute independent contemporary evidence upon the actual employment of any of the calendars involved in our question.

I have also to thank Prof. O. Neugebauer of Brown University for his kindness in bringing to my attention the fact that the earliest Greek horoscope so far known (*P. Oxy.*, 804 [IV, p. 256]) belongs actually to 4 B. C. rather than to 4 A. D. as is stated in the original publication. Astronomical calculation shows that only the Alexandrian calendar fits the elements given; but for either the confirmation or the disproof of the present demonstration it is unfortunate that 4 B. C. is one of the years in which the double broken and the double solid lines of Chart II coincide; cf. note 6 above.

In regard to possible evidence to be found in Demotic documents I wish to record my thanks to Prof. E. Seidl of Greifswald who in 1938 very kindly examined for me his manuscript list of all existing Demotic texts.

¹⁵ Several scholars have emphasized the relation between the attempted calendar reform of Ptolemy Euergetes III in 239 B. C. and the establishment of the fixed Alexandrian calendar, as it seems to them, in 22 B. C.; cf. Ginzler, I, p. 228. These considerations need not be regarded as essentially disturbed in so far as they are concerned with the position of the calendar after the correction of the error in the Julian system.



KEY: The single solid line indicates the position of the first day of the revolving year in terms of the actual Julian calendar.

The double solid line indicates the position of the first day of the Alexandrian year in terms of the actual Julian calendar.

Only the actual leap years are indicated, and those by crosses in solid line along the right margin.

Egyptian calendar to stand in a fixed relation to the Roman. All over the Roman East are found native calendars which have been Romanized to this same extent of being brought into a fixed relation to the Julian calendar.¹⁶ The best documented of these—aside from that of Egypt—is the calendar of the Province of Asia,¹⁷ which since it was established in 9 B. C. must also certainly have followed the course of the then incorrect Julian calendar.¹⁸

It will be recognized at once that the solution of the problem as demonstrated in this chart offers the simplest and most satisfactory answer to the ever-recurring perplexity of several generations of historians as to why the era¹⁹ of Roman control in Egypt certainly began in 30 B. C. yet the corresponding calendar seemed to have been established only later. Also, in view of the relatively only meagre direct evidence available on the details of the earliest years of Roman administration in Egypt, it is of some importance to our grasp of the political history to be assured that there need no longer be sought an explanation of why the Roman administration delayed several years before establishing so essential a reform as was this for the convenient conduct of their business.

In Chart IV (p. 396) the *theoretical* position of the first day of the new fixed Alexandrian year in terms of the *ideal* Julian calendar has been projected back into the years 27, 28, 29, and 30 B. C. to make clear the curious situation in regard to the days August 31st, 30th, and 29th in 30 B. C. Here the chart shows very

¹⁶ For a brief but convenient statement on these calendars see D. H. Lietzmann, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, etc. (1934), pp. 78-81.

¹⁷ For a convenient table showing the details of this calendar and its correspondence to the other calendars in use in the eastern portion of the Empire see Lietzmann, *Zeitrechnung*, pp. 106-17, under "Ephesos." For a selection of epigraphical texts which reflect the use of this calendar see Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*, 807, note 3. Portions of the decrees passed by various cities in establishing the new calendar will be found in Dittenberger, *O. G. I. S.*, 458 and *Ann. Epigr.*, 1911, no. 142.

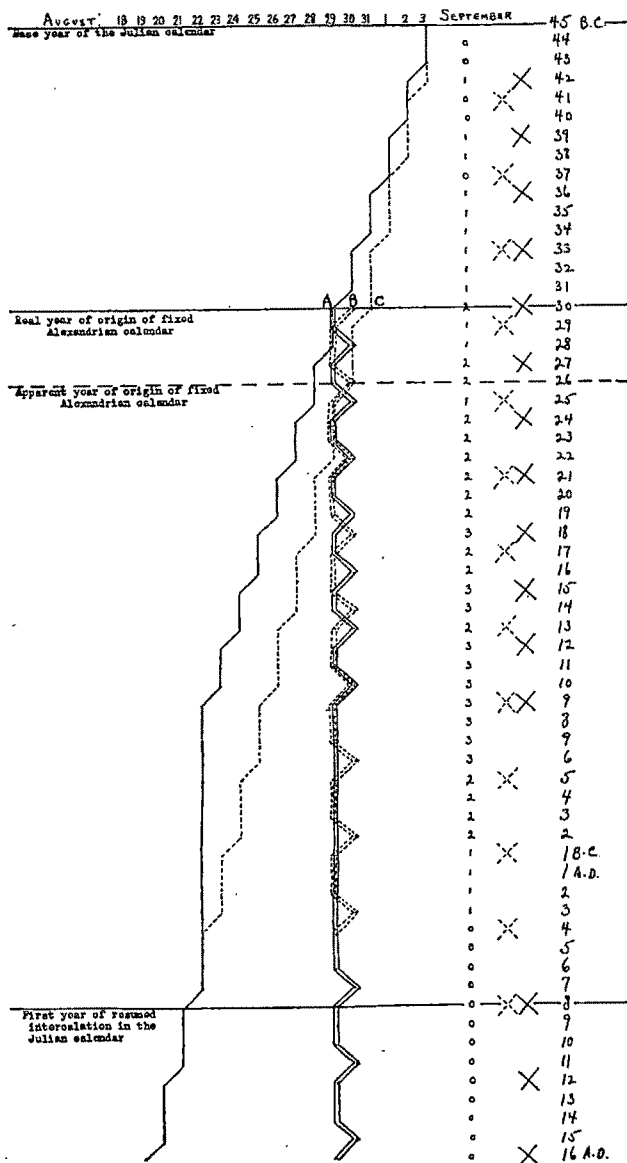
¹⁸ This is necessarily the case, for the calendar was so constructed as to assure that every month commenced on the monthly recurrence of Augustus' *nata'is* as stated in terms of the Julian calendar; cf. *O. G. I. S.*, 458, lines 69-77 and especially notes 31 and 50.

¹⁹ On the era see the recent full treatment by Wilcken, "Octavian after the Fall of Alexandria," *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), pp. 138-44.

CHART IV

45 B.C. to 16 A.D.

Charts II and III superimposed to show with maximum clarity the relation between them.



clearly how it is that while, on the one hand, the 1st of Thoth *apparently* should have fallen on August 31st if the fixed Alexandrian calendar arose from the old Egyptian revolving year in 30 B. C. (C on the chart), and while, on the other hand, if the course of the fixed Alexandrian calendar be projected back to 30 B. C. the 1st of Thoth *apparently* would have fallen on August 30th (B on the chart), the elusive 1st of Thoth *actually* fell on August 29th (A on the chart). This is the very heart of the crux that arose from failing to understand the clear statement of Ludwig Ideler at the conclusion of his masterly treatment of the problem: ²⁰ "Aus dem 31. August des richtigen julianischen Kalenders wurde mithin der 29ste im verschobenen, und der 1. Thoth der Aegypter, der eigentlich dem 31. August entsprach, rückte um zwei Tage vor. Da also die Römer, die sich zu Alexandrien befanden, am 1. Thoth der Aegypter erst den 29. August zählten, so machten die Alexandriner diesen Tag zur Epoche der Aere August's und zum Neujahrstage ihres festen nach dem julianischen gemodelten Jahrs, indem sie, als August den julianischen Kalender rectificirte, ihr Schaltwesen so ordneten, dass der 1. Thoth mit dem 29. August verbunden blieb, so wie sie den 1. August, als den Tag, an welchem ihre Stadt an die Römer übergegangen war, festlich begingen, ungeachtet der richtige Kalender schon den dritten zählte."²¹ Auf diese Weise

²⁰ *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Berlin, 1825-26), I, pp. 153-61. (The 2nd edition [Breslau, 1883] is absolutely unaltered, even to pagination.)

The fullest statement of the misunderstanding is found in A. Böckh, *Ueber die vierjährigen Sonnenkreise der Alten* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 254-85. This long and detailed discussion has some of the qualities of a nightmare.

²¹ There is a certain force in this point; but is unfortunate that the fact that this anniversary was still being celebrated in Alexandria on the 1st of August in the 5th century A. D. (Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum et Gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus* [Strassburg, 1513], VII, 3) is susceptible also of an alternate explanation: The Alexandrians *may* merely have been conforming to the practice of the Romans themselves who continued to celebrate this occasion on August 1st, as is very well known; cf. the full discussion of the point in *Note Class. Studies*, VII (1940), pp. 231-2. Of definite evidence that the Alexandrians were celebrating this occasion on a date equivalent to August 1st in the earlier centuries there is none, though it may be remarked that the Egyptian *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή* on the 8th of

lassen sich alle Schwierigkeiten, die man hierbei gefunden hat, ganz einfach beseitigen. Zugleich liegt in dieser ganzen Darstellung der Beweis, dass die alexandrinische Zeitrechnung schon im Jahr 30 v. Chr. eingeführt sein müsse."

WALTER F. SNYDER.

Egyptian months might possibly be interpreted in this sense, since August 1st 30 B. C., in the current incorrect Julian calendar, actually is equivalent to Mesori 8 in the current Egyptian revolving year, destined as it was immediately to be coördinated with the Julian calendar on the then current basis. This interpretation would be especially fitting for the known cases of the 8th as an *ἡμέρα Σεβαστή* occurring in 77, 79, and 95 A. D., years somewhat remote from the reign of Claudius whose birthday is an excellent and fully sufficient explanation of the remaining four cases which occur in 42, 45 (twice), and 46 A. D. On this point see W. F. Snyder, "*Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί*," *Aegyptus*, XVIII (1938), pp. 200, 215-16, and 225, where, however, Claudius' birthday was considered a sufficient explanation for all the known cases. On the whole question of *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* see that article *passim*, and note that the present paper is the demonstration promised in note 2, p. 208 (where, in line 2 of the note, *κδ* should be read for the misprinted *κξ*).

THREE NOTES ON THE FUNERAL ORATION OF PERICLES.

Many passages in the speeches of Thucydides are difficult, not so much because of irregularity of language or construction as because the sequence of thought is not immediately clear or because one cannot be sure what moral and philosophical ideas the speakers are taking for granted. It has always been a disputed point whether Thucydides seriously attempted to give an accurate reproduction of the style and manner of Pericles. But it has never been denied that the speeches of Thucydides share many characteristics in common, and the best way of interpreting difficulties in one speech is to look for parallels or explanations in another. Such is the method that I have tried to follow in these notes, in an effort to explain one passage which has puzzled all commentators and two others which are not so simple as they appear to be at first sight.

I

Thucydides, II, 42, 4: τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλανσιν προτιμήσας ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς κἀν ἔτι διαφυγὼν αὐτὴν πλουτήσκειν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τότε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούντες πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ [τὸ] ἐνδόντες σφύζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

(This is the Oxford text of Stuart-Jones; Hude's text in the Teubner edition is full of emendations that are needless.)

This difficult sentence really contains the central thought of the whole funeral speech, for it is here that Pericles explains and justifies the heroism of those who have fallen. Their death is to be praised because they have weighed the various choices open to them and have come to the correct and honourable decision that heroic death is preferable to life with ignominy. No one of their number shirked his duty because he preferred to ensure future enjoyment of wealth or postponed the day of danger because he

hoped that he might one day escape from poverty if he survived. They wanted to risk the chances of taking vengeance on the enemy more than they wanted to risk the chances of greater success in private life; the hazard of battle seemed to them nobler and more important than the hazard of business enterprise. Though they did not entirely discard their personal ambitions (the emendation of ἐφίεσθαι to ἀφίεσθαι is not justified), they consigned them to the realm of hope and recognized that (for the moment) fulfilment of them was something beyond their control; but they knew that they alone were responsible for the manner in which they faced the dangers of battle.

From this follows the decision that "in brave resistance itself, even in death (ἐν τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν) is true security (σώζεσθαι) to be found rather than in surrender."¹ Hitherto the

¹ Most editors have thought that παθεῖν and σώζεσθαι are contrasted and that the meaning is: "They thought it right to die resisting rather than to save themselves by surrender." Hude thought it necessary to read παθεῖν <δεῖν> μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι in order to obtain this meaning, but many (including the authors of the new Liddell and Scott) consider that ἡγεῖσθαι can be used in the sense of "to think fit." This interpretation, however, destroys the point of ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι ("in the very act of resisting"), and if one takes ἐν αὐτῷ separately ("in the danger") one is left with an impossible instrumental dative, "to die by resisting." The key is to be found in referring μᾶλλον to σώζεσθαι: "They thought that in the very act of resisting and dying was salvation to be found rather than in surrender." This position of μᾶλλον and this type of cadence in a spoken sentence are perfectly possible (cf. my brief remarks on the use of μάλιστα in Sophocles, *Class. Phil.*, XXXIII [1938], pp. 308-9). It is also very likely that σώζεσθαι refers to ultimate safety or salvation, of reputation and spirit rather than merely of life and limb; its opposite, then, would not be death but ἡ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις, as in the closing words of chapter 43. But Sophocles supplies a better parallel:

τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανῶν
ἐργοῖσι σωθῶ κάξενέγκωμαι κλέος (*Electra*, 59-60).

And again:

δέος γὰρ ᾧ πρόσεστιν αἰσχύνῃ θ' ὁμοῦ,
σωτηρίαν ἔχοντα τόνδ' ἐπίστασο (*Ajax*, 1079-80).

Cf. J. H. Finley, "Euripides and Thucydides," *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLIX (1938), p. 35.

The participle ἐνδόντες corresponds to ἀμύνεσθαι as cānentes might correspond to *in dicendo*; this type of non-symmetrical writing is not uncommon in Thucydides, cf. e.g. II, 44, 3: ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνώμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει, διχόθεν, ἐκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖα, ξυνοίσει.

question has been, What shall they strive to obtain? Do they desire victory more than they desire worldly success? But in the final crisis of battle the question becomes, What shall they try to escape? Should they fear life in ignominy where the terror lies in what people may say in the future, or should they fear honourable death, where the terror is physical and immediate? Paradoxically these men decided that the physical danger (τὸ ἔργον) was less to be feared than the shameful words of disgrace (τὸ αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου). And this was the final decision to which they held firm: they faced death and fled from disgrace.

What, then, do the closing words of the sentence add? They are clearly intended as a repetition or clarification of the τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ statement which has gone before. But in a repetition of this sort, introduced as usual by καί, some new detail is to be expected. If the main idea is repeated in τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν, the meaning must be "they escaped ill-repute rather than the terror of death" (though I cannot find any commentator who takes it in this way). This is startling Greek, but we can look for startling language when the speaker is insisting on the strange paradox that brave men have feared λόγοι rather than ἔργα and proved their fear by dying in battle. The test, however, is to be found in the structure of the sentence, which demands that the relation of δόξα to δέος be the same as that of λόγος to ἔργον, with δόξα referring to the future and δέος to the present.

The most obvious objection to this interpretation is that δόξα in Thucydides, when it means "fame" or "reputation" without further qualification, elsewhere means "good reputation";² when it means "evil reputation," some qualifying word or phrase is added in order to make this clear. The answer to this objection, however, lies in the use of ἀπαλλαγῆναι, which is regularly used by Thucydides for "ridding oneself" of something unpleasant.³ The most illuminating passage in which this word occurs is in VII, 42, 2: καὶ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις

² Cf. G. Steinkopf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Ruhmes bei den Griechen* (Diss. Halle, 1937), p. 90, who notes the surprise of the scholiast at the expression μεγάλην δόξαν εἰσέμεναι ἢ ἀνέμεναι (i.e. for good or evil) used by Archidamus in II, 11, 6 (Steinkopf has attributed the speech to Brasidas in error).

³ Cf. III, 94, 2; IV, 28, 5; 64, 5; VI, 82, 3; and especially VII, 53, 4: τοῦ κινδύνου ἀπηλλάγησαν.

κατάπληξίς ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα οὐκ ὀλίγη ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρασ μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου. The behaviour of the Syracusans here is the very opposite of that which Pericles describes; they despair because they think that there will be no end to ridding themselves of danger. This parallel passage, therefore, should dispel all doubt about the meaning of τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Another very valuable clue is to be found in the closing remarks of Pericles' second speech in Book II, where he again sketches the ideals of behaviour in a time of crisis "both for men and cities." He cautions the Athenians against being down-hearted because of the unpopularity that their imperial position has brought them. He has no patience with proposals to relinquish the empire, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνην ἀνδραγαθίζεται (II, 63, 2). Such proposals, though they may appear to be appropriate to ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, are really cowardly; they come from men who fear the immediate unpleasantness more than the consequences of surrender; and they are short-sighted because unpopularity does not last for long, whereas the fame of their imperial achievements will last forever: μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραντίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα αἰώνιος καταλείπεται (II, 64, 5). The pattern of thought is almost identical with that of the funeral speech. Pericles thinks that men should face the immediate μῖσος, just as he praises the dead for facing the immediate δέος, and remember the importance of ἡ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα for good or evil. When it is a question of choosing between unpleasant alternatives, unpopularity and death are to be accepted as less terrible than loss of empire and loss of honour. He exhorts them, therefore, to continue their resistance bravely: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγόντες ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφοτέρα κτήσασθε κ. τ. λ.

These are not the only occasions when Thucydides points the contrast between the action of the moment and the future fame or disgrace which it may involve. Brasidas, for example, finishes his speech to the Acanthians by urging them "to safeguard their own private interests and win the fairest fame for their city as a whole" (IV, 87, 6). Nicias, again, is said to be anxious to make peace because "he wished to have respite from hardship himself and to win it for his countrymen and to win fame for future time as a man who never led the city into disaster, thinking that this fame could be won by avoidance of danger and by a

man who entrusted himself least to fortune"—*ὅστις ἐλάχιστα τύχῃ αὐτὸν παραδίδωσι* (V, 16, 1). Thucydides evidently wished to present the philosophy of Nicias as the very opposite of that which Pericles praises; ⁴ it may be useful to refer to his speeches in seeking explanation of another passage in the Funeral Oration.

It remains to consider the meaning of *δι' ἐλάχιστον καιροῦ* and *τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ*. There can be little doubt that this is the correct grouping of the words, though not all the editors are in agreement.⁵ *καιρός* and *τύχη* are both favourite words of Thucydides and a hint of their probable meaning here must be sought from their use in other passages. It is clear that the dead have been unusually favoured by *καιρός* and *τύχη*, because a single action has sufficed for them to win great renown. Such good fortune is uncommon; indeed the contrast is often made between the short time needed to perform some act and the long years necessary to build up a good name or wipe out some mark of disgrace. The Plataeans point this out in their final plea to the Spartans to spare their lives: *βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίτονον δὲ τὴν δύσκειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι* (III, 58, 2). This distinction between a brief act and lasting disgrace is evidently recognized by Pericles. The moment when they faced death was indeed an important *καιρός* for the Athenians; brief though it was, their action in that moment decided whether or not they should escape the shame which only years could obliterate; this must be the reason why its brevity is emphasized.⁶ Once past, such an opportunity would never occur again.⁷ As the turning-point in their lives it can rightly be called the *τύχης ἀκμή*. Nothing, whether fortune or anything else, remains at its peak for long; ⁸ and we find Sophocles using *ἀκμή* almost as a synonym for *καιρός*.⁹ "Crisis" rather than "peak" is the word that English usage would prefer. But the use by Thucydides of such phrases as *ἐν τούτῳ τῆς τύχης*¹⁰ shows his attitude fairly clearly.

⁴ Cf. H. D. Westlake, "Nicias in Thucydides," *C. Q.*, XXXV (1941), p. 60.

⁵ Arnold's note on the passage is worth consulting.

⁶ Cf. I, 85, 1 and V, 75, 3.

⁷ Cf. III, 13, 2.

⁸ Cf. VII, 14, 1. *βραχεῖς ἀκμή· τηλορόωστος*.

⁹ *Electra*, 22: *ὅν οὐκέτι' ὀκνεῖν καιρός, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή*.
and *ibid.*, 1337-8: *τὸ μὲν μέλλειν κακὸν*

ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔστ', ἀπηλλάχθαι δ' ἀκμή.

¹⁰ *E. g.* VII, 33, 6. This is not the place to discuss fully the attitude of Thucydides towards *τύχη*. W. Nestle, "Thukydides und die Sophis-

The time was ripe—we must not forget this meaning of ἀκμή which is also common in Thucydides; fortune could not permit the opportunity to recur: and it was a critical moment, in which they chose to escape from disgrace rather than from death.

It seems worth while finally to quote without further comment two passages from the *Epitaphios* of Lysias, which are certainly echoes of this passage and seem to show that its author understood it in the way that has been suggested in the preceding paragraphs:

τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων τὰ μὲν σώματα εἰς ἄδειαν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τοῦ δέους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἤλευθέρωσαν (15).

οὐ λογισμῷ δόντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον ἀθάνατον παρά τῶν ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον (23).

II

II, 43, 1: καὶ οἷδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδὲ ἐγένοντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιῶν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυρόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτίσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρα του σφαλείην, οὐκ οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προῖέμενοι.

The only difficulty here is to decide exactly what is meant by σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν. The editors and translators generally take it as referring to an orator's speech ("judge not merely from what you hear"), because of the parenthetic clause which follows: "the advantages which anyone might describe to you at length, though you understand them perfectly well for yourselves." This interpretation, however, is not merely lacking in point, but it is very strange Greek. The emendation ἣν ἂν <τι> τις spoils the sentence even more, for it is a cardinal doctrine of the funeral speech that *logos*, though sometimes inadequate without *ergon*, is never unnecessary. I feel convinced, therefore, that the meaning of *logos* here is not to be found from the clause

tik," *Neue Jahrbücher*, XVII (1914), pp. 661-2, is quite right to reject the old view of Classen-Steup which attributed to Thucydides an attitude comparable to that of Polybius, but he has nothing to say about the passage under discussion.

which follows, but that the balanced structure of the whole sentence must be taken into account.

Later editors seem to have paid little attention to the illuminating passage quoted by Krüger from the *Oedipus Coloneus*:

πρὶν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔρως Κρέοντί τε
θρόνους ἑᾶσθαι μηδὲ χραίνεσθαι πόλιν
λόγῳ σκοποῦσι τὴν πάλαι γένους φθοράν,
οἷα κατέσχε τὸν σὸν ἄθλιον δόμον (367-70).

The *logos* in this passage of Sophocles is "reasoning" or "calculation" from which springs the desire (*ἔρως*) to avoid further pollution, and it is contrasted with the actual consequences which follow, not through any fault of their reasoning but through divine will:

νῦν δ' ἐκ θεῶν του κάλλιτηρίου φρενὸς
εἰσῆλθε τοῖν τρὶς ἀθλίῳιν ἔρις κακὴ (371-72).

Pericles here not only contrasts *logos* with *ἔρως* (*ἐραστὰς γιγνομέ-
νους αὐτῆς*), but makes the antithesis between *logos* and *ergon* dominate the whole sentence. It is already anticipated in the *μὲν* and *δέ* clauses at the beginning: *εὔχεσθαι* is *logos* and refers to an indistinct future, whereas *ἀξιοῦν* is immediately followed by *ergon*; and the contrast between *σκοποῦντας* and *θεωμένους* is a similar one.¹¹ The relation, then, between prayer and determination is represented by Pericles as similar to the relation between reasoned calculation (of universals, as the philosophers would say) and actual observation (of particulars); for it is the latter, rather than the former, which leads to passionate devotion, just as it is determination, not prayer, which leads to bravery.

Pericles has already argued at length in chapter 40 that Athenians recognize *logos* as a help, not a hindrance, to *ergon*, and that the one should supplement the other. The same point is emphasized once again in this sentence. Men should *pray* for survival, but *resolve* to be brave; they should not merely *argue* for themselves (in general) the advantages of this course, but *observe* its results (in particular) and *cherish* them as they are shown in their beloved city; they should *remember* (in their

¹¹ *θεᾶσθαι* denotes actual observation in practice. It is contrasted with *λογος* in Plato, *L'haedrus* 271 D: οὐ δὲ ταῦτα ἰκανῶς νοήσαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα θεώμενον αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄντα τε καὶ πραττόμενα, ὥς ἑως τῇ αἰσθήσει δύνασθαι ἐπακολουθεῖν. ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι πῶ πλέον αὐτῶ ὢν τότε ἤκουεν λόγων συνῶν. Cf. also Thucydides, VI, 10, 5 (speech of Nicias) and VI, 38, 3 (speech of Athenagoras).

minds) that men built up the greatness of Athens through correct reasoning (γινώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα) and honourable behaviour (ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυρόμενοι); and they should therefore determine (in each particular case) not to grudge making their own contribution to the city.

Thus it can be seen that the antithesis runs right through the sentence. Pericles has just warned his listeners that ἀξιοῦν denotes something strictly practical and concrete, as opposed to intellectual argument about general truths or mere wishes and prayer; the contrast between ἐλπίδι μὲν . . . ἐπιτρέψαντες and ἔργῳ δὲ . . . ἀξιοῦντες is now being repeated and re-emphasized.

The modern reader of the funeral speech is perhaps inclined to think that *logos* is meant to be less real than *ergon*. This is entirely wrong. It is not less real or less useful or less important for man, but less concrete and perhaps less tangible. One can already see the germ of the Socratic (or Platonic?) view of *logos* and the rational element in the soul.

There is scarcely need of proof to show that the Athenians of the fifth century liked an argument to be presented to them in terms of general principles as well as in more specific and particular terms. It was no doubt recognized long before Plato's time that the ability to appreciate general principles was one of the marks of a trained mind.¹² It seems probable, therefore, that the speeches of the Athenians in the Melian dialogue are intended to represent not only the moral deterioration of the Athenians but also their growing intellectual obtuseness. The Athenians insist from the beginning that all replies must be specific (καθ' ἕκαστον) and not in general terms (ἐνὶ λόγῳ) (V, 85); they threaten to cut short the conference if the Melians introduce general considerations or any other arguments ἢ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὧν ὁρᾶτε (V, 87); and they finish with the scornful remark that the Melians seem to confuse the uncertainties of the future with the visible realities of the immediate present—τὰ δὲ ἀφανῆ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὡς γιγνόμενα ἤδη θεᾶσθε (V, 113). Thus we see that *logos* is entirely forgotten and nothing is thought to matter except *erga*.

III

II, 42, 2: καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ισόρροπος ὡςπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη.

I have left this passage to the last as a further illustration of

¹² Cf. Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2.

the meaning of *logos* in the funeral speech. It seems to be generally supposed that *logos* here means *fame*—that these men have lived up to the good name of their city and have not disappointed the high hopes of their admirers. In the preceding chapter (41, 3) Pericles had said that Athens was the only city which advanced to the trial “in greater strength than the world expected” (*ἀκοῆς κρείσσω*); and critics have evidently assumed that the same thing is now being said of the individuals.

But the logical connection of the sentence does not justify any such interpretation. Pericles is anxious to show that in praising Athens and its institutions he has at the same time been praising those who died for Athens: “for the glories of our city which I celebrated were enhanced by the courage of these men and men like them.” The following clause, introduced by *καί*, should then be a restatement or amplification of the idea which he has not yet fully explained or justified. He says that praise of Athens is really praise of the achievements of brave Athenians. Now their achievements are *erga*; but he has already made it clear that in praising Athens he will not deal with *erga*, but rather with the ideals and traditions on which the greatness of Athens rests: τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα . . . ἐάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσας ἤλθομεν ἐπ’ αὐτὰ . . . ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον (36, 4). This praise of Athens, therefore, is a praise of *logos*—of a tradition, a system, a set of *general* ideals to which it is hoped that *particular* actions of the Athenians will conform. And when their actions do conform to this ideal, then truly can it be said that *ισόρροπός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων*: that their deeds have worthily represented the great tradition.

This is a perfectly logical sequence of thought. Praise of Athens is praise of the dead for two reasons: first because their valour has enhanced the glorious tradition, and in praising the result one is praising the deed; secondly, because their valour conforms to and illustrates the ideals of Athens and in praising the universal one is also praising the particular. The first of these reasons is obvious and needs no further explanation; the second reason—that their death is a worthy example of the behaviour to be expected from men brought up in Athenian traditions—is explained in the remaining sections of the chapter. Only by giving a logical justification of their heroism can Pericles show that they have behaved in a way worthy of the moral and intellectual greatness of Athens.

THE DAWN SONGS IN *RHESUS* (527-556) AND IN THE PARODOS OF *PHAETHON*.

The beauty of the two Greek choruses in the *Rhesus* and the *Phaethon* of Euripides which announce daybreak and its accompanying signs and sounds has been recognized, but the similarity of the choruses and the fact that one could not have been written without knowledge of the other have seldom been noted and, so far as I know, only by German scholars.¹ Pickard-Cambridge² discusses the "exquisite lyric" of the *Phaethon* without referring to its companion-piece in the *Rhesus*. Gilbert Norwood³ charmingly translates from the *Rhesus* "the magical little lyric which falls half-carelessly from the wearied sentries when the night begins to wane," but says nothing about the *Phaethon* lyric. His translation has in it something of the magic of the original, the magic that is somehow lacking in the other lovely song. Schmidt⁴ says that the freshness and warmth of the *Rhesus* song is not equalled in any other ancient tragedy. Bergk,⁵ who sees no resemblance to the style of Euripides in the *Rhesus*, observes the simple naturalness of this lyric and a quality of the folksong in it. Gilbert Murray⁶ finds it hard to think of any lyric poet except Euripides who could have written the lines about the Nightingale in the Watchers' Song. H. J. Rose,⁷ who says nothing about the Watchers' Song in the *Rhesus*, finds the corresponding passage in the *Phaethon* "lovely even for Euripides."

Since the obvious connection of the songs has received very little comment I present a comparison of them, which may be of

¹ Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* (Hamburg, 1843), I, p. 29: "Alternis autem strophis fit significatio temporis vel appropinquantis lucis venustissima, similis ei quae habetur in Phaethonte." Christ, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte* (6th ed. [W. Schmidt], 1912), I, p. 377, "gelungen ist insbesondere das Morgenlied 527-564, das freilich von einem Phaethonfragment (Berl. Klassikert. V 2, 81) abhängt." W. Kranz, *Stasimon* (Berlin, 1933), p. 265, "Eine Chorstrophe (V. 546 ff.) schildert nicht unähnlich der Parodos des früheuripideischen *Phaethon* das Erwachen des Morgens."

² *New Chapters in Greek Literature* (edited by J. V. Powell, 3rd ser., 1932), pp. 143 ff. Cf. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, p. 279.

³ *Greek Tragedy* (2nd ed., 1928), pp. 292 f.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, III, p. 614.

⁶ *Rhesus*, pp. x f.

⁷ *Handbook of Greek Literature* (1934), p. 201.

some interest as a literary problem and have some significance for the dating and authorship of the *Rhesus*. For the dating of that play I am now in agreement with this statement of E. B. Ceadel,⁸ "It is not always fully realized that, if the *Rhesus* is genuine, many of the peculiarities which are commonly considered proofs of its spuriousness may be in fact indications of its early composition when Euripides' style combined experimental innovations with close imitations of his predecessors." Ceadel (p. 72) points out that "there is no feature in the use of resolution in its iambic trimeter that is alien to Euripides' style" and even that it "possesses all the typical characteristics of the poet's first period." Cf. also p. 73, n. 4, for "indications that the *Rhesus* may be the earliest play of Euripides." Kranz⁹ suggests that a new investigation of the stylistic peculiarities of the *Rhesus* is needed to determine whether it belongs to the fourth century and so is archaistic to an unparalleled degree, or far rather is an authentic early work of Euripides from the period 458-440.

The song in the *Rhesus* is in lyrical dialogue sung by the Watchers and suited to the confusion and tumult accompanying the changing of the guard. The situation in the *Phaethon* is quiet. Maid-servants who form the chorus come from the palace singing at dawn and recount the signs and activities of daybreak, before they attend to their own tasks of preparing the palace for the wedding of Phaethon. The song naturally lacks the excitement that thrills through the Watchers' Song and fills the Nightingale Song with poignant beauty.

The *Rhesus*-Song (527-556):

Whose now the watch? Who takes my place? The early (heavenly) signs are setting and the seven Pleiads are in the sky and the Eagle is cleaving mid-heaven.

Rouse ye, why linger? Leave your beds and go on guard. Do you not see the gleam of the (setting) moon? Dawn, dawn is drawing near, Yonder star foreruns her.

Who was summoned to the first Watch?

Mygdon's son Coroebus.

Who came next?

The Paconian men woke the Cilicians, and next the Mysians, who roused us.

Now by the drawing of the lot it is time to go and rouse the Lycians for the fifth watch.

⁸ "Resolved Feet in the Trimeters of Euripides and the Chronology of the Plays," *C. Q.*, XXXV (1941), pp. 66 ff.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

CHORUS.

Ah, yes! I hear. Couched by the Simois on a blood-stained nest with voice like a harp with many strings the murderer of her child, the music-maker, the nightingale hymns her sorrow. Already the shepherds are pasturing the flocks on Ida. I hear the sound of their pipes piercing the dark. But sleep, sweet when it comes in the dawning, lays its soft spell upon my eyes.

The maids of the *Phaethon* chorus sing:

Now the Dawn rising is riding through the land. Above my head the Pleiad vanishes with the night and on the trees the nightingale sings her delicate song filling the morning with sorrow for Itys, Itys, for whom she ever grieves. And on the hills the drivers of the flocks arouse their pipes and chestnut horses awake and go to pasture. Now too, the hunters with their hounds go forth to slay the creatures of the field and by the springs of Ocean the trumpeting swan utters his melody. The fishing boats row out with fair blowing gusts of wind and hoisting sail the (sailors) cry "O gentle breeze, with storm winds stilled and a waveless sea bring us home to child and loving wife." And the sail flaps against the fore-stay.

So each man has his task. Duty and love lead me to adorn the wedding of my master with a song, for glad days that come to masters bring to servants heart to dance and sing with joyousness. But if fate should bring aught else to light, her heavy stroke brings heavy fear upon the house.

The signs of dawn at the beginning of each song are the same—the setting of the stars (called *σημεία*, signs¹⁰ or signals in *Rhesus*), the lament of the nightingale, the sound of the shepherds piping on the hills, as they pasture their flocks. The song in the *Phaethon* adds other sights and sounds and other activities of dawn. While each song is appropriate to its setting, the Watchers' Song is more keenly poignant than the song of the maids. The violent beauty of the Nightingale passage is Aeschylean. Her nest is on the bloody banks of the Simois, stained with the slaughter of battles. In the other song she is singing in the trees. In the *Rhesus* she has the strong Aeschylean epithet *παυδολέτορ*.¹¹ She laments in a voice "like a harp of many strings," a phrase that has the Euripidean stamp¹² and is more thrilling than the "delicate harmony" of the *Phaethon* song. The Watchers' Song is Aeschylean softened into

¹⁰ Cf. Clerke, *Familiar Studies in Homer* (London, 1892), pp. 32 ff.

¹¹ Aeschylus, *Septem*, 726; also Euripides, *Medea*, 1393, cf. 849. Cf. Sophocles, *Electra*, 107.

¹² *Medea*, 196.

Euripidean verse. In the lines about the shepherds on the hills the rare word *ιά* for the skirling of the pipes also appears once in Aeschylus. The epithet of the pipe, *νυκτίβρομος* "piercing the night with sound," is formed on a pattern common¹³ to Aeschylus and Euripides.

With reference to the knowledge of the stars exhibited in *Rhesus*, 529 ff. Paley recalls the statement made in *Alcestis*, 963, where the poet says that he has studied the heavens—*καὶ μετάρσιος ἦξα*. In his note on that verse Paley says, "Euripides is notoriously fond of mentioning the celestial bodies." Euripides is said to be the first (extant) Greek writer to call the Pleiads seven.¹⁴

The morning star, called the forerunner of Dawn in *Rhesus*, 537, appears in a fragment of Euripides¹⁵ quoted by Hephaestion, "When the mounted star of morning shines."

In both choruses words appear that (in the extant literature) are new either in form or sense, such as the form *ἀηδονίς* (*Rhesus*, 550), otherwise Alexandrian, and *σινδών*, cloth, in the sense of sail (*Phaethon*, frag. 773, 40). The verses in *Rhesus*, 554 ff. about sleep falling on the eyelids most sweetly at dawn are evidently a reminiscence of Pindar, *Pyth.*, IX, 41 ff. Compare *Rhesus*,

ὕπνος ἡδιστος γὰρ ἔβα βλεφάροις πρὸς αὐτοῦ,

with Pindar:

τὸν δὲ σύγκοιτον γλυκύν
ὕπνον ἐπὶ γλεφάροις
παῦρ' ἀναλίσκουσα ῥέποντα πρὸς αὐῶ.

It is difficult and often impossible to decide by style alone which one of two related passages is the inspirer of the other. In the case of these two choruses, as I have already said, each one is perfect for its function in its own drama, the chorus in the *Rhesus* suited to the excitement and tumult of the changing of the Watch and that in the *Phaethon* to the quiet and joyous

¹³ Cf. Aeschylus, *Ag.*, 12, 330, 524, 751; *Eum.*, 108; *P. V.*, 657, 801; Euripides, *Ion*, 718, 1049; *Helen*, 510; frag. 472, 11.

¹⁴ *Rhesus*, 529, *εὐνάνοροι*; *Iph. Aul.*, 7, *ἐπταπόρου Πλειάδος*; *Orestes*, 1005, *ἐννανύρου Πλειάδος*; frag. (*Phaethon*) 770, 4, *ἐφ' ἐπτά Πλειάδων*.

¹⁵ Nauck, frag. 929,

ἔως ἡνίχ' ὑπνότης ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ.

Cf. also his verse quoted by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1129 b 28.

expectation of the wedding-day. From the circumstances of the plot, the Watchers in the *Rhesus* sing more directly and vividly of the signs of dawn which they see and hear, for which they have been looking. Their words, "I hear the skirling of the pipes through the darkness" have a more immediate dramatic effect than the tranquil description of the sounds in the *Phaethon*, where we have poetic pictures of the countryside awaking to its daily toil. In the *Rhesus* the lyric is naturally more direct and dramatic—the bits of poetry are incidental to the action. In the *Phaethon* the entrance-song is a finished exquisite whole, which lacks the intensity of the Watchers' lyrical outbursts. It is reflective, rather than dramatic, and more purely Euripidean in its softness than the Dawn Song of the *Rhesus*, which is Euripides in his Aeschylean style.

If the *Rhesus* is the earliest play by Euripides, this fresh and lovely lyrical passage, quivering with the excitement of the moment, produced in the later *Phaethon* the exquisite entrance-song. "The *Phaethon* cannot be assigned with perfect confidence to any period. The Berlin editors regard it as a youthful work, while resolved iambic feet suggest to others a later date."¹⁶ It has always been recognized that the *Rhesus* stands the test of trimeter in respect to strictness.¹⁷ And the peculiarities of the play are best understood as the marks of a young poet, who has not developed in every respect his unmistakable later style but yet displays the sensitiveness to sight and sound, the rich vocabulary, full of Aeschylean formations, the realistic treatment of character, and the sense of pity for the defeated side and for the mother sorrowing for her child that makes this youthful play a forerunner of the great play of pity written in his later middle life, the *Trojan Women*. If the *Rhesus* is to be assigned to the year 465 B. C., as Hartung suggested, Euripides would have been not much more than fifteen years old when he wrote it. The "miserable *Rhesus*," as Kitto quite unjustly calls it, may owe its faults to the inexperience of the extreme youth of a genius rather than to the decadence of some fourth century or Alexandrian writer. After all, dramatists do not as a rule begin by writing masterpieces and we have Sophocles' account of the three stages of his own development, in which he says¹⁸ that he

¹⁶ Pickard-Cambridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 147. Cf. Kranz, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

¹⁷ Ceadel, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 4. ¹⁸ Plutarch, *De Prof. in Virt.*, 79 B.

first imitated the turgid style of Aeschylus, then developed a harsh and artificial style of his own, and last developed the style most expressive of character. Plutarch compares this to the development of the writing of philosophers when they advance (*προκοπὴν προκόπτειν*) from an oratorical and pretentious style to that which shows character and emotion.

A. C. Pearson¹⁹ has said that if Euripides did not write the *Rhesus*, then either he copied it, or its author copied him. He makes this statement à propos of the coincidences in phrase between the *Rhesus* and plays which are unquestionably written by the poet. With all the divergences, whether important or petty, that have been noted between the *Rhesus* and the other plays, it is evident that the style is far closer to that of Euripides than to that of either Sophocles or Aeschylus. It is argued by W. H. Porter,²⁰ following Gilbert Murray, that Euripides had a very definite style, which was maintained all through his long literary career and which differentiated him from other writers. In reply to the "late Euripidean view" of Ridgeway he argues that it is improbable that he should have composed the *Rhesus* in a style so different from that of the *Bacchae* and the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* at the same time as these, his last plays. He suggests that the play was planned in Macedon by Euripides and that the younger Euripides worked it up after his father's death and produced it as the fourth play in the tetralogy which contained the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, the *Alcmaeon at Corinth* and the *Bacchae*. He regards the play as perhaps "the *πρότερον* of a young amateur in a hurry." It is suggested by Ceadel²¹ that the slight falling off in resolution-frequency in the last Euripidean plays reflects the number of lines inserted in them by Euripides the younger or (more probably) by later interpolators.

Interesting as the theory is that the younger Euripides wrote the *Rhesus* from his father's notes for the drama, I think "the young amateur" may well have been the poet himself in his experimental days.²² According to Aulus Gellius²³ he began to write tragedy at eighteen, but did not have a play performed

¹⁹ *C. R.*, XXXV (1921), p. 56.

²⁰ *Rhesus* (2nd ed., 1929), p. 111.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

²² Cf. Ceadel, *op. cit.*, p. 74, n. 1.

²³ XV, 20.

until 455 B. C. The repetitions²⁴ in the play which Pearson regards as betraying "the narrow resources of a sterile talent" suggest to Porter "haste and inexperience." May it not be the inexperience of a youthful genius who is dealing with a Homeric episode and has in some degree been influenced by the Homeric style?

Porter does not comment on the parallel between the Dawn Song in the *Phaethon* and that in the *Rhesus* but does compare in detail the opening lyrical passages in the *Rhesus* and the Dawn passage with *I. A.*, 1-48 and 115-63. The astronomical passages in *Rhesus* and *Phaethon* resemble that in *I. A.* and the lines about dawn in *I. A.*, 156 ff. are parallel to the *Rhesus*, 534 ff. and to the beginning of the entrance-song in the *Phaethon*. The *Phaethon* is called a "Jugenddrama" by Wilamowitz,²⁵ is placed "hardly earlier than the *Hecuba*" by Körte,²⁶ and between 415 and 409 by Zielinski followed by Münscher²⁷ and Volmer.²⁸ The last four date the play on the evidence offered by the resolutions in the trimeter. Since according to the same criterion the *Rhesus*²⁹ can be counted as the earliest extant drama of Euripides, it would follow that the much more elaborate and stylized Dawn Song in the *Phaethon* is an expanded reminiscence of the Dawn Song in the *Rhesus*.

Pearson³⁰ believes that the "Sophoclean character" ascribed to the play by an ancient critic is to be found in the close following of the stories of Dolon and Rhesus as told in the *Iliad*, in the delineation of character, and in the fact that for Sophocles "the story is the thing." "Now is not all this" Pearson asks, "exactly what we should expect from Sophocles?"

My answer to this question is that what we get in the *Rhesus*, the utter swing of sympathy from the victors to the defeated side,

²⁴ Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. xlviii f. Such repetitions, as noted by Haigh (*Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, pp. 260 f.), are characteristic of Euripides. Haigh notes that the words for couch (λέχος, λέκτρον) occur no less than twenty-nine times in the *Helen* in the sense of wedlock. Cf. πορθεῖν, appearing five times in the *I. T.* Many other examples could be given.

²⁵ *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V, pt. 2, p. 81. Cf. Kranz, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

²⁶ *Phil. Wochenschr.*, XLVII (1927), p. 585.

²⁷ *Hermes*, LXII (1927), p. 164, note.

²⁸ *De Euripidis Fabula quae Phaethon inscribitur restituenda* (Monasterii Guestfalonum, 1930), p. 76.

²⁹ See Ceadel, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ *C. R.*, XXXV (1921), p. 60.

the realism with which Rhesus and Hector are depicted, not "as they should be" for epic heroes, but "as they are," "ordinary" men; "like other men," as Aristotle says, and above all the anguish and the tears of those that mourn are exactly what we should expect from Euripides. And if the *Rhesus* was written by Euripides in his extreme youth, he already was showing the human sympathy that marks all his work, that was to result in that play of pity for those crushed by war which has come to mean so much in this our own time of war and anguish—the *Trojan Women*.

It is stated by Pearson³¹ that the broad grounds of objection to Euripidean authorship of the *Rhesus* are 1) the absence of two of Euripides' most prominent characteristics—his pathos and his sententiousness; and 2) a marked difference from his ordinary style of writing. The pathos is there in the agony of the wounded Thracian charioteer³² whose master was slain at his side, and in the grief of the Muse for her son. It is to miss the meaning of this play to miss its sadness.

The lack of sententiousness may result from the fact that the young poet is following in this play of action the action of the tenth book of the *Iliad*. If the "young poet" is not Euripides, and if the younger Euripides salvaged a play sketched by his father in Macedon and re-wrote it after his father's death,³³ the younger man while reproducing the Euripidean spirit of sympathy with those suffering from the cruelties of war and his resplendent language with its Aeschylean affinities has neglected the moralizing, which is so prominent a characteristic of Euripides' style in the other extant dramas, the stamp of which Euripides left on the New Comedy of the fourth century.

The language of the *Rhesus* has the Euripidean magic and splendor, which is not confined to the lyrics. There is that beautiful line (618) with which Athena describes the shining whiteness of Rhesus' steeds:

στίλβουσι δ' ὥστε ποταμίου κύκνου πτέρον,

"They gleam like the wing of the swan of the river."

The whiteness of the swan's wing³⁴ is called *χιονόχρως* "snowy,"

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

³² *Rhesus*, 728 ff.

³³ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. lii.

³⁴ Compare *Rhesus*, 304, *χιόνος ἐξανγέστερον* "gleaming brighter than snow,"—of the gold yoke.

in *Helen*, 216. The swan is "frequent in Euripides; rare in Aeschylus; not in Sophocles,"³⁵ except for a doubtful fragment. The compounds of χρυσός, gold, of which Euripides has so many, some of them words not appearing elsewhere, or for the first time, are characteristic of this play also. The play has the glitter of the brightness of gold armor and of gleaming snow, and horses shining like the swan's wing. It has the keenness for sound and music that is also Euripidean, the sound of the Muses' melody, of the piping of the shepherds, the singing of love songs at banquets, and the lament in a voice of many strings of the music-making nightingale. All this reveals the poet who more than Aeschylus and Sophocles delights in singing and in musical instruments and whose prayer³⁶ was:

μὴ ζῶην μετ' ἀμονίας,

"May I not live without harmony."

Considering the love of music and the knowledge of the stars which appear in the *Rhesus* one must think of the poet who wrote in the *Alcestis*:

ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας
καὶ μετάρσιος ᾄξα.

If the younger Euripides re-wrote his father's play he did well to retain "the singing and the gold." We can forego in this play the *sententiae* since we have in it Euripidean beauty, humanity, and realism.

Porter³⁷ argues that the close affinity between the anapaestic opening of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* and certain passages in the *Rhesus* suggests that they may have been composed by the same man about the same time. That man, he suggests, is the younger Euripides. Since the Watchers' Song in the *Rhesus* and the Entrance-Song of the Chorus of Maids in the *Phaethon* show even greater resemblances, it may be argued that the *Rhesus* and the *Phaethon* were composed by the same man. That man was the poet Euripides. The time still remains in dispute.

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³⁵ D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (2nd ed., London, 1936).

³⁶ *H. F.*, 694 f.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. liii.

THE BOEOTIAN MIGRATION.¹

In Thucydides, I, 12, 3 is the following statement about the migration of the Boeotians:²

In the 60th year after the capture of Troy, those who are now known as Boeotians, being driven out of Arne by the Thessalians, settled what is now called Boeotia, the former Cadmeian land.

Substantially the same account is given in Strabo, IX, 2, 3.³ The problem with which we are immediately concerned is the 60 years mentioned by Thucydides. No other writer directly gives a date for the Boeotian migration, and positive evidence as to the identity of Thucydides' source, if indeed the calculation is not his own, is not to be had. It has been suggested⁴ that Thucydides was here following Hellanicus and that Hellanicus used a generation of 30 years in his computations.⁵ There is, however, a serious objection to this theory. In the same section (I, 12, 3) Thucydides speaks of the return of the Heracleidae in the 80th year after the Trojan War. It is highly probable that this period of 80 years represents two Hecataean generations of 40 years,⁶ but is it not curious to find side by side with a calcula-

¹ Cf. *Il.*, II, 494 ff.; Thucydides, I, 12, 3; Strabo, IX, 2, 3; XIII, 1, 3; Diodorus, IV, 67, 1-2.

² Thucydides, I, 12, 3: Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην, ᾤκισαν.

³ Strabo, IX, 2, 3: κατὰ δὲ τούτους ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐκλιπόντες τὰς Θήβας ἐπανῆλθον πάλιν· ὥς δ' αὐτως ὑπὸ Θρακῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐν Θετταλίᾳ συνεστήσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ Ἀρναίων ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥστε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς κληθῆναι πάντας. εἰτ' ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἣδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου περὶ Αὐλίδᾳ τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὃν ἔστελλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ Ὀρέστου παῖδες.

⁴ Cf. U. Köhler, "Über die Archäologie," *Commentationes Philologicae in Honorem Th. Mommseni* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 376-7. Köhler has by no means proved irrefutably that Thucydides' calculation is based on Hellanicus.

⁵ Cf. V. Costanzi, "La γενεά in Ellanico," *Riv. di Stor. Ant.*, VIII (1904), pp. 348-51. Costanzi advanced the theory that Hellanicus allowed three generations to 100 years but that odd generations above or below a century were only 30 years in length; e. g., two generations are 60 years but three are 100.

⁶ Cf. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, II C, p. 45.

tion based on a generation of 40 years one in which a generation of 30 years is employed? Would we not expect to have these calculations based on a generation of the same length; whether 40 or 30 years, rather than one of each?⁷ The figure 80 is difficult to explain in terms of a generation of 30 years but, with a generation of 40 years, 60 years could well be a generation and a half. Moreover, if the 60 years do represent two Hellanicean generations of 30 years, did Thucydides, who dates the Dorian invasion, the return of the Heracleidae, and the Boeotian migration from the fall of Troy, reckon from the Hecataean or the Hellanicean date for that event? Presumably the date for the fall of Troy would be different in either case since the length of the generation used to derive this date was different. If the Hecataean and Hellanicean dates for the Trojan War were identical, Hellanicus could hardly have used a generation of 30 or $33\frac{1}{3}$ years;⁸ and the calculation in I, 12, 3, the section pertaining to the Boeotian migration, could not then be based on two Hellanicean generations of 30 years each. The question, however, must be left open because of the lack of evidence.

Strabo in IX, 2, 3 relates the preparations of the Phoenician descendants of Cadmus to return to their own land (Boeotia) at the same time as the expedition of Orestes' children was ready to leave Boeotian Aulis on its way to Aeolis. There is some evidence as to the date of this Aeolian expedition. Strabo gives an account of the various stages of this venture.⁹ It was Orestes

⁷ Costanzi, *loc. cit.*, argues that there was no established relation between the Dorian invasion and the Boeotian migration. The discrepancy is due to the fact that Hellanicus was the first to delve into the problem of chronologically reconciling mythological traditions. Although a discussion of this point cannot be conclusive because of the lack of evidence, nevertheless the very fact that Thucydides coupled the two events together and dated them by the same terminus, the fall of Troy, points against Costanzi's theory.

⁸ If Pearson's theory (*Early Ionian Historians* [Oxford, 1939], pp. 214-15) that Hellanicus dated the fall of Troy in ca. 1240 B. C. is correct, Hellanicus could not possibly have used three generations to 100 years. If Hellanicus used a generation of 40 years—a generation of this length is needed to give a date of ca. 1240 B. C. for the fall of Troy because of the definitely limited number of generations between that event and the fifth century B. C.—this system would have coincided somewhat with that of Hecataeus.

⁹ Strabo, XIII, 1, 3: τέτρασι γὰρ δὴ γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν φασὶ τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς, διατρίβας δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ χρόνους μακροτέρους.

who began the expedition, but he died in Arcadia and left his son, Penthilus, to carry on. Penthilus succeeded in getting as far as Thrace by 60 years after the Trojan War. At this time, 60 years after the Trojan War, οἱ νῦν Βοιωτοί of Thucydides, I, 12, 3 moved into Boeotia, and the Aeolian colonists had left Boeotia for Thrace (Strabo, XIII, 1, 3). Thus we have two events dated 60 years after the Trojan War; and although there may be no connection between the two, it would be profitable to ascertain the source of Strabo.

Curiously enough, Strabo, XIII, 1, 3 or his source mentions the interval between the Trojan War and the return of the Heracleidae as 60 years, while Thucydides (I, 12, 3) believes that it was 80 years. Herodotus (IX, 26, 4) gives 100 years, but Diodorus (IV, 58) has only 50 years. Since according to Herodotus, II, 142, 2 three generations are equivalent to a century, we may rightfully expect that the Herodotean interval of 100 years includes three generations. Let us now consider the passages of Strabo and Diodorus which concern the return of the Heracleidae. Jacoby states:¹⁰

. . . die Zahl ist bei Diodor die ephorische: die zwei Generationen (Paus. iv. 3. 3: Herodot rechnete, dem Stemma entsprechend, in dem Aristodemus Urenkel des Hyllos war, drei) sind bei Thuk. i. 12. 3 achtzig, bei Ephoros (Strabo xiii. 1. 3; Marm. Par. s. E. Meyer, *Forsch.* i. 172. 3)¹¹ 60 Jahre.

Jacoby's statement can bear scrutiny. In the first place, Diodorus' source for the narrative of the Heracleidae is not

'Ορέστην μὲν γὰρ ἄρξαι τοῦ στόλου, τοῦτου δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, διαδέξασθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πενθίλον καὶ προελθεῖν μέχρι Θράκης ἐξήκοντά ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον, ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον· εἰτ' Ἀρχέλαον, υἱὸν ἐκείνου, περαιῶσαι τὸν Αἰολικὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνήν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκύλιον· Γρᾶν δὲ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτου τὸν νεώτατον, προελθόντα μέχρι τοῦ Γρανίκου ποταμοῦ καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἄμεινον περαιῶσαι τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Λέσβον καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ E. Meyer, *Forsch.*, I, p. 172, n. 3: ". . . dass von der Einnahme Iliens bis zum Heraklidenzug 60 Jahre verlaufen seien, wie Strabon xiii. 1. 3, offenbar [the italics are mine] nach Ephoros, auch angibt: ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι κτλ. . . . Jedenfalls ist die alte Annahme, dass das der Chronik [i. e., Marm. Par.] zu Grunde liegende System die dorische Wanderung 60 Jahre nach Trojas Fall ins J. 1149 ansetzte, richtig, etc." This is certainly not conclusive evidence that Strabo, XIII, 1, 3 is based on Ephorus.

known. As his account is not complete, it is the more difficult to determine its source. The assertion that the 50 years are an Ephorean calculation does not rest upon direct evidence. Furthermore, the significance of a 50-year period in terms of generations is not easily explained if one argues that Ephorus used a generation of 30 or 35 years.¹²

Secondly, the tradition of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus was not connected with either Cleodaeus or Aristomachus, the son and grandson respectively of Hyllus, who was the son of Heracles. The first attempt to return was under Hyllus; the second, under Aristodemus or his children, Eurys-thenes and Procles. Therefore, Pausanias, IV, 3, 3, in which the Dorian invasion and the return of the Heracleidae are said to have occurred two generations after the Trojan War, must be interpreted to mean that two generations elapsed between the end of the war and the successful attempt to return; and that the return occurred at the end of the second generation and the beginning of the third, which was that of Aristodemus. We do not know Pausanias' source for this statement; but, as no tradition connects the return of the Heracleidae with either Cleodaeus or Aristomachus, this is the only plausible explanation.

Thirdly, the assertion of Jacoby that these two generations represent in the case of Ephorus 60 years does not rest upon a very sound foundation. Turning to Strabo, XIII, 1, 3, for which Ephorus has been proposed as a source, we learn that the Aeolian colonization started four generations earlier than the Ionian. It was Orestes who collected the colonists, but he died in Arcadia. His son, Penthilus, led them to Thrace by 60 years after the Trojan War, at which time the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus. Archelaus, the son of Penthilus, succeeded in getting as far as Cyzicus and Dascylium on the southern shore of the Propontis. Finally, Gras, the son of Archelaus, managed

¹² If, however, one reckons with a generation of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, a period of 50 years could well represent one and a half generations. The problem of the length of the generation which Ephorus employed is a knotty one to which at least three different solutions have been offered. E. Meyer (*Forsch.*, I, p. 178) proposed $33\frac{1}{3}$ years; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (s. v. "Ephoros" in Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* [Leipzig, 1912], III, p. 92), suggested 35 years; and the recent study of G. L. Barber (*The Historian Ephorus* [Cambridge, 1935], p. 172) advocates a generation of 30 years.

to reach Granicus, and most of the expedition arrived at Lesbos and took possession of it. Presumably the Ionian colonization started at this time.

Ephorus, according to F 117,¹³ seemed to recognize some phase of the Ionian colonization as contemporary with the return of the Heracleidae. Philonomus, who betrayed Laconia to Procles and Eurysthenes, persuaded the former ruler to depart with the Achaeans for Ionia. But, if Ephorus believed the Ionian settlement of Asia Minor to be contemporary with the return of the Heracleidae, any statement which asserts that the Aeolian movement was four generations earlier than the Ionian, and that the Heracleidae returned only 60 years (two generations) after the beginning of the Aeolian movement, certainly cannot be based upon Ephorus. Moreover, if Ephorus used a generation of $33\frac{1}{2}$ or 35 years, it would not be in keeping with such a system to use a generation of 30 years in this instance.¹⁴

There is still another reason for believing that it is not the Ephorean version of this story which Strabo follows. According to Strabo, XIII, 1, 3 the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus about 60 years (two generations) after the Trojan War. If, as Ephorus relates in F 16 and 17, the return occurred at the end of the generation of Aristodemus, the war would have been fought only 60 years (two generations) before the return. Although the fragments of Ephorus do not mention all the names, the standardized stemma of the early Heracleidae consisted of Heracles, Hyllus, Cleodaeus, Aristomachus, and Aristodemus; and it was undoubtedly this genealogy which Ephorus adopted. Heracles was the contemporary of Laomedon, the father of Priam; and with this correlation established it is easy to reckon that the Trojan War occurred during the last years of Hyllus' generation or the beginning of that of Cleodaeus. But thus the Trojan War was not fought only two generations inclusive—such calculations are reckoned inclusively—from the end of Aristodemus' generation; it was fought at least three, and possibly four, generations from that point. Thus Strabo's state-

¹³ F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, No. 70, F 117. Isocrates also apparently associated the Ionian colonization with the return of the Heracleidae. Cf. *Panath.*, 166; 42 ff.; 190 ff. In this connection it is interesting to note the tradition that Ephorus was a pupil of the rhetorician.

¹⁴ Cf. note 12 *supra*.

ment in XIII, 1, 3 that the Heracleidae returned to the Peloponnesus about 60 years (two generations) after the Trojan War cannot be based on Ephorus, as Meyer and Jacoby maintain.

If Ephorus was not the source for Strabo, who was? This question is more easily asked than answered, yet perhaps the solution does not lie far off. From the scholiast to Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, XI, 43, we learn that Hellanicus wrote about the colony of Orestes which went to Aeolis.¹⁵ A story somewhat similar to the account in Strabo, XIII, 1, 3 is found in Tzetzes, Schol. to Lycophron, 1374, p. 379, 28 Scheer:¹⁶

After Orestes had killed Aegisthus, he received an oracle to depart for a colony. When he had gathered together people from different tribes, whom he called Aeolians because they were from many different places,¹⁷ he came to Lesbos. Orestes soon died and was not able to found a city; but a descendant of his named Gras, after 100 years, became master of Lesbos and founded a city, etc.

This passage is generally considered to be based on Hellanicus.¹⁸ Gras is herein reported to have obtained possession of Lesbos 100 years (three generations) after the death of Orestes. According to Strabo, XIII, 1, 3 it was also Orestes who began the expedition. Penthilus and Archelaus in turn led the colonists towards Aeolis, but it was actually Gras who took them to Lesbos. Gras

¹⁵ *F. Gr. H.*, No. 4, F 32: οὗτος δέ (sc. Πείσανδρος Σπαρτιάτης), φησί, σὺν Ὀρέστῃ ἀπέκησεν ἐκ Σπάρτης καὶ τὴν Τένεδον κατέκρησε. Τενέδιος γὰρ δ' Ἀρισταγόρας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὀρέστου εἰς τὴν Αἰολίδα ἀποικίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ [περὶ] Αἰολικῶν ἐστόρηκεν.

¹⁶ ὁ Ὀρέστης μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν Αἴγισθον χρησμόν ἔλαβε στέλλεσθαι εἰς ἀποικίαν. ὁ δὲ συντάξας ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν λαούς, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν Αἰολεῖς διὰ τὸ ἐκ ποικίλων τόπων εἶναι, ἦλθεν εἰς Λέσβον· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταχὺ ἀποθανὼν πόλιν κτίσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη. ἀπόγονος δὲ τούτου καλούμενος Γράς μετὰ ρ' ἔτη ἐκυρίευσεν τῆς Λέσβου καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν.

¹⁷ This etymology is based on the word αἰόλος, which means "varied" or "variegated." Cf. αἰολίζω beside ποικιλλω. Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 196, who reaffirms Kullmer's statement that such an explanation is typical of Hellanicus.

¹⁸ Cf. Costanzi, *loc. cit.*; Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, I, p. 446: "Was Hellanikos von der κτίσις τῆς Αἰολίδος erzählte, ist nicht direkt überliefert. Aber das Lykophronscholion . . . kann letztlich auf ihn zurückgehen." Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6: "This story, which should be compared with Strabo xiii. 1, 3, is suggestive of Hellanicus for one very good reason: the derivation of the tribal name . . . is a touch that is typical of the logographer . . . Though not strictly eligible as a 'fragment' of Hellanicus this note is just as good as one."

was the great-great-grandson of Orestes and belonged to the third generation after him. Orestes of course was the first generation after the war. His son, Penthilus, could lead the party only up to the end of his generation, which was 60 years¹⁹ after the Trojan War. It is clear from this remark that Strabo's source was using a generation of 30 years. Archelaus' generation would presumably end in the 90th year, and Gras' generation in the 120th year, after the war, or 90 years after the death of Orestes. But the Lycophron scholiast says that Gras arrived at Lesbos after 100, and not 90, years. We should, however, expect some sort of relation between the 60 years—the generations of Orestes and Penthilus—which Strabo mentions, and the 100 years—the generations of Penthilus, Archelaus, and Gras—of the Lycophron scholium. Costanzi²⁰ advanced the hypothesis that two Hellanicæan generations are 60 years but that three are 100, basing his argument on 1) Köhler's theory²¹ that Thucydides, I, 12, 3—the Boeotian migration occurred in the 60th year after the fall of Troy—was taken from Hellanicus; 2) the assumption that the Lycophron scholium was ultimately attributable to Hellanicus. This latter point is much more credible than the first for reasons stated above, but Costanzi's theory need not necessarily be discarded. We know that Strabo's source was using a generation of 30 years, and we know that according to Strabo it was Gras who reached Lesbos three generations after the death of Orestes. The theory of Costanzi would probably hold in this case, for the similarity between the accounts of the Lycophron scholium and Strabo points to a common source. And if Hellanicus is assumed to be the source for the scholium there is every reason to believe that he was also the source for Strabo,²² especially since we have just seen that Ephorus really does not enter into the problem at all. Strabo of course was familiar with the work of Hellanicus, as is shown by the numerous references to him. If one is willing to admit that this scholium is attributable to Hellanicus, there is no apparent reason for not believing that the passage in Strabo is based on Hellanicus, especially since it is most improbable that Ephorus was Strabo's source as Jacoby maintains.

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¹⁹ Cf. Strabo, XIII, 1, 3. ²⁰ See note 5 *supra*. ²¹ See note 4 *supra*.

²² According to Costanzi's theory, if Strabo is ultimately based on Hellanicus, the generation of Gras would have ended 130 years after the war and not 120.

THE CLASSES OF THE "SERVIAN" CONSTITUTION.

According to the accounts of both Livy¹ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,² the division of the Roman people into census classes occurred during the reign of Servius Tullius, the sixth of the traditional seven kings of Rome. Modern scholars have been unanimous in rejecting this early dating for such a complex and relatively democratic institution. Some years ago Nilsson³ suggested that the change in military organization, the real function of the "Servian" constitution, came about the middle of the fifth century B. C.; for it was at this time that military tribunes with consular powers supplanted consuls (444 B. C.⁴) and also that censors were created (443 B. C.). This suggestion appears reasonable, and, if one accepts it as an hypothesis, several other items of interest can be adduced to produce a plausible account of the historical evolution of the "Servian" constitution.

In the first place, it makes no sense to state as the literary sources do that two centuries of engineers or artisans were added to the first⁵ or second⁶ class, unless this class or these classes at some time had taken the field without the remaining classes. In other words, the fact that these technicians were attached to one or other of the first two classes rather than forming part of the contingent of their own property class seems to indicate that at one time (i. e. before the reforms of 444/3 B. C.) the first class or the first and second classes formed the Roman army which fought without the assistance of the lower property classes. Again, it is interesting to note that trumpeters and hornblowers

¹ I, 43.

² *Roman Antiquities*, IV, 16-19.

³ M. P. Nilsson, "The Introduction of Hoplite Tactics at Rome," *J. R. S.*, XIX (1929), pp. 1-11.

⁴ Traditional (or uncorrected) dates are used throughout this article for the sake of clarity.

⁵ *Additae huic (i. e. primae) classi duae fabrum centuriae quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent*, Livy, I, 43, 3.

⁶ ἦσαν δὲ τῶν τεττάρων τούτων δύο μὲν ὀπλοποιῶν τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατασκευαζόντων τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρηστά . . . προσέκειντο δ' οἱ μὲν χειροτέχναι τοῖς τὸ δεύτερον ἔχουσι τμήμα, Dionysius, IV, 17, 3.

were added to the fourth⁷ or fifth⁸ class. Obviously, there would be need for these men to give the signals to those employing ordered, hoplite tactics; just as obviously, there could have been no need for such signals in an army employing the older tactics of single combat. Furthermore, if this theory is correct so far, it is easy to comprehend the significance, both military and political, of the creation of military tribunes with consular powers who were all patricians.⁹ With the introduction of hoplite tactics, plebeians must certainly play a more important part in the military organization, and hence they were doubtless granted more political and social rights;¹⁰ on the other hand, if the mass of plebeians hitherto had had little military experience, it is reasonable that commanders of the new army should be chosen from those who did possess that experience, that is, for practical purposes, the patricians.¹¹

Finally, it seems likely that the fifth class of the "Servian" constitution did not come into existence until somewhat later: to be specific, its inclusion was probably the result of the war against Veii. There are several indications in the sources that this is true. The census ratings of the first four classes are given as 100,000, 75,000, 50,000, and 25,000 respectively by both Livy¹² and Dionysius.¹³ But Livy gives the rating of the fifth class as 11,000 asses.¹⁴ Certainly these figures have no absolute, objective validity for there was no coined money in the days of Servius, or indeed at the time of the Veian war.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the deviation from the mathematical pattern of the first four

⁷ Dionysius, IV, 17, 4.

⁸ Livy, I, 43, 7.

⁹ Livy, IV, 6, 11.

¹⁰ Livy (IV, 6) connects the political situation with the Lex Canuleia.

¹¹ According to the fasti (*C. I. L.*, I², 1, p. 116 and Livy, V, 12) the first plebeian, P. Licinius Calvus, became military tribune in 400 B. C.

¹² I, 43, 1-6.

¹³ IV, 16-17.

¹⁴ I, 43, 7.

¹⁵ Undoubtedly these sums represent an attempt at evaluating plots of land of various sizes or the income therefrom. Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 6. It may be mentioned that there was a persistent though unauthenticated tradition that a Roman delegation visited Greece, possibly Athens, immediately preceding the publication of the Twelve Tables (451/450 B. C.). The fact that the Romans adopted census classifications and hoplite tactics within a decade of this hypothetical visit may well indicate contact between the Romans and the Athenians, or some other Greeks, at this time.

classes may well indicate a later date for the inclusion of the fifth class.¹⁸ The introduction of pay for the army¹⁷ is also more understandable if the poorer citizens were now called upon for military service for the first time. Likewise, the equipment assigned to the fifth class, *fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant*,¹⁸ is hardly the armament of a field army, although such weapons would be very useful for the protracted siege of a strongly fortified town.¹⁹ As the last point, it must be mentioned that the consular fasti show an increase in the number of military tribunes with consular powers from four to six or more from the beginning of the siege of Veii to the restoration of the consulship.²⁰ If a fifth class, larger than any of the others except the first, and particularly designed for siege operations, was added to the Roman army in 405 B. C., it is obvious that additional officers would be needed to organize and lead these new troops.

If this reconstruction is correct, hoplite tactics were introduced into the Roman army about 444/3 B. C.; previous to this time probably only the patricians had fought actively but they had been assisted by workmen who could repair or manufacture weapons for them. Four classes only were included in the original hoplite army, but about forty years later a fifth class was added, consisting of poorer citizens, especially for the purpose of conducting a difficult siege; as a result of the continued campaign and the greater economic need of the new soldiers, pay was introduced. Thus it can be seen that the "Servian" constitution represented not a single stroke of genius, but a gradual development which came as the result of the most pressing of all needs, the demands of the military situation.

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¹⁸ Dionysius (IV, 17, 2) to be sure gives the rating of the fifth class as 12,500 asses.

¹⁷ Livy, IV, 59, 11.

¹⁸ Livy, I, 43, 7; cf. Dionysius, IV, 17, 2: *τούτους ἔραξε σπυρία καὶ σφενδόνας ἔχοντάς ἐξω τάξεως συστρατεύεσθαι.*

¹⁹ For the strong fortifications of Veii, cf. Livy, V, 2, 5; 5, 2; 6, 9-10.

²⁰ *C. I. L.*, I², 1, pp. 114-25.

ISOCRATES' GENERA OF PROSE.

Friedrich Pfister in a brief article (*Hermes*, LXVIII [1933], pp. 457-60) says that when discussing the kinds of *narratio* in rhetorical theory other scholars have considered Cicero, *De Inv.*, I, 27 and *Auctor ad Herennium*, I, 12-13, to be the oldest sources and that they have completely disregarded the beginning of Isocrates' *Panathenaicus*, which preserves a similar classification of narrations and shows that the later division was derived from early rhetorical theory.

Unfortunately while discussing Isocrates' classification Pfister seems to misinterpret the second division, apparently because he is influenced by the later classifications. He calls the second *genus* prose fiction; I think that it consists of paradoxical writings.

Pfister writes as follows: "Im *Panathenaikos* nun nennt er [Isocrates] folgende Teile:

1. λόγοι μυθώδεις.

2. λόγοι τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστοί.

Von diesen beiden gilt: οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας λεγομένοις.

3. λόγοι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἐξηγούμενοι.

4. λόγοι ἀπλῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ μηδεμίᾳς κομψότητος μετέχοντες, οὓς οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παραινοῦσι τοῖς νεωτέροις μελετᾶν, εἴπερ βούλονται πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἀντιδίκων.

Mit diesen vier Gattungen habe sich Isokrates nicht beschäftigt, sondern sich der folgenden zugewandt:

5. λόγοι περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι συμβουλευόντες.

Darüber, was Isokrates mit diesen fünf Gattungen der Prosa meint, kann im allgemeinen kein Zweifel sein. Er nennt die Mythographie (1), die Geschichtsschreibung (3), die Gerichtsreden (4), die politischen Reden (5). Dabei lassen wir noch unentschieden, was für Prosaprodukte mit 2 gemeint sind, obwohl sie deutlich gekennzeichnet sind. Diese Einteilung ist in der Tat ziemlich vollständig; es fehlt eigentlich nur die philosophische Prosa, diese vielleicht aus Abneigung gegen die

Akademie. Die Prosa der Fachwissenschaft scheidet ja überhaupt aus . . . Was also Isokrates unter 2 nennt, *λόγοι τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστοί*, entspricht dem, was später als *argumentum*, *πλάσμα*, *δραματικόν* bezeichnet wurde, nur mit etwas anderem Inhalt, entsprechend der Entwicklung der literarischen Produktion. Da Isokrates nur Prosaliteratur im Auge hat, hat er unter diesen *λόγοι* insbesondere Märchen, Fabeln, Novellen und vielleicht auch Volksbücher wie die Erzählungen von den Sieben Weisen, von Anacharsis, Homer und Hesiod, Aisopos u. a. verstanden"

Thus Pfister apparently considers that the *λόγοι τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστοί* consist of prose fiction and are distinct from the *λόγοι μυθώδεις*, which also tell stories in prose but are about the heroes of mythology. As a parallel for the former *genus* he cites (p. 459) *τερατολογίαί* in XV, 269. The reading of the manuscripts usually accepted for that passage is *περιττολογίαί* rather than *τερατολογίαί*. Be that as it may, it seems certain that Pfister's *τερατολογίαί* in XV, 269 does not refer to prose fiction but to paradoxical writings. The passage reads as follows:

. . . εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τέτταρα, καὶ νείκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμαίων δὲ δύο μόνα, Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἓν, Γοργίας δὲ παντελῶς οὐδέν. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας περιττολογίας ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυμαστοποιαῖς ταῖς οὐδὲν μὲν ὠφελούσαις ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων περιστάτοις γιγνομένας

Thus in the *Antidosis* the term definitely applies to the paradoxical treatises of early sophists like Gorgias and Melissus.

The use of *τοιαύτας* with *τερατολογίαί* (*περιττολογίαί*) suggests that the term included more than the paradoxical proofs for early physical theories. That impression is confirmed by X, 1-8, a passage which Pfister ignores. There Isocrates belittles the teachers of eristic for discoursing on paradoxical hypotheses (1) such as that falsehood is impossible or that all virtues are the same and belong to one knowledge. The last theme is considered an allusion to the Platonic dialogues. He points out that the earlier sophists supported even bolder arguments and lists a series of various theses in physics like those in the *Antidosis* (269), even including Melissus and Gorgias again (2-3). He adds that the young men especially enjoy such useless and petty

quibbling but recognizes that this is typical of youth. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τὰς περιττότητας καὶ τὰς θαυματοποιίας οὕτω διακείμενοι διατελοῦσι (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 539 B, *Apol.* 23 C). Apparently, then, περιττότητας and θαυματοποιίας could be applied to Socratic dialogues as well as to the paradoxical treatises of the early sophists. Note the similarity to περιττολογίας (τερατολογίας) ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυματοποιαῖς in XV, 269, where Isocrates warns the young men especially against running aground on such literature, which recalls the predilection of youth mentioned in X, 6. So τερατολογία or περιττολογία can refer to paradoxical philosophic dialogues as well as to treatises like Gorgias' *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*.

The *Helen* also suggests how to interpret ψευδολογία (XII, 1) as a *genus*. Not only is it appropriate for the treatises of the early sophists (X, 4) but Isocrates says that the fashion of ψευδολογεῖν has spread to the rhetoricians and that they are composing paradoxical *encomia* of beggars and exiles (8). Hence the second classification in XII, 1 (τερατεία and ψευδολογία) is not prose fiction and probably includes all paradoxical displays, whether rhetorical, philosophical, or scientific. It is suggested in the *Helen* that the paradoxical *encomia* are the lineal descendants of early scientific paradox.

Our inclusion of philosophic dialogues in the second class of the *Panathenaicus* is verified by a catalogue of literary *genera* in the *Antidosis* (XV, 45-46), where Isocrates lists six types of prose:

1. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ γένη τὰ τῶν ἡμιθέων ἀναζητοῦντες τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῶν κατέτριψαν
2. οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐφιλοσόφησαν
3. ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συναγαγεῖν ἐβουλήθησαν
4. ἄλλοι δὲ τινες περὶ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις γεγόνασιν, οὓς ἀντιλογικοὺς καλοῦσιν . . . εἰσὶ . . . τινες οὗ . . . γράφειν . . . προήρηται λόγους
5. οὗ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων
6. ἄλλ' Ἑλληνικοὺς καὶ πολιτικοὺς καὶ πανηγυρικοὺς

Here the dialogue is recognized as a distinct type of writing. Moreover, Pfister (p. 459) mentions this passage as proving that any division like XII, 1-2 was unknown when the *Antidosis* was written and must have been invented by Isocrates, Aristotle, or someone else in the interim between the *Antidosis* and the

Panathenaicus. He refers to the sentence: εἴη δ' ἂν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον, εἰ πάσας τις τὰς ἰδέας τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐξαριθμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν. Pfister says (p. 457) that this task was too great for Isocrates in the *Antidosis* but that he performed the task in the *Panathenaicus*. I fear that Pfister has been deceived by Isocrates' use of that rhetorical device known as *praeteritio*. Despite the difficulty, Isocrates in the *Antidosis* managed to list six species of prose writing—one more than in the later list—and contrived at least partly to fill the two *desiderata* that Pfister noted in the *Panathenaicus* (philosophische Prosa and Prosa der Fachwissenschaft) by including philosophical dialogues and studies of the poets (? cf. XII, 18). Thus this list is more nearly complete and demonstrates that Isocrates recognized the philosophic dialogue as a *genus* despite his personal feelings about the Academy (Pfister, p. 458; also recognized in XII, 26). Mythography, history, and forensic and deliberative oratory apparently occur in both catalogues. The later list in the *Panathenaicus* adds no *genus* to the list in the *Antidosis*.

Since these two lists seem identical in other respects, it appears clear that *τερατεία* and *ψευδολογία* in XII, 1 refer not to prose fiction (which could appear as *μυθώδεις*) but to paradoxical writings whether dialogues, treatises, or *encomia*. This would be a more comprehensive but less precise description of the *genus* represented by philosophic dialogues in his earlier list. Neither list uses technical language or is scientific like Aristotle's classifications. Each list approaches the subject from a slightly different point of view (kinds of authors, kinds of compositions).

Pfister (p. 459) listed two points to prove that the *genus* is prose fiction: 1) it is useless; 2) most men enjoy it. But Isocrates often calls eristic useless, e. g. X, 5, XV, 262 and 269. Young men are said to enjoy eristic dialogues in XII, 26 and X, 6; fools admire the writings of the early sophists according to XV, 269. Some men (XV, 283) give the name of philosopher only to students of those writings (285). So eristic is useless but pleasant. Since Pfister admits (p. 457) that the pleasure mentioned in XII, 1 comes from myths as well as *τερατεία* (Isocrates, II, 48, indicates the popularity of myths), it seems acceptable to say that Isocrates' second *genus* pleased chiefly the young men but that the two *genera* combined to delight most men. Paradoxes, like prose fiction, can be called useless and amusing.

Therefore Pfister's interpretation of the second division in XII, 1 as prose fiction seems untenable and the five prose *genera* listed in the *Panathenaicus* apparently are:

1) Myths and fiction like myths (hence probably all prose narratives other than history; cf. IV, 158, XII, 237, II, 48)

2) Paradoxical writings (treatises like that of Gorgias, Socratic dialogues, probably paradoxical *encomia*)

3) History

4) Oratory in the simple style of judicial speeches (probably including practical deliberative oratory in plain style)

5) Oratory in elaborate style and containing national and international advice.

This list is substantially the same as the catalogue in the *Antidosis*. How technical and theoretical the classifications are it is impossible to say, but their mutual consistency is significant.

Isocrates' remarks about paradoxical writing suggest the following simplified history of epideictic oratory. The new rationalization and argumentation of the sixth and fifth centuries first revealed themselves in the increasingly paradoxical treatises of the early physicists, who tended more and more to disregard common sense in their speculations about nature. The physicists' methods were then adopted by early sophists who wished to display their cleverness and to attract students. They demonstrated their skill by using the same kinds of reasoning to prove other points that contradicted popular opinion, especially in regard to ethics and politics. Perhaps the alleged immorality of the sophists was largely paradox, more or less consciously humorous (X, 11) but seized upon by their opponents like chance remarks in Euripides. The sophists tended to specialize in paradoxical *encomia* like the praise of mice and death. Aristophanes illustrates both aspects, e. g. the proof that it is right to beat your father (*Clouds*, 1405) and that poverty is better than wealth (*Plutus*, 509). Perhaps Isocrates' chief contribution was to reapply this sophistic method, which had lost its novelty, and to use it to prove practical points and to praise real goods (X, 5, 9, 12). Although not the first to do this (X, 14), he established a trend toward practical themes in rhetorical *epideixeis*.

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ARISTOTLE ON VELOCITY IN THE VOID (*PHYS.* Δ, 8, 216 a 20).

There is a curious passage in the *Physics* (Δ, 8, 216 a 20) in which Aristotle comes to the conclusion that in the void all bodies would move with equal velocity. Such a suggestion, of course, has always attracted the attention of scholars and, while some were content with a mere paraphrase of the passage, others added remarks expressing their astonishment that Aristotle, coming so close to the truth, rejected it again.¹

An analysis of the whole argument (Δ, 8, 215 a 24-216 a 21), however, and an examination of the steps by which Aristotle reaches his conclusion lead to an interpretation which is somewhat different and, I think, more nearly exact than those previously given.

Aristotle begins the argument, which is one of those directed against the existence of a separate void, with the statement that empirical observation² shows the velocity of a body to be dependent on two factors: (a) the respective density of the medium and (b) the respective weight, lightness, or other characteristics (such as shape) of the moving body. Then he splits the argument into two parts (215 a 29-216 a 11 and 216 a 11-21), focusing first on (a) and then on (b). With respect to (a) he comes to the conclusion that the velocity of a body in the void would be infinite because he assumes velocity to stand in an inverse relation to the density of the medium. The density in case of the void is 0 and velocity, therefore, infinite.

Then he focusses on (b) and states,³ at first, that empirical

¹ So P. H. Wicksteed in a note to the passage in his and F. M. Cornford's translation of the *Physics*, vol. I (London, New York, 1929), pp. 356-7: "It is tantalizing to find Aristotle actually arriving at the fact, familiar in modern laboratories, that a feather and a guinea, to take the classical example, will fall at the same pace through a vacuum, but treating it as a *reductio ad absurdum*."

On the similar position of W. D. Ross, see note 4 *infra*.

² The use of *ὁρῶμεν* on lines 215 a 25 and 216 a 13 should be noted.

³ To quote the whole second part of the argument (216 a 13-21):
ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τὰ μεῖζω ῥοπήν ἔχοντα ἢ βάρους ἢ κοῦφότητος, εἰς τὰλλα ὁμοίως ἔχει τοῖς σχήμασι, θάπτον φερόμενα τὸ ἴσον χωρίον, καὶ κατὰ λόγον δ' ἔχουσι τὰ μεγέθη πρὸς ἄλληλα. ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον διὰ τίνα

observation shows the velocities of bodies to depend, *ceteris paribus*, on their respective $\rho\sigma\alpha\iota$ and raises the question whether that would also hold true in the void, but immediately answers the question in the negative. So far Aristotle has been consistent and we would expect him to continue the argument by pointing out that, as he has shown previously everything to move with infinite speed through the void, we cannot compare the respective velocities because the infinite exceeds any measure. But instead of concluding in this manner, Aristotle puts himself the question why bodies should move with different velocities in a void where there is no medium to cleave. Differences in $\rho\sigma\eta$ are significant in a resisting medium; for there the body with greater $\rho\sigma\eta$ (shapes being identical) will cleave the medium more quickly. But in the absence of a medium conditions are equal for all bodies whatever their $\rho\sigma\eta$. Hence he concludes: $\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\chi\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$.

We can now survey the whole argument: It starts with the fact of empirical observation that the velocity of bodies varies with the medium and with certain characteristics of the bodies themselves. In the void, however, variations in velocity can depend neither, as a matter of course, on the medium (where resistance is 0) nor *on the body* (according to the conclusion reached in the second part of the argument). Hence velocity in the void is either infinite, if velocity is assumed to be the overcoming of a certain amount of resistance in a certain amount of time, or $\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, if, as in modern physics, velocity is regarded as the traversal of a certain distance in a certain time.

We are now able to see that Aristotle's argument contains indeed some inconsistent reasoning. But the mistake lies somewhere else than where it has been sought. The inconsistency consists in the fact that Aristotle, when concentrating on (b), forgets his conception of velocity previously expounded in (a).⁴

γὰρ αἰτίαν οἰσθήσεται θάπτον; ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πλήρεσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· θάπτον γὰρ διαίρει τῇ ἰσχύϊ τὸ μείζον· ἢ γὰρ σχήματι διαίρει, ἢ $\rho\sigma\eta$ ἣν ἔχει τὸ φερόμενον ἢ τὸ ἀφεθέν. $\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\chi\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$.

⁴ W. D. Ross does not seem to have been aware of this inconsistency; for he takes both parts of the argument as corresponding to each other. He says (*Aristotle's Physics* [Oxford, 1936], p. 61): "A heavier body is supposed to pass more quickly through a certain medium than a lighter, in direct proportion to their respective weights, weight being thought of

Yet as the mistake of a great man it proves to be very fruitful. For it now is evident that Aristotle clearly arrived by sheer thought at the fact "familiar in modern laboratories" and he can have done so only by avoiding the mistake of making the velocity of a body proportional to its weight (a mistake which, some think, Galileo had to correct in Aristotle). He not only anticipated Galileo in this respect, but it is also probable that reminiscences from Aristotle or Lucretius suggested to Galileo his *a priori* conclusion that in the vacuum all bodies fall with equal velocities (see end of note 7 *infra*).

The ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον, which concludes the argument, does not maintain the absurdity of the result just reached that *in the void* all bodies would fall with equal velocities, but the absurdity of assuming all bodies to move with equal speed. In other words, Aristotle has put himself the question how bodies would fall if there were a void and comes to the conclusion that they would have to fall with equal speeds. That he does not find this conclusion confirmed in nature furnishes him additional evidence against the *existence* of a separate void.⁵

The result of this study renders highly improbable the view held by some scholars that Epicurus divined the truth which Aristotle was supposed to have missed.⁶ But as it has been shown

as power to overcome a certain resistance in a certain time. From this it follows that all bodies should move with *equal and infinite* speed through a vacuum (since there is no resistance to be overcome), and this is rejected by Aristotle as absurd" (*italics mine*). But it is impossible that Aristotle could have conjoined "equal" and "infinite" in his mind. Later in the *Physics* (252 a 13) he expressly states: τὸ δ' ἀπειρον πρὸς τὸ ἀπειρον οὐδένα λόγον ἔχει; the expression ἰσοταχῆ, however, implies clearly a relation of velocities which, therefore, cannot be infinite.

⁵ This interpretation receives support from Harold Cherniss' discussion of the passage in his book on *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), where he reaches a similar conclusion with respect to the incompatibility of Aristotle's conception of nature and the assumption of a void. Cf. p. 153: The "view of natural motion and proper place is incompatible with the hypothesis of a void, for to it motion is explicable only as the actualization of a qualitative differentiation of space which, as extension, can be only an exclusive characteristic of corporeality." On Professor Cherniss' view of Aristotle's conception of weight and its implications in case of an assumed void see the preceding discussion on pp. 152-3.

⁶ This view is based on a passage in Epicurus' letter to Herodotus. Thus Cornford adds, *loc. cit.*, to Wicksteed's note: "This truth was

that Aristotle actually arrived at that truth, it seems to be more natural to assume that Epicurus owes this knowledge to a direct or indirect acquaintance with Aristotle's view; especially as he taught at Athens not long after Aristotle.⁷ It also would be rather strange if Epicurus who showed little originality in natural philosophy had surpassed an Aristotle on such an important issue.

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AN ADDITION TO "THE FIRST IDYL OF MOSCHUS IN IMITATIONS TO THE YEAR 1800."

Shakerly Marmion's *Cupid and Psyche*.¹

When James Hutton contributed his splendid article, "The First Idyl of Moschus in Imitations to the year 1800," to Volume XLIX of this periodical in 1928,² he failed to include a close translation of the idyl contained in Shakerly Marmion's *Cupid and Psyche*, a heroic poem appearing in 1637.³ In the following year, 1929, Joseph G. Fucilla compiled his "Additions to 'The

divined without experiment by Epicurus, *Ep.* i. 61, *ισοταχείς ἀναγκαῖον τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι, ὅταν διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ εἰσφέρωνται μηθενὸς ἀντικόπτοντος*. Cf. *Lucr.* ii 238." W. D. Ross endorses Cornford's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

It will be noticed that Epicurus' language and manner of reasoning suggest the passage in the *Physics* discussed in this study.

⁷ F. A. Lange, *The History of Materialism*, tr. by E. C. Thomas (New York, 1925), pp. 26-7, supposes that Epicurus was induced to assume an unmotivated deviation of the falling atoms from the straight line because of Aristotle's criticism of Democritus' doctrine. But Lange reaches this result on the assumption that Democritus believed atoms to fall through the void with a velocity proportional to their weight thus accounting for the original collision of the atoms. This interpretation of Democritus, however, is highly questionable (on the weight of atoms cf. H. Cherniss, *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 412; p. 98, n. 413; p. 211, n. 253).

Lange also suggests that reminiscences from Aristotle or Lucretius may have influenced Galileo in reaching his conclusion that in empty space all bodies will fall equally fast.

¹ Marmion's debt to Moschus has been summarily discussed by me in an unpublished dissertation (*Shakerly Marmion, Poet and Dramatist*, pp. 307-10) presented to Yale University in 1941.

² Pp. 105-36.

³ London, printed by John Okes for H. Sheppard, 1637.

First Idyl of Moschus in *Imitations to the Year 1800*.”⁴ Since Fucilla dealt entirely with imitations of the *Venus Quaerens Filium* theme in Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, he made no mention of English additions.

Marmion's tale is an adaptation of the legend of Cupid and Psyche as told by Apuleius in *The Golden Ass*. Hutton evidently took it for granted that Marmion followed his Latin original faithfully enough to be considered only an indirect borrower from Moschus and, therefore, dismissed him without investigation. After discussing the debt of Apuleius to Moschus, calling attention to a “hue and cry” after Psyche in *The Golden Ass* modeled on the First Idyl, Hutton dismissed with a sentence the followers of Apuleius as secondary users of Moschus, without naming them individually.⁵ Later in his study, Hutton recognized Ben Jonson's use of the Greek idyl in his masque, *The Hue and Cry after Cupid* (designated in Jonson's folio of 1616 as *The Description of the Masque*), pointing out the various items in this eclectic version which were derived from Moschus.⁶ While Marmion consulted both the Apuleian and Jonsonian material, his own imitation of Moschus is far more loyal than theirs.

The truth is that Marmion's *Cupid and Psyche* is an adaptation of the Latin myth instead of a verbatim translation; the author omitted or telescoped some passages from Apuleius and freely embroidered many others. For instance, he took Apuleius' hue and cry after Psyche, mentioned by Hutton, and changed the abbreviated libel into a twenty-line lyric in decasyllabic couplets.⁷ The content of this lyric owes nothing to Moschus except through Apuleius, but the form has been directly influenced by the short Greek poem. The poetic advertisement for the runaway is an insertion, differing in meter from the rest of the English poem. Ben Jonson's *Hue and Cry after Cupid* is also a lyrical advertisement, for the son of Venus, but it is much longer than those of Marmion and Moschus; moreover, Jonson employed three speakers to describe the wandering Cupid, each using several stanzas, while Moschus and Marmion compressed their ideas into one stanza with a single speaker.

⁴ *A. J. P.*, L (1929), pp. 190-3.

⁵ *A. J. P.*, XLIX (1928), p. 107.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷ *Cupid and Psyche*, II, i.

Marmion's definite debt to the First Idyl is, however, in a hue and cry after Cupid not found in his Latin source at all. Developed somewhat as a companion stanza to the hue and cry after Psyche, discussed above, this advertisement is a complete paraphrase of "Fugitive Love" inserted into the main body of *Cupid and Psyche* as a lyric of fifty lines in octosyllabic couplets.⁸ The short couplets and a few minor items of content seem to indicate that Marmion wrote with Jonson's masque in mind also, but the translation from Moschus is remarkably faithful for a seventeenth-century rendition.

A copy of Marmion's translation below will show the totality of his use of the idyl. Those items in *Cupid and Psyche* not readily accounted for in "Fugitive Love" have been italicized by me in order to accentuate their scarcity.

The wanton Cupid, t'other day,
 Did from his mother Venus stray.
 Great paines she tooke, but all in vaine
 How to get her Sonne againe:
For since the boy is sometimes blind,
 He his owne way cannot find.
 If any one can fetch him in,
 Or take him captive in a Gin,
 And bring her word, she for this,
 Will reward him with a kisse.
 That you the felon may descry,
 These are signes to know him by:
 His skin is red *with many a staine*
Of Lovers, which by him were slaine;
Or else it is, the fatall doome,
Which foretells of stormes to come:
 Though he seeme naked to the eye,
 His mind is cloath'd with subtlety,
 Sweet speach he uses, and soft smiles,
 To intice where he beguiles:
 His words are gentle, as the ayre,
 But trust him not, though he speake faire;
 And confirme it with an oath:
 He is fierce, and cruell both,
 He is bold, and carelesse too,
 And will play as wantons doe:
 But when you thinke the sport is past,
 It turnes to earnest at the last.
 His evill nature none can tame,

⁸ *Cupid and Psyche*, I, iiii.

For neither reverence, nor shame,
 Are in his lookes; his *curled* hayre
Hangs like Nets, for to ensnare.
 His hands though weake, and slender; strike
 Age, and Sexes, all alike,
 And when he list, will make his nest,
 In their Marrow, or their breast:
 Those poyson'd Darts shot from his Bow,
 Hurt Gods above, and men below.
 His left hand beares a burning Torch,
 Whose flame the very same will scorch;
 And not hell it selfe is free,
 From this Impes impiety.
The wounds he makes, no Salve can cure;
 Then if you catch him, bind him sure:
 Take no pittie, though he cry,
 Or laugh, or smile, *or seeme to dye,*
 And for his ransome would deliver
 His Arrowes, and his *painted* Quiver.
 Refuse them all, for they are such,
 That will burne, where ere they touch (I, iiii).^o

As may be easily discerned, there are no major deviations from Moschus in the imitation executed by Marmion, the greatest one being the fact that Moschus had Venus deliver her own proclamation, and in the first person, while Marmion had the handbill prepared at the command of Venus, but written in the third person. There are only seven words, or phrases, not definitely accounted for in the Greek source: Cupid is blind; his skin is red either from the blood of his victims, or as a revelation of the lightning-like power within; his curly hair is used as a snare; no salve can cure the wounds made by him; he may feign death when trapped; and his quiver is painted. Three of Marmion's additions seem to have been taken from Jonson's *Hue and Cry after Cupid*; it depicts a blind Love, bathed in the blood of lovers, and filled with a flaming breath that wounds like lightning. Since Moschus' Cupid is flame-colored and has lovely hair, a golden quiver, and bitter shafts, four of the so-called contributions of Marmion may only represent loose interpretations of items in the Greek original.

There are only six minor omissions to be found in Marmion's cartel: the reward offered for the god's capture is a kiss only;

^o I have followed the first edition of *Cupid and Psyche*, ignoring the original italics in order to clarify my own.

there is no mention of Cupid's being recognizable among twenty; his eyes are not described; he is not accused of wounding his mother; his torch does not burn the sun;¹⁰ and there is no warning that the fugitive may offer a poisoned kiss if caught. Another seeming omission is Marmion's failure to mention the crossroads as the probable haunt of the runaway, but in the lines of *Cupid and Psyche* just preceding the formal hue and cry we find that the description of the felon was to be posted "where ways met."

Marmion has used some freedom in forcing the Greek material into English poetry, but he has remained true to the sense. Cupid's arrow pierces hell instead of reaching Acheron and the king of Hades separately. On the other hand, Love may offer his arrows and his painted bow separately instead of his weapons as a whole. Cupid may not be likened to a bird in so many words, but he is able to build his nest in man's vitals. In nearly every instance, as may be verified by an examination of the imitation and the original, Marmion has not only repeated Moschus' catalogue of the features and accomplishments of Venus' son, but he has also retained the order of the telling in an almost line by line translation.

Since Shakerly Marmion was an Oxonian with a definite taste for the classics, a dramatist who often translated passages from ancient authors to fill out his thin dramas, a personal friend of industrious Heywood, and a protégé of scholarly Jonson, I presume that his imitation of the First Idyl was based directly on the Greek of Moschus. The prevalence of fairly accurate English translations of the *Greek Anthology*, containing "Fugitive Love," however, makes it difficult to determine whether the seventeenth-century imitator received his inspiration directly or indirectly.

SUE MAXWELL.

A TEXTUAL ITEM IN HERODOTUS.

ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οἰδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μετὲς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾷν ἐκέλευε (Herodotus, I, 33).

¹⁰ Unless Marmion's *same* (line 40) is a scribal or printer's error for some spelling of *sun* (*sunne*? *sonne*?).

This, the text given by Hude, is not completely satisfactory. There is some slight inconcinnity in having the first οὔτε negative the verb ἐχαρίζετο and the second one the participle ποιησάμενος. Then, while the subject of ἐχαρίζετο refers to Solon, the subject of ἀποπέμπεται unexpectedly refers to Croesus. It is preferable to put a period after οὐδενός and discard ἀμαθέα for ἀμαθής, the reading of S.

"By saying this he certainly did not please Croesus, nor yet by having considered him of no account. He is dismissed, having been adjudged extraordinarily ignorant because he utterly disregarded present blessings and bade one look instead at the end of every matter."

The first οὔτε would have been put before ταῦτα, had not Herodotus wished to emphasize the latter strongly. The sentence is artistically constructed with the first reason for Croesus' displeasure put at the beginning, one of the two emphatic positions in a Greek sentence, and the other reason at the end, the other emphatic position. The asyndeton after οὐδενός is quite effective. Equally so is the one at the beginning of the sentence. The two help indicate the abruptness and finality of Solon's dismissal after his last speech. The following is another asyndeton just as abrupt and effective: . . . ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθείας προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότηα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι. αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι (Herodotus, I, 11, 4). Herodotus is partial to the use of asyndeton. Cf. ταῦτα ἀμείψατο (37, 1), ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος (40, 1), ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος (42, 1), ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ (48, 1) among other instances in the first book.

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PLINY, *HISTORIA NATURALIS*, XXXI, 41.

All the ancient sources, with one exception, refer to Rome's third aqueduct built by Q. Marcius Rex, as the Aqua Marcia.¹ The exception to this otherwise unanimous agreement is Pliny's

¹ For the ancient references to the Aqua Marcia see Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. "Aqua Marcia," pp. 24-7 and Ashby, *Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, pp. 88-94.

statement² that the Aqua Marcia was once called Aufeia. The earliest reference to this aqueduct by the name of Aqua Marcia occurs in the legend AQUA MAR that appears on the reverse of the denarius struck *ca.* 56 B. C. by Marcus Philippus.³ Thus, at least as early as *ca.* 56 B. C. the most famous Roman aqueduct went by the name of Marcia. Why, then, should it ever have been known as the Aqua Aufeia?

Of the fifteen MSS of Pliny's *Natural History* listed by Mayhoff in his praefatio, only two offer divergent readings.⁴ These seem to be the result of carelessness rather than of any effort to clarify the meaning of the word. The MS tradition can, therefore, be considered absolutely sound. And yet the adjective *Aufeius*, which is uncommon at best, occurs nowhere else in Latin literature as a modifier of *aqua*.⁵

Harduin seems to have been the only editor who was ever troubled by this fact.⁶ He emends *Aufeia* to *Saufeia* with the comment that *Saufeia* is at least the name of a Roman gens.⁷ But there is nothing in the recorded history of the construction of the Aqua Marcia to connect it with an otherwise unknown *Saufeius*. The same holds true for Otto's suggested derivation⁸ of *Aufeia* from an equally unknown *Aufeius*. His alternative proposal⁹ that the name might have resulted from the fact that the sources of the Marcia lay in the vicinity of Aufinum, a town in the territory of the Vestini, is of no assistance either. The adjective form of Aufinum is *Aufinas*, *-tis*, not *Aufeius*, *-a*, *-um*, as is attested by another passage of Pliny.¹⁰

² *H. N.*, XXXI, 41: *clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigris salubritatisque palma praeconio urbis Marcia est, inter reliqua deum munera urbi tributa. vocabatur haec quondam Aufeia, fons autem ipse Pitonia.* The text is that of Mayhoff (Teubner, 1897).

³ Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, p. 485, nos. 3890-3895, Pl. 48, 17-18.

⁴ V reads *aut foeta*, and d has *aufeta*.

⁵ See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s. v. "Aufeia."

⁶ Johannes Harduinus, *Caii Plinii Secundi Historiae Naturalis Libri XXXVII* (Paris, 1723, 1741²), II, p. 553, note 1: *Aufeia] Mallem Saufeia. Id enim gentis Romanae nomen.*

⁷ There is slight evidence that *Aufeius* was also a gentile name (see *T. L. L.*, s. v. "Aufius"); but in the only passage that can be connected with a date earlier than the empire (Gellius, XI, 10, 2) the text is far from sound.

⁸ *T. L. L.*, s. v. "Aufeia."

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *H. N.*, III, 107: *Vestinorum Angulani, Pennienses, Peltuinates, quibus iunguntur Aufinatcs Cismontani.*

Kubitschek connects¹¹ Pliny's statement about the name Aufeia with his further statement below that Ancus Marcius was the first to project the building of an aqueduct which was the forerunner of the Aqua Marcia.¹² He believes that the aqueduct of Ancus Marcius was called the Aqua Aufeia. But, granting the historicity of the aqueduct of Ancus Marcius, which is at best legendary, such an aqueduct should have been named after the king or after the source from which it was taken.¹³ Such a source named *Aufeius*, *Aufeia*, or *Aufeium* may have existed, but there is no trace of it in the sources.¹⁴

Under these circumstances, the errors of fact which Pliny makes in his two references to the Aqua Marcia¹⁵ might well suggest that Pliny is also in error in saying that the Aqua Marcia was once called Aqua Aufeia, or that it was ever called by any other name than Aqua Marcia.

There is, however, solid ground for believing¹⁶ that Q. Marcius

¹¹ *Wien. Sitzb.*, CLXVII, 6 (1911), p. 6.

¹² *H. N.*, XXXI, 41: *primus eam in urbem ducere auspicatus est Ancus Marcius, unus e regibus, postea Q. Marcius Rex in praetura, rursus restituit M. Agrippa.*

¹³ Cf. the Aquae Appia, Anio Vetus and Novus, Marcia, Iulia, Alsietina (also called Augusta), Claudia, Traiana, and Alexandrina. Two exceptions are the Virgo, whose name is connected with the circumstances surrounding its discovery (Frontinus, *De Aquis*, I, 10), and the Tepula, so named, apparently, because of the temperature of its water.

¹⁴ See *T. L. L.*, s. v. "Aufius."

¹⁵ *H. N.*, XXXI, 41, XXXVI, 121. For their appraisal see Ashby, *Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, p. 90.

¹⁶ The evidence of this and of the connection of the Aemilii with the construction of aqueducts is the following: 1) Livy's statement (XL, 51, 7) that M. Aemilius and M. Fulvius Nobilior, the censors of 179 B. C., let contracts for the building of a third aqueduct, including contracts for its supporting arches; 2) the leadership assumed by M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina in the fight to extend the Marcia to the Capitoline in 143 B. C. (Frontinus, I, 7) and, again, as the writer has sought to show in an article to appear in *Class. Phil.*, in 140 B. C. (*P. Oxy.*, no. 668, 188-190: *M. Porcinae devota est aqua Anio, aqua [Marcia in Capi]tolium contra Sibyllae carmina [perducta.]*); and 3) the representation of an aqueduct on a denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus struck ca. 90-89 B. C. (Grueber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 291, Pl. 94, 11; for the identification of the three-arches represented on the denarius as an aqueduct, which the writer has discussed in an article entitled "The Denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus and the Aqua Marcia" to appear in *A. J. A.*, see Urlichs, *Sitzb. München*, 1870, pp. 482-3; Jordan, *Topo-*

Rex merely completed an aqueduct projected and in part constructed by the censors of 179 B. C., M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior.¹⁷ The arches of this uncompleted aqueduct stood dry and useless but conspicuously visible to the traveller in the Campagna for about thirty years before Marcius Rex completed the Aemilio-Fulvian project in 143 B. C.¹⁸ When reference was made to these arches by the inhabitants of Latium

graphie der Stadt Rom, I, p. 414, note 27; and Kubitschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 5). Besides the passage under discussion, which shows that the Marcia was not always known by that name, whether the proposed emendation is accepted or not, is the reference by Canina to one of the putative sources of the Aqua Marcia, the *Sorgente di S. Maria di Arsoli*, by its local name at that time of *Fosso dell'Acqua Amelia* (Lanciani, "Le Acque e gli Acquedotti," *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie*, IV [1880], p. 64).

¹⁷ Livy, XL, 51, 5: *habuere et in promiscuo praeterea pecuniam. ea locarunt aquam adducendam fornicesque faciendos. impedimento operi fuit M. Licinius Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus*. For evidence that these arches were actually constructed cf. Livy's (XXXIV, 53, 3-7) long list of buildings dedicated in 194 B. C., several years after contracts had been let for them by persons who were not the awarders of the original contracts.

¹⁸ The writer believes that this was the date of the completion of the Marcia as far as its terminal castellum in the city and that the aqueduct's extension to the Capitoline in 140 B. C. was a separate and later enterprise that was delayed till that year by political obstruction on the part of the opponents of Q. Marcius Rex and M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina. The victory in 143 B. C. was purely parliamentary (see the article to appear in *A. J. A.* referred to in note 16 *supra*). The grounds for this belief are the following: 1) the availability of the unfinished portions of the Aemilio-Fulvian aqueduct begun in 179 B. C.; 2) the specific statement of Frontinus (I, 7) that the authority of Q. Marcius Rex was of but two years' duration (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXI, 41 says one year); 3) the insufficiency of time two years would allow for the construction as an entirely new structure of Rome's longest aqueduct, which the Marcia was (Frontinus, I, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15; see the article to appear in *A. J. A.* referred to above for the comparative lengths and periods of construction of Rome's chief aqueducts); 4) the election of new censors in 142 B. C., of whom P. Scipio Africanus Minor was one (*Fasti Capit.*, *C. I. L.*, I², p. 26), whose political faction was bitterly hostile to the Aemilii-Marcii-Claudii at this time (see Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien*, pp. 238-45); 5) the unfailing association of the aqueduct with the name of Marcius, which would not have been the case if some one other than he had finished it; and 6) in 140 B. C. the censors of 142 B. C. had resigned office and Scipio was on his trip through the East (see Münzer, *R.-E.*, IV, col. 1552).

or Rome, it must have been by the names of the censors Aemilius and Fulvius, just as their famous basilica was known as the Aemilia-Fulvia until, in the end, with the dying out of the Fulvian gens and the repeated Aemilian restorations, it came to be called the basilica Aemilia or Paulli.¹⁹ Thus, long before the completion of the aqueduct of Aemilius and Fulvius by Q. Marcius Rex, the most conspicuous portions of the later Aqua Marcia were familiar to the Romans as *fornices* or *opus Aemilia-Fulvia* or *Aemilium-Fulvium*. This appellation undoubtedly clung to the completed structure long after Marcius used the arches to bring the celebrated water of his aqueduct to the city. Ultimately, the name of Marcius displaced that of Aemilius and Fulvius. The same process of displacement of the older by the newer may be seen at work in the late empire when Polemius Silvius²⁰ solemnly asserts that the Aqua Marcia was built by Marcus Agrippa, who did restore it in 33 B. C.²¹

It is the belief, therefore, of the writer that Pliny is correct in saying that the Aqua Marcia was once known by another name. But the earlier name was not *Aufeia*, as the MSS read, but *Aemilia-Fulvia*. The corruption of *Aemilia-Fulvia* is in all probability not the work of later copyists of Pliny's work. It is more likely that it derives either from Pliny's initial error or from an abbreviation of the double name made by Pliny himself or a secretary at the time he excerpted this information for later incorporation in his work.²² The abbreviation was later misunderstood when it was copied into the published version of the *Historia Naturalis*. But, whatever the origin of the error, the present reading of the MSS, *Aufeia*, does not accord with the facts known about the construction of the Aqua Marcia. The emendation *Aemilia-Fulvia* does.

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¹⁹ Livy (XL, 51, 5) says that Fulvius alone built the basilica in 179 B. C. But this seems to be wrong. See the discussion of the name of the basilica in Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Basilica Aemilia," p. 72. For the dying out of the Fulvian gens see Münzer, *R.-E.*, VII, col. 267.

²⁰ Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, I, p. 546: *Martia inventa est a Marco Agrippa*.

²¹ Frontinus, I, 9; Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXI, 41.

²² For his uncle's habit of excerpting everything that he read see the Younger Pliny's letter to Baebius Macer (*Epistulae*, III, 5, 10).

REVIEWS.

IVAN M. LINFORTH. *The Arts of Orpheus*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1941. Pp. xviii + 370. \$3.50.

Orpheus and "Orphism" have long held an assured place in the history of Greek religious thought. In his important article on early Orphism and kindred movements, in the *Harvard Theological Review* for 1935, Nilsson listed some twenty books or articles, written between 1922 and 1935, which were devoted in whole or in part to this subject. But, while one and all agreed on the importance of the Orphic religion, attempts at defining it displayed a bewildering diversity. Thus even the story of the dismemberment of Dionysus by the Titans, which Nilsson considers "the cardinal point of the Orphic doctrine," was called into question by Wilamowitz, who denied any connection between Orpheus and the Dionysiac mysteries and scoffed at the modern invention of the word *Orphism* (*Glaube der Hellenen*, II, pp. 193, 202). None the less this "Orphism," however tenuous it might seem on analysis, has become firmly entrenched in all our histories of the development of Greek religion.

Professor Linforth's book is therefore in the nature of a bombshell. Aroused to scepticism by the startlingly diverse answers to the question "What was the Orphic religion?", he has posed instead the more fundamental question "Was there an Orphic religion, in the sense of a consistent set of practices and beliefs?" What precisely, he asks, did the ancients mean when they referred to Orpheus and Ὀρφικά? The method he has followed in seeking an answer to these questions is a rigorous application of the admirable dictum of Strabo which is here placed at the head of the book and which should be taken to heart by all scholars. His primary concern is to determine precisely the significance of the ancient texts which explicitly refer to Orpheus. This is substantially the method of Wilamowitz, to the stringent application of which Nilsson objected (*Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1935, pp. 184-5). If we start with the assurance that there actually was a consistent Orphic religion which needs only to be interpreted, the method is perhaps too severe, but it is the only way in which we can dispassionately determine whether there is evidence for such a religion.

The major part of the book consists, therefore, of a detailed analysis of the key texts, those of doubtful relevance being omitted except where strong arguments can be found for their inclusion. The first chapter gives all the evidence for Orpheus prior in date to 300 B. C. and includes the legend and poems as well as the rites. For the period after 300 B. C. a second chapter presents the evidence for the rites and institutions associated with Orpheus, but omits other matter. Finally, after two chapters in which the evidence gathered is collated and evaluated, a chapter is devoted to the crucial problem of the myth of dismemberment.

The early texts picture Orpheus as a great musician, whose song

can work magic, and as a culture hero, to whom is ascribed the foundation of τελεταί and mysteries. Ten passages, found in Herodotus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, Ephorus, Theophrastus, and the authors of the *Rhesus* and the First Speech against Aristogeiton, are here examined in great detail (pp. 38-104) as our only early evidence for rites definitely associated with the name of Orpheus. Slight as this evidence is, it is so important for the entire subject that it must be summarized here. Herodotus tells us of a group of Orphics¹ who avoid the use of wool for burial. They may be the same as the Orphics who are referred to in the *Hippolytus*,² who are vegetarians, revere sacred writers, and regard Orpheus as their Lord (ἄναξ). Vegetarianism appears also as a mark of the "Orphic life" in a passage of Plato. So far we are entitled to think of Orphics as small but apparently familiar groups of "peculiar people" who are considered worthy of scorn by such men as Euripides' Theseus. But from the *Rhesus* we learn that Orpheus instituted secret mysteries of Persephone, probably a state cult, at Athens; clearly we cannot define "Orphism" in such a way as to include both this cult and the eccentric groups just described. The remaining passages depict Orpheus either as the founder of mysteries generally, or, with Musaeus, as the author of books which purveyors of unofficial teletae offered in support of their claims.

What may we conclude from this? Orpheus is the culture hero who originated teletae and mysteries. Therefore, "any or all rites of this type could on occasion be spoken of as Orphic" (p. 170). Other rites too might be called Orphic in a particular sense, but this does not mean that we are entitled to add them together to form a total called "Orphism," or that there was any persistent unity of belief or practice. "Perhaps," says Linforth, "though all teletae were in the wider sense Orphic, the name was applied more particularly to all those which did not belong to a settled cult with fixed traditions, but received their sanction directly from Orphic poems" (p. 171). Such poems, which professed to be written by or at the direct inspiration of Orpheus,³ were a regular medium for the exposition of theological ideas and speculations, but here as elsewhere we must not look for a unified outlook. In view of the current opinion, we should carefully note also the fact that, for this early period, neither "in the legend or in the rites, is there any connection between him [Orpheus] and Dionysus, except in the story of his death as told by Aeschylus, where the relation is one of bitter hostility" (p. 171).

The more abundant evidence of the later period supports this general picture of Orpheus as the participant, originator, and poet

¹ Linforth offers convincing arguments for accepting only the shorter text of the Florentine group of MSS for this passage, II, 79, as against either the Roman family or the vulgate, which is like the Roman text, except that ὁμολογέουσι is read for ὁμολογέει. If we accept the short text, the word Ὀρφικοῖσι is masculine, but these Orphics are not identified with the Bacchics, who disappear from the text.

² Lines 943-57; Linforth rightly points out that Hippolytus himself is not an Orphic and that the true point of the passage is lost by such an assumption.

³ Note especially the elucidation of the curious passage in the *Alcestis* of Euripides (962-71), pp. 119-38.

of religious institutions. He now appears most frequently associated with the mysteries of Dionysus, but the mysteries or rites of numerous other deities are also specifically called Orphic or said to have been founded by him.

In the final chapter the evidence for the myth of the dismemberment of Dionysus is examined in the same painstaking manner, for in it most scholars have found the basis for an Orphic doctrine of the divinity of man. Several points stand out: most of the references to the myth come from late sources, especially the later Neoplatonists; there are numerous variations in minor details; the myth was frequently used as an allegorical representation of events, but the meanings thus read into it varied very considerably. The myth itself had indeed been told by an Orphic poet, as had so many others, and possibly even before the time of Pindar (though our earliest *explicit* evidence for this appears in the first century B. C.), but there is no hint that ancient writers ever saw in it the "essential and peculiar possession of an organized religion or of a recognized school of thought" (p. 356).

It would seem then that modern scholarship has been ill-advised in the attempts that it has made to reconstruct a great and consistent Orphic movement. This is not to deny the individual importance of the several religious ideas which scholars have seen fit to ascribe to "Orphism." These ideas—or such of them at least as we have not ourselves invented to fill out the gaps in our own reconstructions—did exist, and many of them exerted great influence. Yet this is not quite like saying that *Hamlet* was written not by Shakespeare but by another man of the same name. It is more than merely a matter of nomenclature. The impact of isolated and unrelated ideas would be far different from that of the well-coördinated theological system which some scholars have sought to detect. Since Orpheus was the recognized expert in ritual, religious thinkers tended naturally to ascribe their speculations to him, but the modern effort to blend these varied speculations into a harmonious system has undoubtedly caused some distortion, both historical and philosophical.

It is unfortunate that this excellent and stimulating book should be marred by an inordinate number of misprints. I noted at least fifteen in the Greek, besides several others. For the most part they are fairly obvious and not likely to prove misleading, except for the cross-reference on p. 309 to p. 253 (should it be to p. 214?).

In my opinion Professor Linforth has abundantly proved his main thesis. His interpretations of specific texts may not in all cases find universal approval, but they are always carefully studied and deserve attention from anyone concerned with the meaning of the passages treated, whether students of Greek religion or not. It will probably take several generations to rid our reference books of the many loose generalizations about "Orphism," but no scholar will henceforth dare to commit himself on this ever-tempting subject without first taking cognizance of *The Arts of Orpheus*.

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GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon.* American School of Classical Studies, 1940. Pp. 91; 66 figures. \$2.50. (*Hesperia*, Supplement III.)

To that remarkable piece of detective work, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens" (*Hesperia*, V [1936], pp. 443-520; also published separately), has now been added the concluding instalment, written in the same masterly vein, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. Certainly the sermons in the Acropolis stones are far more eloquent to the patient discernment of Mr. Stevens than to the generations who have trod the bare hill of Athena!

When we stand before a Greek statue embalmed in the cold formality of a modern museum, what an effort of the imagination is required to picture it in all its freshness and color and its original setting relative to other statues, adjacent buildings, and surrounding nature! No less must be the effort of the imagination in architecture, for, although a building may still be seen on its original site, yet not only must the missing portions and the vanished colors be supplied but of the neighboring buildings little or nothing may be visible, the point or points of view from which it was intended to be observed may no longer be clear, and, more particularly, the land-scaping of its surroundings has so uniformly disappeared that we have seldom thought to give the aesthetic sense of the Greeks credit for any consideration of this aspect of architectural design. Yet the American excavators in the Athenian agora have recently revealed "the gardens of Hephaestus" in which the Hephaestum on the Colonus Agoraeus was set, and the temples at Sunium and Aegina are also known to have been terraced. A worthy setting has now been provided for the Parthenon.

If we follow the guidance of Stevens, we find that from the Propylaea only a glimpse of the upper part of the Parthenon is obtained (so different from the impression today) and that it is not until we have traversed more than half of the distance from the Propylaea and turned south at right angles through a propylon, conjured from a few traces in the scarred rock, into a roomy rock-cut court that suddenly above a broad flight of some fifteen stone steps (echoing the curve of the stylobate) the Parthenon rises in a magnificently massive view which reveals not only the west façade but also, in perspective, the whole north side. Every element which presented itself to the spectator in this his first view of the temple was carefully and harmoniously designed by Ictinus. Among the forest of stelae which found a conspicuous site on the steps, the visitor ascended to a broad terrace (about 10 m. wide at this point) which ran across the entire west and along both the north and the south side and was continued at approximately the same level in a broad area to the east of the temple. From this terrace a good view could be obtained of the Panathenaic frieze which, beginning at the south-west corner, flowed along both sides to the eastern entrance even as the actual procession itself probably did. Near the north-east corner of the temple no artificial fill was needed, for the natural rock was high enough and required only a little dressing, while along the east and

south sides part of the width of the terrace was formed by reducing the projecting platform of the older Parthenon to the proper level. Elsewhere the terrace was composed of an earth fill supported by a retaining wall the construction and course of which are described in detail. Traces of monuments in the rock-cut part of the terrace occur only along the east and west façades where the author restores a symmetrical series of four monuments, two on each side of the half steps that lead to the east and west doorways, and two larger ones nearer the corners, plus a larger square and unsymmetrically placed structure of evidently later date at the north-west corner. It is of course possible that there were other monuments on the part of the terrace which was not rock-cut, but naturally there is no evidence on this point, and it is clear at any rate that the space near the building was left free for circulation. In addition Stevens calls attention to traces of monuments on the middle step of the Parthenon in front of many of the columns on the north and south sides, evidently for the most part for single votive statues, and dating apparently from all periods from the fifth century on. He further notes that the holes for attaching shields to the architrave occur in three different systems, suggesting three periods for their attachment. Some interesting observations are also made on the construction of the great doors and on the (wooden) grilles in the pronaos and opisthodomus.

Sometimes one may think the author's interpretations verge on the over-ingenious, e.g. when he claims that Ictinus diagrammed his elevations of the Parthenon and its surroundings so accurately in advance that the person entering through the propylon into the west courtyard would have just been able to see the bottom of the opisthodomus columns; further that this is proved by the circumstance that the workmen in laying the two steps on which these columns rest, and which were reused blocks from the older Parthenon, refrained from slicing 6.7 cm. off the upper step because if they had done so approximately 6.7 cm. of the bottom of the shaft would have been occluded. Yet he admits that this method saved time and labor. Certainly, if Ictinus really took such care in so relatively inconspicuous a detail, it seems an almost more amazing proof of his infinite capacity for taking pains than the famous "refinements." Whether one accepts this view or not, he again learns to respect the author's acuteness, for, although at first glance it would be natural to suppose that at a distance of some 40 m. even a slight increase in the height of the hypothetical observer would have enabled him to see the entire shaft even although it had been set 6.7 cm. lower, yet a brief calculation will show that the observer actually would have had to be some two feet taller!

A reasonable restoration is given of the "Chalkotheke" on the south side of the court west of the Parthenon, based on the admittedly scanty evidence, and the (Doric) portico is clearly shown to be later than the building proper. Good reasons are presented for placing the votive bull of the Council of the Areopagus in a cutting at the north-east corner of this same court, at the base of the stairway, and more tentatively the monument of Athena Ergane is located immediately above this. The study concludes with a discussion of the precinct of Zeus, the site of the bouphonia or ox-murder; a little to the north-east of the Parthenon occurs a number of rock cuttings

which are interpreted as post-holes for the wattle-work fence of the precinct, stalls, a trough, and, in a later though apparently also fifth-century stage, a small shrine.

The only misprints noticed were on p. 30 (last line), where 0.25 evidently should read 0.025, and on p. 64 where 4) should read 3). In this and the companion article Stevens has given us a very much more vivid conception of the general appearance of the acropolis and has embodied the main results in his restorations which appear as frontispieces to the two articles: one the view through the Propylaea toward the Parthenon and Erechtheum showing the "entrance court"; the other a view of the Parthenon from the court to the west of it (incidentally it includes the latest revisions in the west pediment). A further service remains for Stevens to perform, namely, to give us a restored view of the whole acropolis from the west, along the lines of the old restoration by Richard Bohn and including the results of his own investigations and those of others.

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The Greek Political Experience. Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1941. Pp. 252. \$3.00.

This work consists of fourteen essays by as many different authors on various aspects of the theme announced in the title. There are chapters on the Greek people and the value of their experience (Norman T. Pratt, Jr.), the development from kingship to democracy (J. Penrose Harland), democracy at Athens (George M. Harper, Jr.), Athens and the Delian League (B. D. Meritt), socialism at Sparta (P. R. Coleman-Norton), tyranny (Malcolm MacLaren, Jr.), federal unions (Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.), Alexander and the world-state (O. W. Reinmuth), the Antigonids (John V. A. Fine), the planned economy of the Ptolemies in Egypt (Sherman Leroy Wallace), the Seleucids and their theory of monarchy (Glanville Downey), the political status of the independent cities of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period (David Magie), and finally a chapter on the ideal states of Plato and Aristotle (Whitney J. Oates), and a brief epilogue (Allan Chester Johnson).

The scope of the volume is impressive. It is good to see so much attention given to the Hellenistic period, and most readers will find these chapters the freshest both in content and treatment. Since the volume evidently aims at a certain completeness in the treatment of its theme, it is fair to point out that there are serious omissions. There is no treatment of oligarchy, nor any discussion of international law and arbitration, a feature of Greek political life that needs to be kept in mind as a corrective of commonplaces about the "particularism" of the city-state. Finally, if experience be taken broadly enough to include the schemes of philosophers as well as the plans of kings and generals, we should find some account of the "mixed constitution" as worked out in Plato's *Laws*, and of the

Stoic law of nature—two doctrines of tremendous import. for later ages.

Of special interest in the individual chapters (only a few of which can be commented on) is Magie's thesis that the ancient Greek cities of Asia Minor in the centuries after Chaeronea were regarded as enjoying their independence *de jure* and not by grace of Alexander and his successors (pp. 185-6). Meritt's discussion of the transfer of funds from the imperial treasury to the treasurers of Athena, a procedure which made possible the erection of the Parthenon, throws interesting new light on an ancient political quarrel. Reinmuth maintains the thesis that Alexander intended to establish a world-state and urges that in his administration of conquered territories, in his use of Macedonian and Asiatic troops in common military service, in his encouragement of marriage between Greeks and barbarians, and in his assumption of the title of god-king he was attempting to lay the foundations of a political unity to which all races of men could give allegiance. Downey shows how the Seleucid theory of the monarch as Animate Law and of divine descent arose out of the difficult problem the Seleucids faced of maintaining their power over a variety of peoples without a common speech or common culture. Oates maintains that Plato and Aristotle believed fundamentally in the essence of democracy (p. 211) and cites as evidence their preference for the mean, their hatred of tyranny, their recognition of human dignity, and the importance they attached to education for moral responsibility. The contemporaries of Plato and Aristotle would hardly have regarded these doctrines as peculiarly democratic; but Oates' real point is that Plato and Aristotle are not to be classed with the totalitarians (p. 193), and it is a point well worth making in these times. MacLaren finds some confusion in the popular conceptions of tyranny and the tyrant. But from his own account it appears that the power of the tyrant (in the restricted sense of the term) rested always on the abrogation of some part of the laws ordinarily regarded as binding on the holders of power. Hence the stigma that attached to tyranny, however benevolent the tyrant might be; hence the doubt whether a tyrant could be just, considering the basic egoism involved in his flouting of the laws. Thus in Plato and Aristotle the tyrant's egoism and self-interest are the exact counterpart of the unconstitutional character of his rule. To accuse them of wavering between a "moralistic" and a "legalistic" definition of tyranny (pp. 80-81) is hardly fair, since these are inseparable aspects of the same political phenomenon.

There are brief but helpful bibliographies for each topic at the end of the volume. Footnotes are but rarely employed, and their absence is annoying when one wishes to know the authority for a statement in the text, or the identity of some opponent whose views the author is controverting. There are three maps, reproduced from the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and a full index.

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Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics with an English Translation by IVOR THOMAS. Vol. I, From Thales to Euclid; Vol. II, From Aristarchus to Pappus. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1939 and 1941. Pp. xvi + 505; x + 683. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

By far the best modern history of Greek mathematics was written by the late Sir Thomas L. Heath.¹ The superiority of Heath's work over its predecessors is explained by the fact that it is based on a profound first-hand knowledge of the original sources. No better supplement of Heath's *History* can therefore be desired than a selection of significant texts from all periods of Greek mathematics. A parallel reading of these texts and Heath's commentaries will be the most convenient way of obtaining a good knowledge of Greek mathematics in a comparatively short time. Every scholar who wishes to see the continuation of the tradition which connects our present culture with that of the ancients will be grateful to the editors of the Loeb series and to the translator for presenting us with this new contribution.

I hope that a few remarks as to the details and the general plan of this collection of Greek mathematical works will not be considered out of place, since they may be of some use for later editions. It must be emphasized, however, that these remarks are by no means intended to detract from the value of the *Selections* as a whole. I start with a few scattered notes which I made while reading; and I shall end with a short discussion of our present picture of ancient mathematics.

I, pp. 4-5. Rorphyry, *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics* is now available in a modern edition by Düring² which supersedes the edition of Wallis.

I, p. 19. The translation of *φάσεις* by "[lunar] phases" is certainly wrong, and Heiberg meant the right thing when he translated it by "Kalenderwesen" (quoted in note c). This is clear not only from Ptolemy's book *φάσεις* but also from the terminology of other writers on the relationship between stellar risings and settings and weather prognostication.³

I, p. 48, note a. The commentaries on Ptolemy's *Syntaxis* by Theon and Pappus are now, at least in part, edited by A. Rome.⁴

I, p. 165, note b. The translation "of the Egyptian se-qet 'that which makes the nature'" is very doubtful, even if replaced by the better rendering "that which forms" (cf. e. g. Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* [Liverpool, 1923], p. 98).

¹ T. L. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (2nd ed., 2 vols. [Oxford 1921]); and the shorter *Manual of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford 1931), by the same author.

² I. Düring, *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, XXXVIII [1932]). The passage in question is ed. Düring; p. 56, 2-10.

³ For the literature, cf. Rehm's article "Episemasiai" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, Suppl. VII, cols. 175-98.

⁴ A. Rome, *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste* (*Studi e testi*, LIV [1931] and LXXII [1936]). Cf. also Isis, XXXIII (1942), p. 632.

I, p. 301, note b. Ptolemy's *Analemma* could be called an application of "descriptive geometry" to sun dials.

II, p. 51, note a. Third line from the bottom read $a:b = e:d$ and in the following line $e + d : d = a + b : b$.

II, p. 167, note. Read S_n instead of Sn .

II, p. 260, note a. The distance between the tropics is erroneously given as $47^{\circ}29'39''$ instead of $47^{\circ}42'40''$. The development of this latter sexagesimal fraction into a continuous fraction leads in the fourth step to $11/83$, i. e. the value ascribed by Ptolemy (*Syntaxis*, I, 12) to Eratosthenes.

II, p. 365, note b. It is stated that the "Hippopede" of Eudoxus can be obtained as the intersection of a plane with a torus. That this cannot be correct follows from the fact that Eudoxus' Hippopede is not a plane curve, but the intersection of a sphere with a certain cylinder (cf. vol. I, pp. 414 f., note c).

II, p. 396, note a. The remarks about the division of the circle by the Babylonians and about Hypsicles are antiquated. We have known since Kugler's discoveries (1900) that the Babylonian astronomers used the sexagesimal system in all parts of their calculations, not only for longitudes.⁵

II, p. 406, note a. It is misleading to say that Hipparchus' "greatest achievement was the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes," which requires nothing but comparison with stellar positions which are sufficiently old and sufficiently reliable in order to make the shift in longitude evident. Hipparchus' great achievement lies in the systematic application of mathematics to the description of the movement of the sun and the moon. His figure for the length of "the mean lunar month which differs by less than a second from the now accepted number," however, is a value identical with that already used by the Babylonian astronomers.⁶

Menelaus' *Sphaerica* is now available in a modern edition of the Arabic text with German translation by A. Krause (1936).⁷

II, pp. 408-9, note b. Among Ptolemy's works the *Geography* and the *Tetrabiblos*⁸ should have been mentioned. The *Geography* is especially deserving of mention because of its ingenious mapping of the surface of the earth on a plane.⁹

II, p. 435. The translation "the third part of ($1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$) is not given

⁵ F. X. Kugler, *Babylonische Mondrechnung* (Freiburg, 1900). Cf. for the special question of the division of the circle O. Neugebauer, "Untersuchungen zur antiken Astronomie III," *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. d. Mathem.*, Abt. B, IV (1938), pp. 273 ff.

For Hypsicles' relation to Babylonian methods see O. Neugebauer, "Mathematische Keilschrifttexte vol. III," *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. d. Mathem.*, Abt. A, III, 3 (1937), pp. 76 ff.

⁶ Cf. Kugler, *Babyl. Mondrechnung*, pp. 4 ff. or Cumont, "Comment les Grecs conurent les tables lunaires des Chaldéens," *Florilegium de Vogüé* (Paris, 1910), pp. 159 ff.

⁷ A. Krause, *Die Sphaerik von Menelaos* (Gött. Abh., Phil.-hist. Klasse [3. F.], No. XVII).

⁸ Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed. and transl. into English by F. E. Robbins (Loeb Classical Library, 1940). Greek text alone: *Ptolemaeus, Opera*, III, 1, ed. Boll-Boer (Leipzig, Teubner, 1940).

⁹ Cf. H. v. Mzik, "Des Klaudios Ptolemaios Einführung in die darstellende Erdkunde, I," *Klotho*, V (1938).

by the [above] calculations" misses an essential point; διὰ τῶν γραμμῶν οὐ δίδονται means here "cannot be found by exact constructions" (as correctly stated on p. 414, note a). From this remark it follows that Ptolemy considered the enneagon to be unamenable to exact construction because otherwise the chord of $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ would be known, and therefore also the chord of 1° and the chord of $\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

II, p. 466, note a. That Heron lived in the first century of our era now follows with virtual certainty from his use of the lunar eclipse of 62 A. D., March 13.¹⁰

II, pp. 468-9, bottom. As usual, συνεχής is rendered by "continuous," a word which modern mathematics uses in a quite different sense; "connected" would be the right expression.

II, p. 515, note c. Psellus' "mean between the inscribed and circumscribed squares, which would give $\pi = \sqrt{8} = 2.828 \dots$ " should, of course, be interpreted as the *arithmetical* mean, leading to

$$\frac{4 + 2}{2} = 3 \text{ for } \pi.$$

II, p. 516, note a. The date of Diophantus is still not certain; as has been emphasized by J. Klein.¹¹

II, pp. 564-5, note a. Ver Eecke's French translation of Pappus, *Collection*, should be mentioned.¹²

There is little to be said about the selection and the arrangement of the passages given in these two volumes. The main goal has undoubtedly been reached: to give the reader a fairly complete picture of the preserved parts of Greek mathematics. It was a very good idea to add testimonia and vitae. I should like merely to make the following suggestions. Many readers would welcome a short chronological list, especially since the arrangement frequently does not follow the chronological order. The chapter on trigonometry (II, pp. 406-63) contains only the theoretical part but should include selections directed toward the understanding of the characteristic difference between Greek trigonometry and its modern (i. e. Hindu-Arabic) form. Hipparchus' treatment of the eccentricity of the sun's orbit (*Almagest*, III, 4) would serve this purpose for plane trigonometry, while the determination of the right ascension of ecliptic arcs (*Almagest*, II, 7) could illustrate the use of Menelaus' theorem. Finally Euclid, IX, 20, the proof of the existence of infinitely many prime numbers, should not be omitted, since it is one of the most famous and most "classical" theorems of Greek mathematics.

Before discussing the leading principles in the interpretation of the whole material, I wish to emphasize that my criticism is directed against no particular author but against the traditional outlook

¹⁰ O. Neugebauer, "Über eine Methode zur Distanzbestimmung Alexandria—Rom bei Heron," *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk., Hist.-fil. Medd.*, XXVI, 2 (1938), pp. 21 ff.; Part II, *ibid.*, XXVI, 7 (1939). Cf. Rome, *L'Antiquité Classique*, VII (1938), pp. 460 ff. The second part of the first-mentioned paper concerns a question discussed in II, pp. 524-5, note 6.

¹¹ J. Klein, "Die griechische Logistik u. die Entstehung der Algebra, II," *Quellen u. Studien*, Abt. B, III (1936), p. 133, note 23.

¹² Ver Eecke, *Pappus d'Alexandrie, La collection mathématique*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1933).

which still prevails in the literature of this field. This traditional point of view might be roughly characterized as follows: Greek mathematics and astronomy begin in the Ionian school, reach a climax in the Academy and in the Museum, and fall away from this height with increasing speed during the first centuries of our era, although certain revivals (e.g. Pappus) or even new branches (Diophantus' algebra) can be recognized. In other words, Greek mathematics is considered as a unit which experienced a history very much akin to the life history of a single person.

I am convinced that this picture is wrong in very essential points. It is based on concepts of Greek culture which prevailed before the discovery of the ancient Near East, before the profound insight into the nature and significance of the Hellenistic period was reached, and before the papyri took their place among the most illuminating sources of our understanding of the ancient world. In short, this picture is wholly antiquated because it disregards the complexity of the determining forces in a much wider world than is usually understood by the term "Greek" mathematics. There is no *one* "Greek" mathematics but various streams of very different directions and even contradictory tendencies. It is, of course, impossible to give here the detailed facts on which these statements rest, but a few remarks may illustrate them.¹³

First of all, we must plainly admit that we know next to nothing about Greek mathematics and astronomy in the period before the fifth century B.C. All the stories about Thales, Pythagoras, and their pupils are practically valueless, since they are nothing more than attempts of later centuries to restore the history of a development as it could or should have proceeded. Careful study of this material shows clearly that we cannot connect a single concrete discovery with these celebrated names.¹⁴ The mathematics of the Greeks in those times certainly did not look very much different from the mathematics of their Asiatic neighbors. Without constant warnings of the unreliability of the material, the greatest part of the alleged pre-Euclidean writings presented in the first volume is misleading for the general reader.

The "Greek" period of ancient mathematics does not begin until the fifth century B.C., when close contact between the Greeks and Mesopotamia was established. For more than a millennium, Babylonian mathematics had included the elementary geometry, algebra, and arithmetic which constitute a large proportion of Euclid's elements.¹⁵ The essential point, however, is not the material covered but the character of its treatment. It seems to be very probable that the problem of the relation of the musical harmonies led to the first

¹³ For another aspect of the same problem, see O. Neugebauer, "Exact Science in Antiquity," *Univ. of Pennsylvania, Bicentennial Celebration, Studies in Civilization*, pp. 23-31.

¹⁴ The researches of E. Frank (*Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer* [Halle, 1923]), W. A. Heidel (e.g., "The Pythagoreans and Greek Mathematics," *A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], pp. 1-33), and others (Vogt, Junge, Eva Sachs) make this evident. Their results can be extended in the field of astronomy (I scarcely need mention the "Thales eclipse" as one of the stories to be discarded as clearly without basis).

¹⁵ Examples: Pythagorean theorem, areas, proportions, progression, equations, Pythagorean numbers, etc.

great discovery of Greek mathematics, namely, the discovery of the irrational numbers.¹⁶ This at once opened the question of indefinite divisibility of geometrical objects and created the necessity for a rigorous foundation of geometrical arguments. What followed was determined by this fundamental discovery and created the typical "Greek" form of mathematics. The most far-reaching consequence was the translation of the traditional mathematical procedure into the language of pure geometry.¹⁷ The "geometrical algebra," the theory of "exhaustion," and the systematic classification of the irrational magnitudes were the result, as recorded in Euclid's *Elements*. The following century, however, saw not only further progress but also the end of this development: Archimedes' theory of integration and Apollonius' theory of conic sections. These works are written in rigorous geometric style and are for that reason so complicated that further progress in this direction was practically barred by the very method applied. The most typical branch of Greek mathematics here reached a dead end, and the tradition of the underlying problems was interrupted long before decline in other fields set in. No general cultural reasons were responsible for the early end of this trend in Greek mathematics, but merely the fact that the geometrical treatment of algebraic relations and integration processes was not the proper tool for these problems.

It is essential for the understanding of the history of Greek and Arabic mathematics to realize that there existed an equally important part of mathematics which was but very loosely related to the problems of the logical foundations of mathematics. This second stream was the direct continuation of oriental mathematics. In its lower levels, practical calculation and mensuration, Egypt was the direct source of the later development. The papyri,¹⁸ the "mathematici graeci minores,"¹⁹ Heron and pseudo-Heronica belong here.²⁰ The second level is closely related to Babylonian algebra. Euclid's *Data* and Diophantus' works are eloquent witnesses of this tradition. The final group is undoubtedly one of the most outstanding creations of the Hellenistic period: the Babylonian-Alexandrian mathematical astronomy. Autolycus, Euclid's *Phaenomena*, and Hypsicles still show the primitiveness of the earliest Greek astronomy. The real development of mathematical astronomy, however, had its roots in Eudoxus' ingenious model of homocentric spheres yielding a qualitative explanation of the retrograde movements of the planets. Then follows the Babylonian lunar theory, which constitutes one of the

¹⁶ P. Tannery, "Du rôle de la musique grecque dans le développement de la mathématique pure," *Mémoires scientifiques*, III (1902), pp. 68-89.

¹⁷ Cf. e. g. O. Neugebauer, "Zur geometrischen Algebra," *Quellen u. Studien*, Abt. B, III (1936), pp. 245-59.

¹⁸ Examples: "Chicago lit. pap. III" (*A. J. P.*, XIX [1898], pp. 25-39); *P. S. I.*, No. 763 (VII, pp. 49-51); *P. Oxy.*, No. 669 (IV, pp. 116-21); *P. Mich.*, Nos. 144, 145 (III, pp. 28-52); *P. Vindob.*, 19996 (*Mitt. Papyrussammlungen d. Nationalbibl. Wien*, 1932); T. C. Skeat, *Mizraim*, III (1936), pp. 18-25; Powell, *Rendel Harris Pap.*, No. 50 (Cambridge, 1936), etc.

¹⁹ Edited by Heiberg, *Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk.*, Hist.-fil. Medd., XIII, 3 (1927).

²⁰ Cf. K. Vogel, "Beiträge zur griechischen Logistik," *Sitzb. München*, Math.-nat. Abt., 1936, pp. 357-472.

most revolutionary steps in the history of the mathematical description of nature. Here we find mathematics used for the first time for a minute description and prediction of natural phenomena of the highest order of complication. Starting from a very small group of empirical data, a purely mathematical theory of the movement of the moon and the planets is set forth which can be properly described as a method of perturbation. The Greek parallel is the transformation of this theory into a model of eccentric or epicyclic movement, culminating in Hipparchus' and Ptolemy's works. An essential by-product of the Greek version of this theory is the development of plane and spherical trigonometry, not to mention various graphical and numerical methods of practical computation. More than any other factor, the connection of mathematics with astronomy contributed to the preservation of ancient science in Hindu-Arabic and mediaeval literature. Only the intimate contact with practical problems ranging from simple mensuration to the refined theory of planetary movement kept alive the tradition of Greek mathematics when the problems which led to Euclid's geometrical algebra and its applications were no longer understood.

I hope the preceding remarks will make it clear why I consider the classical attitude toward Greek mathematics an insufficient description of the actual situation. What usually is called "Greek" mathematics is to a large extent mathematics and mathematical astronomy of the *Hellenistic* world and can only be understood as the result of the continuous interaction between the Oriental and Mediterranean cultures.

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D. M. ROBINSON. *Excavations at Olynthus, Part X: Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds, An Original Contribution to Greek Life.* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xxvii + 593; 172 plates. \$20.

The particular richness of classical antiquity in historical records and monumental material remains has given archaeological research in the field a decidedly megascopic point of view. This concentration of attention upon the larger and more "significant" objects, in combination with other factors, causes classical excavation to compare rather unfavorably with that devoted to cultures less well known and lacking in impressive monuments of the major visual arts. It is granted that the importance of small objects is relative to the general scale of a culture's accomplishments; nevertheless the reconstruction of a cultural complex in its entirety demands consideration of all its recoverable artifacts. By neglect of the more humble minor antiquities the classical archaeologist is guilty of an aristocratic bias comparable to that which characterized even the most advanced of the so-called "democratic" Greek states.

This latest volume of the Olynthus publications is therefore worthy of commendation solely on the basis of its subject matter, quite apart from other considerations. With the help of the generous illustration, one can visualize more clearly, invested with his private domestic

paraphernalia, the common man of the fifth and fourth centuries, still a somewhat shadowy creature once he leaves the battlefield, the theater, or the law court of the classical texts. Simple beads, buttons, and bracelets, utilitarian keys, clamps, and fish-hooks (to mention a very few of the many kinds of articles described) will hardly turn the eye of the mystic devotee of the phantom of the Hellenic superman, but they will take their place with serious historians as data which help to complete the socio-economic picture of the age. For this purpose the very extensive bibliographical references will be of great aid since they cover other occurrences of similar objects not only in Greek but also in neighboring lands.

Minor objects of the handicrafts can hardly be expected to supply much material of philological interest but the index of Greek words and names lists two hundred and seven items which are found on the objects themselves or have occasion to be mentioned in connection with them. One may note in passing that Robinson's interpretation of the letters ΔΩΠΟΝ on a ring (p. 148) as the common noun and not the proper name is certainly correct; the ceramic evidence now on hand proves erroneous its earlier interpretation as a potter's name when found stamped on provincial Roman pottery.

The author's humble confession (in the Preface) of responsibility for the failure to record the exact provenience of every object is rather disarming. In view of the usual standard of excavation at classical sites such contrition is at least encouraging, although there will still be need of it until the sponsors of archaeological research and the interested body of students permit the excavator either to double his staff or halve the amount of digging normally demanded of it. One cannot help feeling that Professor Robinson has earned absolution by the only too rare procedure of giving adequate publication to these *petits objets*. To say that this volume will be a very useful book of reference for the field worker is an excavator's high recommendation. Part of such usefulness is due to the clear and well planned format, to the inclusion of concordances of proveniences and of catalogue and inventory numbers and to the labelling of objects on the plates by their catalogue numbers.

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REINHOLD STRÖMBERG. Griechische Pflanzennamen. Göteborg, Elander, 1940. Pp. 190. (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, XLVI, 1 [1940].)

Several years ago Strömberg published a valuable study of the botanical terminology which Theophrastus employed in his works on plants.¹ In the present study Strömberg turns his attention to Greek plant names, drawing material mostly from Dioscorides but utilizing also Theophrastus, Galen, the *Geoponica*, and other sources.

The etymology of many Greek plant names remains uncertain together with the identification of the plants themselves. The sources

¹ R. Strömberg, *Theophrastea, Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung* (*Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar*, Femte Följden, Ser. A, VI, 4 [1937]).

of the names involve many factors such as the properties and uses of the plants, the resemblance of their parts to animal structures, and the like. A study of the numerous motives leading to plant names and an analysis of their formation, Strömberg maintains in the introduction (pp. 15-22), throw light upon their etymology. To this end he devotes the bulk of the book (pp. 23-145) in which he discusses over 1200 names, arranging them in twelve groups or chapters according to the grounds of motivation. The majority of the names which he selects derive either from the external appearance of the plants (e. g., *βούφθαλλον*, p. 46; cf. our "ox-eye" daisy) or from their physiological characteristics, e. g., their odors and flavors, or their poisonous or medicinal qualities. In the last two chapters the author lists the suffixes which appear in these terms (chap. XIV) and summarizes the part played in the development of plant names by such factors as popular etymology, similarity of sound, metathesis, etc. (chap. XV). Thus, for example, *σαρξίφαγος* can be explained as a derivative from the Latin *saxifragum* according to Strömberg (pp. 157 and 161); or, again, *τίκταμνον* can be derived from *δίκταμνον*, a Cretan plant (perhaps named from Mt. Dicte, p. 126) which was used in certain cases of childbirth and which people came to associate with *τίκτεν* "to bear" (p. 153). A short bibliography and complete indices conclude the book. The bibliography, it is important to notice, is not complete. It must be supplemented, as the author directs (p. 163, n. 1), by the very extensive bibliography which he gives in his *Theophrastea*.

In the course of the study Strömberg offers new etymologies for a number of uncertain plant names, e. g., *ρόα* (pp. 51 f.); *κόμαρος* (p. 58); *πτελέα* (p. 140). Several are dubious. He relates *ἀθραγένη*, a plant which Theophrastus says was used to make fire sticks, to *θραγμός*, an uncommon word which means "crackling" (p. 108). Strömberg associates the word with the crackling of fire, referring to Sextus Empiricus, *Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις* (I, 58), where *θραγμός* occurs without, however, any mention or even necessary implication of fire. Strömberg takes the prefix *ἀ-* to be intensive but is unable to find other examples of the suffix *-ένη*. This derivation is dubious too because the use of fire sticks does not usually cause either the drill or the board-to-ignite-directly. Rather, the friction produces a coal of glowing particles which must be transferred to tinder and fanned into flame; cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, XVI, 208 and Theophrastus, *De Igne*, 29. A more likely etymology for *ἀθραγένη* was long ago suggested by Kuhn, who sought to explain the name by the suffix *-γόνη*, "producing," and by the stem which appears in the Iranian or Avestan *âtar* meaning "fire" and in the Avestan *âthrava* and the Sanskrit *Ātharvan* both meaning "fire-priest."²

Strömberg's derivation of *ζυγία*, a species of maple, from the stem *ζυγ-* is doubtless correct, but the motive which he gives is improbable (p. 56). He thinks that the yoke-like arrangement of the two winged seeds characteristic of maples motivated the name. Theophrastus, at least, says nothing of this arrangement when he mentions the seed of the tree in *H. P.*, III, 11, 2. But in *H. P.*, V, 7, 6 he makes a significant statement, which Strömberg overlooks, that the

² A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Gottertranks* (2nd ed., Gutersloh, Bertelsmann, 1886), pp. 39 f.

wood of this tree was utilized in making the yokes of draft animals,—a use for which the strength of hard maple is indeed well suited (cf. *H. P.*, V, 3, 3). Probably, then, the name of the tree was motivated by its use. Maple is employed in Southern Italy to make yokes at the present time and the tree is called *dziya*, according to Dawkins.³

The book suffers somewhat from rather frequent errors and inconsistencies among the great number of references which it contains. When referring to Pliny's *Natural History*, Strömberg usually gives the small section number; but sometimes he quotes instead the number of the larger sections which the Teubner edition (Mayhoff) prints in parentheses. On p. 101 both types of reference occur in the same line. Consistency demands that the second reference read XXII 66 rather than XXII 31. Strömberg, when referring to Dioscorides by book and chapter, regularly quotes in addition the book, page, and line of Wellmann's edition; but at the end of p. 95 he gives the chapter number wrongly and fails to include the usual additional reference to Wellmann. Instead of II 164 the reference should read II 136 (I, 207, 11 W.). At the top of p. 138 the reference to Pliny's *Natural History*, XII, 426 is a curious error for Galen, *Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων*, XII, 426, 4 K.

Despite the unduly frequent errors in references, most of which the reader can correct with a little effort, this study is a valuable collection of material, representing the first attempt to arrange and analyze Greek plant names according to their motivation. The book constitutes a useful supplement to Strömberg's *Theophrastea*.

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MICHEL LEJEUNE. *Observations sur la langue des actes d'affranchissement delphiques*. Paris, Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1940. Pp. 157.

This monograph deals with certain features of the language of the Delphian manumission decrees from the last two pre-Christian and the first Christian centuries and is partly designed as an illustration of the method which should be followed in more extended studies of a similar nature. Among the advantages for study offered by this class of inscriptions are their large number, the exactness with which their chronology is known, and the probability that they show the popular dialect of Delphi with more fidelity than is to be found in public documents. The main part of the work is concerned with morphological and syntactical variants and with the interpretation of such variations. The principal factors to be considered are the nationality of the person responsible for the decree, the age of the decree, and the outside influences active in Delphi at the time in question. The influence of the Attic-Ionic *κοινή* shows itself in the

³ R. M. Dawkins, "The Semantics of Greek Names for Plants," *J. H. S.*, LVI (1936), p. 2. Dawkins speaks of this name and use of maple at Bova, which he describes (p. 4) as a "Greek-speaking village." It is located at the tip of Calabria on the Strait of Messina.

increasing use of the particle *ἔως* (combined, however, with the West Greek *καί*), of the imperative third plural ending *-τωσαν*, and of *οἱ* in preference to *τοί* as the masculine plural form of the article. *μάρτυροι* in place of *μάρτυρες* is regarded not as a new formation parallel with the northwestern dative plural ending *-οις* in consonant stems but as a survival in popular Delphian of the Homeric *μάρτυροι* (p. 87). The increasing use of the optative in conditional clauses at a time when it was dying out elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world is regarded as an idiosyncrasy of the Delphian dialect which resisted the pressure of the Attic-Ionic *κωνή*.

Of the passages on which the statistics are based, naturally only a few are quoted, since the total number is very large; but the references are given in tables that serve at once to give the reader a clear view of chronological developments and to remind him of the minute attention to details which was necessary in the preparation of the work. The author is to be commended for a clear and orderly treatment of an interesting branch of Greek dialectology, as well as for some valuable original interpretations of data.

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F. W. WALBANK. Philip V of Macedon. Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. 387. \$4.00.

In the Foreword Walbank modestly states: "I am under no illusion of having drawn a picture of Philip V that is in any way final. . . . All I venture to hope, therefore, is that I have assembled and in some degree synthesised what is at present known about Philip V of Macedon." There is little doubt that Walbank has successfully achieved his aim, for he has produced an eminently scholarly and readable biography of a very interesting figure. His fifteen-page up-to-date bibliography—a bibliography through which he has carefully worked—bears witness to the thorough and conscientious job he has done. The task he set himself was a difficult one. Although much has been preserved in the ancient authors about Philip, a large proportion of this material is of extremely questionable value. Polybius and the later writers who depended on him naturally are the most reliable literary sources of information, but there sometimes is doubt concerning the dependence of a particular passage on Polybius, and then there always is the problem of the credibility of Polybius himself. It is this last point on which I find myself most frequently in disagreement with the author. Walbank often warns the reader of Polybius' pro-Achaean and pro-Roman bias, and (p. 281) specifically emphasizes Polybius' inability to understand Philip and the Macedonian point of view, but in the final analysis he is usually ready to accept the verdict of the Achaean historian. It must be admitted that on many occasions there is no alternative, for to re-write Polybius is a hazardous and subjective task.

In his introductory chapter, after a brief résumé of the constitutional, social, and economic aspects of third century Macedon, Walbank turns to a discussion of Philip's early years. Since so little is known of Philip's youth, this section naturally is chiefly concerned with the most important occurrences in the reign of Antigonus Doson—the establishment of the Roman protectorate in Illyria, Doson's Carian expedition, his formation of the Hellenic League, and his crushing of Cleomenes at Sellasia in 222. Walbank, I believe, dismisses too summarily the possibility that Doson considered the Roman occupation of Illyria a menace to Macedon. Also many scholars may question his statement that the Roman embassies to Aetolia, Achaëa, Corinth, and Athens—all hostile to Macedon—"cannot be shown to be anti-Macedonian in intention." The fact that Demetrius of Pharos aided the Macedonians at Sellasia can easily be interpreted as evidence for Doson's concern over the Roman protectorate and the resultant desire for obtaining allies in that region.

Philip's début on the political stage really dates from the Social War of 220-217. Walbank's account of this war is sound and interesting. After reading Polybius' treatment of these years, one's reaction is normally a feeling of bewilderment, but Walbank succeeds in reducing the often seemingly purposeless events to a coherent whole. His observation that the situation at the opening of this war was very similar to that at the beginning of the Cleomenic War is acute. This war ended with the Peace of Naupactus, which Philip was anxious to sign after hearing of the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene. At this point, it seems to me, Walbank follows Polybius too uncritically. According to Polybius, Demetrius of Pharos persuaded Philip to terminate the Aetolian War, and then to turn his thoughts to reducing Illyria and sending an expedition to Italy—the necessary preliminary to world domination. Polybius adds that the youthful Philip—belonging to a house which more than any other aspired to universal dominion—was quickly aroused by such words. Although Walbank and I are in agreement that until after the Peace of Naupactus Philip did nothing aggressive against the Romans, he seems to accept these remarks of Polybius, and he speaks of Philip's plans to cross to Italy "where the Greek cities might be expected to welcome him as a second Pyrrhus." It is hard to take seriously these rhetorical flourishes of Polybius. It can be legitimately asked from what impartial source did he learn the content of the conversations between Philip and Demetrius. The propagandistic character of such passages is evident from the remark about the Antigonid aspiration to world power. Certainly Antigonus I and Demetrius I had tried to secure all Alexander's empire, but Poliorcetes had died in 283, and such charges are ludicrous when brought against Gonatas, Demetrius II, and Doson. Only in the Roman inspired propaganda as found in Polybius and Livy is there talk of Philip and Perseus indulging in such dreams. Philip naturally wished to oust the Romans from Illyria, but in my opinion there is no evidence that he contemplated conquests in Italy. One may also suggest that, if the south Italian Greeks remembered Pyrrhus' conduct, they might well have hesitated to welcome another such deliverer.

With the signing of the treaty between the Aetolians and the Roman proconsul Laevinus in the summer of 211, the First Macedonian War officially began. From that date the history of Philip more than ever before is inextricably interwoven with that of Rome, the northern barbarians, all the Greek states, Pergamum, Rhodes, Egypt, Hannibal, and Antiochus the Great. Anyone who has worked in this period knows the terrific complexity of these years and will be impressed by the skill with which Walbank has handled the mass of information and misinformation preserved in the ancient sources. It is obviously impossible to discuss his treatment of the innumerable problems. All that can be attempted is to select for comment a few of the points where, as Walbank would be the first to admit, there is room for difference of opinion.

Walbank assigns the termination of hostilities between Philip and the Aetolians to the autumn of 206. In a long footnote (p. 100) he discusses the old crux of the status of Echinus, Larisa Cremaste, Phthiotie Thebes, and Pharsalus, towns which the Aetolians claimed in 198 and 197. With some hesitation he follows Stählin's theory that in the terms of the peace of 206 these towns were promised to the Aetolians, but that in fact Philip never released them. Although this supposition meets some of the difficulties, it does not explain why Philip, with all the cards in his hands, should have made such promises to the Aetolians, and also the implication that Philip agreed to these terms, with no intention of abiding by them, has a suspiciously modern ring.

In his discussion of Philip's activity in the Aegean in the years 205-200, Walbank accepts the authenticity of the pact between Antiochus and Philip directed against Egypt. He assigns this agreement to the winter of 203/2 and, following Polybius, refers to it as the "thieves' compact" (p. 272). Such a phrase, I think, is unfortunate, for even if the pact were genuine, Philip and Antiochus would have been meting out to Egypt only such treatment as the Antigonids and Seleucids had received at the hands of the Ptolemies in the late fourth century and throughout the third century. In my opinion Walbank is mistaken in rejecting as "too radical" the very convincing article (*J. R. S.*, XXIX [1939], pp. 22-44) of Magie who argues that in reality the pact was merely a fabrication of the Rhodians, which they devised in their successful attempt to arouse the Romans against Philip. Magie has demonstrated that in the years 202 and 201 Philip was careful not to encroach on Ptolemaic possessions and that in his Carian campaign he attacked territory belonging to Antiochus himself. Because of his belief in the genuineness of the agreement, from which he admits Philip derived no benefit, Walbank is obliged to assume with Holleaux and others that Philip made the compact with no intention of keeping it. Under such a hypothesis it is hard to explain why he ever acquiesced in the pact. It is more probable that Polybius' unintelligible story of the "thieves' compact" is just another example of the way in which he, because of his hatred for Philip and because of his uncritical use of unreliable sources, incorporated into his history outrageous falsehoods which, in deference to his supposed reliability, mankind ever since has accepted.

The account of the Second Macedonian War is well done. I cannot agree, however, with Walbank's criticisms of Philip's policy towards Rome at this time (pp. 131-7; cf. p. 184). In his discussion of events prior to the outbreak of hostilities, he admits that the Roman ultimatum to Philip (Philip to make war on no Greek state, to refrain from touching Ptolemy's possessions, and to submit to a tribunal the question of the damage done to Rhodes and Attalus) was utterly unjust. Walbank then states that Philip's worst mistake was to ignore the Roman ultimatum. He writes (p. 137), "Family pride and the realisation that to accept the ultimatum was virtually to surrender his freedom of action in foreign affairs combined to drug the acute judgment which he unquestionably possessed. Deliberately he forewent the possibility of an immediate capitulation, which might have been obtained on very easy terms, and would have enabled him to build up a strong coalition with which to challenge Rome on more even terms at a later date." Such a capitulation, it seems to me, would have sounded the knell of Philip's prestige in Greece and would have precluded any subsequent attempt to organize an anti-Roman coalition under Antigonid leadership. Too many elements in Greece were uncompromisingly hostile to Macedon to permit him to show any signs of weakness. If the maintenance of a country's independence and integrity is a worthy aim, it is hard to see what else Philip could have done but reject the Roman demands.

Walbank entitles his sixth chapter "The Romans against Antiochus." In this period Philip fought as the ally of his Roman conquerors, but despite his loyal observance of the alliance the Romans treated him with singular cynicism. It is not strange, therefore, that Philip devoted the last years of his life to strengthening his kingdom. Walbank gives an interesting account of the various measures taken to achieve this end and quite correctly rejects Polybius' statement that Philip was meditating an invasion of Italy through the territory north of the Adriatic.

A few words might be added on Walbank's estimate of Philip. Despite his realization of the hostility of the sources to the Macedonian king, he accepts the charges of licentiousness and heavy drinking levelled against Philip. If Philip indulged in such debauchery at the Argive Nemea in 209 that "the number of women he seduced became an open scandal," it is strange that just ten years later the Argives, against the will of the Achaean League, were so intensely loyal to him. It is hard to understand why one can safely reject stories of debauchery in connection with Antiochus and Hannibal (p. 202, n. 1), but believe them in the case of Philip. As for drinking, temperance in matters alcoholic had never been a characteristic of the great Argeads and Antigonids, and addiction to wine had impaired their efficiency no more than it did that of Philip. Again, Walbank says of Philip (p. 260), "Often cruel and always unscrupulous, he was never handicapped by sentiment." Such an accusation may be just, but in all fairness it should be pointed out that a similar charge could be brought against almost all Philip's outstanding contemporaries. Aratus, Philopoemen, and Flamininus will serve as examples.

This review, I fear, has concentrated on points where I disagree with the author. Let me emphasize that these issues are chiefly a

matter of opinion regarding the sources. Whether he agrees with Walbank or not, however, every student of Hellenistic History will join in congratulating him on having performed successfully a tremendously difficult task.

The book contains useful appendices on the sources, the army under Philip V, and various chronological problems, a detailed chronological table, a complete bibliography, and an adequate index.

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KARL-ERNST PETZOLD. *Die Eröffnung des zweiten römisch-makedonischen Krieges: Untersuchungen zur spätannalistischen Topik bei Livius.* Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1940. Pp. 118. (*Neue Deutsche Forschungen*, Band 286.)

This study constitutes a valuable addition to historical criticism of Livy and his annalistic sources. The soundness of Petzold's approach to his subject is revealed in his terse, but significant introduction. The theme of annalistic distortion of evidence is logically developed; the table of the annalistic falsifications discussed (pp. 116-17) in a most convenient summary. The author's conclusions in general are sound and valid. But there are items of detail which are open to objection. These for the most part derive from two factors which Petzold fails to take fully into account. He points out that the annalists distorted evidence freely with the purpose of morally justifying Rome's entrance into the Second Macedonian War (pp. 9-10). But the author's own estimate of Rome's policy at this stage ("das völlig ungerechtfertigte und gegen jedes Völkerrecht verstossende Verhalten Roms gegenüber Philip," p. 44 *et passim*) is at fault. There was, as Tenney Frank ("A Chapter in Roman Imperialism," *Class. Phil.*, IV [1909], pp. 118-19, 120-23) demonstrates, no need to justify Rome's intervention to aid her *amici* Rhodes and Pergamum. Polybius nowhere considers Roman intervention unjustified; XVI, 28 censures the conduct of Rhodes and Pergamum, praises Philip, but has no blame for Rome. Petzold has joined Livy and his annalistic sources in the anachronistic error of transferring the involved power politics of a century or two later to a simpler, less complicated era of Roman statesmanship.

Secondly Petzold does not allow the fear of Philip as a powerful motif in Rome's foreign policy. It is true that the menace is exaggerated in the annalistic account, but that should be regarded as a reflection of the spirit of the times, not as a later distortion. Unfortunately the account of Polybius covering the preliminaries to the Second Macedonian War is lost. But it is my belief that the Roman dread of Philip would appear therein; cf. Polybius, XVIII, 39, 3-4 where Flaminius' dread of an alliance between Philip and Antiochus—of which there was no possibility (cf. *infra*, comment on Petzold, p. 32)—and of their combined strength hastened the former's conclusion of the treaty which followed Cynoscephale; cf. also Polybius, XVIII, 45, 10. Cf. *infra*, comment on the statements credited to M. Aurelius and P. Sulpicius.

Of the twenty-five annalistic distortions with which Petzold deals, seven do not, in my opinion, fall into this category. For example he has listed correctly under two heads the exaggerations of Philip's effort in support of Hannibal (pp. 45, 48 ff., 51, 56; Livy XXIII, 33, 10-12; XXIX, 4, 4; XXX, 26, 3; 33, 5; 42, 4, 6; XXXI, 1, 10; 11, 9-10; XLV, 22, 6). This distortion, however, may not be charged to the annalists but represents the reflection of the fear felt by the Romans of Philip and his aims. There is little doubt that, as a consequence of this fear, these exaggerated reports of Philip's activities were current and widely credited in Rome at the time immediately preceding the Second Macedonian War. Cf. *infra*.

Petzold has overlooked Polybius, XVI, 27, 1-5, cf. 34, 3-4 in stating that no Roman embassy was dispatched to Philip with an ultimatum in 203 B. C., and has wrongly discarded Livy, XXXVIII, 45, 6.

Also he would discard the account of the expedition of M. Valerius Laevinus against Macedonia in 201 and the report on the situation received by Laevinus from M. Aurelius (pp. 46, 72, 77 ff.). Petzold states that the motivation for the expedition is illusory (p. 72), inasmuch as he terms it "a consequence of the first Athenian embassy" (to Rome), which is proved (pp. 67-8) an invention of the annalists. But the expedition was sent in answer to the problem constituted by the menace of Philip and the complaints of the "allies" (Livy, XXXI, 3), embassies of Rhodes and Pergamum (*amici*, not *socii* as Livy states; an annalistic distortion), in response to whose pleas for aid Laevinus might well have been sent. Petzold (p. 78) also wrongly identifies the fleets commanded by Cn. Octavius, transferred to Laevinus (Livy, XXXI, 3, 2), with that of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, transferred to P. Sulpicius (14, 2; at the beginning of 201 B. C. Cn. Octavius commanded an African fleet, which was placed for this year at the disposal of the consul, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus; the former this year was either to have command of Scipio's own fleet or else to return to Rome with the ships not needed by Lentulus [XXX, 41, 6]. XXX, 44, 12-13 recounts the transfer of Octavius' African fleet to Lentulus, but Scipio's fleet is not concerned, as Petzold supposes; XXXI, 3, 2 shows that Octavius did not command Scipio's fleet, but instead returned to Rome; thus a fleet was available for both Octavius and Lentulus). Petzold further objects that there is no account of Laevinus' activities beyond his reception of M. Aurelius' report (Livy, XXXI, 3, 4-6; this report Petzold [p. 46] terms spurious on the grounds that the statement of facts is *unwahr*, and the degree of apprehension concerning Philip's power manifested by Aurelius is so exaggerated as to be an obvious falsification of the annalists. The estimate of Philip's war effort in Livy's text is correct, the report of his present activities ambiguous, and the immediate and urgent danger to Rome capped by the comparison of Philip to Pyrrhus is certainly exaggerated as the event proves; cf., however, Polybius, XVI, 29, 1 where Philip is credited with the intention to make war on Rome. The exaggeration reflects contemporary opinion at Rome, not annalistic distortion [cf. *supra*], and I can see no reason to declare this report false evidence); but Laevinus' activities probably became so commonplace as to escape mention in the sources. Furthermore Pausanias, VII, 7, 7 records an expedition made at this period ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ, and, by thus communicating with Aurelius, Laevinus may have fulfilled his mission.

None of Petzold's arguments is sufficiently cogent to warrant the discard (p. 79) of Livy's factual statement; in my opinion it is sound evidence. Nor can I agree with Holleaux, *C. A. H.*, VIII, p. 156, note 1 that this account is only a "mistaken reminiscence of the first war with Philip." The action of Laevinus in 201 bears a striking resemblance to his activities in the First Macedonian War in Livy, XXIII, 38, 11, which Petzold (p. 56) has proved spurious, a fact which does not automatically exclude the present passage; perhaps the annalist based the earlier falsification on the actual facts of 201 B. C.

On very similar grounds Petzold will not accept the speech of P. Sulpicius (Livy, XXXI, 7). The consul of 201 exaggerates the menace of Philip (pp. 56, 78), not a sound objection (cf. *supra*); he mentions Laevinus' activities in the First Macedonian War, which Petzold (pp. 49 f.) wrongly refers to the spurious Livy, XXIII, 38, 11 instead of the accurate account of Laevinus' activities in XXIII, 48, 3; XXIV, 10, 4; 11, 3; 40, 5. Sulpicius' echo of the language of Aurelius' report is also suspected, but its authenticity is now established (cf. *supra*). The report of the "siege" of Athens is an annalistic distortion (Petzold, p. 72), but Petzold's arguments for the rejection of Sulpicius' speech are for the most part invalid, and the speech may not be considered an annalistic falsification.

As in the case of Philip, Petzold considers that the Roman fear of Antiochus is an invention of the annalists and therefore rejects the account of the Seleucid's menace to Italy (pp. 102 f.; Livy, XXXIII, 39, 7), the report that Antiochus planned to send a fleet to Sicily (XXXV, 23, 3 and 8), and Attalus' false report of Antiochus' crossing of the Hellespont (Petzold, pp. 107 f.; Livy, XXXV, 23, 10; there is no doubt that Attalus' report was false, but there is every reason to believe that for his own purposes he did make it and that it found ready credence at Rome). Exaggeration, distortion, and falsification there are, but their source is not the annalists, rather the very real, though in the main unjustified, Roman dread of Antiochus as in Polybius, XVIII, 39, 3-4; 45, 10; 48, 5.

Petzold (p. 32) refers to the treaty of 203/02 B. C. between Philip and Antiochus, which Magie ("The 'Agreement' between Philip V and Antiochus-III for the Partition of the Egyptian Empire," *J. R. S.*, XXIX [1939], pp. 32 ff.) has proved to be a myth.

In conclusion it should again be emphasized that these criticisms are of detail and by no means invalidate the usefulness of Petzold's work.

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FRANZ STOESSL. Apollonios Rhodios. Interpretationen zur Erzählungskunst und Quellenverwertung. Bern-Leipzig, Paul Haupt, 1941. Pp. 159.

In composing his epic poem, the learned author of the *Argonautica* drew upon a great number of diverse sources. They have not survived except for a few fragments, and yet we should like to know

what they were and how Apollonius dealt with them. This is the problem tackled in an interesting and original manner by the book under review. The author divides Apollonius' main sources into two classes: on the one hand, learned books providing information on history and legend, on geography and topography, and on the local antiquities of sites visited by the Argonauts on their long voyage; and on the other hand, tragedies in which some phase or other of the Argonaut expedition was fully elaborated. Stoessl shows that the character of Apollonius' narrative varies with the sources he was using, and this leads him to think that by an intelligent analysis and with the help of whatever external evidence we possess, one can segregate the parts modeled on individual tragedies, remove from their context Apollonius' own innovations, reconstruct almost scene by scene the outline of each play, and identify its author. His critical method involves looking for defects in the *Argonautica*, such as inconsistencies or lack of continuity, which would indicate that the poet was struggling with his source and unable satisfactorily to assimilate its contents. In his search for clues to the underlying tragic plots, Stoessl pays special attention to what he calls "abgekürzte Erzählweise." Whenever he feels that Apollonius' report is not sufficiently circumstantial, he infers that the poet was summarizing a dramatic model which gave the particulars in full. Stoessl further believes that we can detect the influence of a tragic source on Apollonius if we compare with his *Argonautica* the Latin adaptation by Valerius Flaccus. In places where Apollonius was diverted from the proper course by his dramatic model, Valerius, who was exposed to no such disturbances, can be expected better to conform to the rules of epic narrative.

The theory as outlined is open to objections as grave as they are obvious. External evidence for the tragedies that have, or may have, served as models for parts of the *Argonautica* is scanty and fragmentary in the extreme, and there is no telling how many of them have perished without leaving a trace. On the other hand, Stoessl himself does not regard Apollonius as a mere compiler but accords him some, though limited, creative imagination. It seems therefore chimerical to hope that critical ingenuity in analysis can make up for the lack of authoritative evidence and enable us successfully to find in the actual text of the *Argonautica* enough material to reconstruct the original framework of those plays.¹ A certain fraction of Stoessl's observations and conclusions are valuable, but others cannot be accepted. He overrates the validity of his methods and often uses in an unjustified manner the criterion of brevity. Like other

¹ Cf. the cautious circumspection with which in 1924 Ulrich von Wilamowitz (*Hellenistische Dichtung*, II, pp. 196-7) discussed one such problem: "Gestaltet hat alles Apollonios, aber auf Grund einer Darstellung, in der klar ward, was bei ihm ganz kurz und unvollständig erzählt wird, und ich wage die Vermutung, dass er hier einem Drama folgt . . . Es liegt mir fern, diese Vermutung noch weiter zu treiben und den Dichter finden zu wollen, denn zur Zeit des Apollonios wurden noch viele Tragiker des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts gelesen und gespielt, es fehlten ja auch zeitgenössische nicht . . . Die Skythai [of Sophocles] . . . könnten . . . die vermutete Vorlage sein; aber mit der Möglichkeit ist nichts gewonnen. Wer ihm so viel Kühnheit und Erfindung zutraut, mag alles dem Apollonios selbst lassen."

Hellenistic writers, Apollonius loved to ring the changes between a slow-moving, circumstantial narrative and abrupt rapidity of manner. It is therefore doubly inappropriate to conclude that Apollonius was using a tragic source when the details which he omits are trivial. Two extreme instances may be quoted to show how far Stoessl pushes his method. 1) In IV, 416, Medea suggests that Jason "show (or rather simulate) regard for Apsyrtus by making him conspicuous presents," and a few lines later (421-2) we read that Jason agrees and that both prepare the gifts.—Nothing could seem more natural and straightforward. But Stoessl reads the epic narrative with an eye to possible dramatization and hence is concerned with the problem of change of scene. He calls attention to the fact that Medea and Jason were alone when they were having their conversation and goes on to say (p. 107): "... der Dichter ... berichtet nun unvermittelt [!] von der Vorbereitung der Gastgeschenke für Apsyrtus. Diese Geschenke befanden sich aber notwendigerweise beim Schiff und den übrigen Argonauten; also hat der Dichter übergangen [!] dass nach der Unterredung Medea und Jason—oder eine der beiden Personen—sich dorthin zurückbegeben habe, um die Geschenke vorzubereiten oder zu bringen. Man glaubt fast, in dieser Fügung eine dramatische Motivierung für das Abgehen einer der beiden Personen zu erkennen." 2) In IV, 482-3 Apollonius says: "As soon as they (the Argonauts) saw the blaze of a torch which the maiden raised as a signal for them to attack. . . ." Stoessl comments thus (p. 115): "Der untrügliche Beweis für die abgekürzte Wiedergabe einer Quelle liegt darin, dass die Anzündung eines Feuerzeichens durch Medea in einem Relativsatz berichtet wird; diese Tatsache ist für den Leser neu und steht auch als Handlung Medeas im Vordergrund des Interesses. Man hat sich zu ergänzen, dass ein solches Zeichen früher vereinbart worden war und dass Medea nun den Platz vor dem Tempel verliess, um etwa auf einem Hügel den Argonauten das vereinbarte Signal zu geben." The two quotations, which are more flagrant than others, perhaps give a false impression of the whole, but they were selected to show how completely obsessed Stoessl is with dramatic unity of place while trying to explain a narrative poem. By a curious psychological twist, he considers it an infallible mark of tragic influence if the epic poet fails to pay his respects to the limitations by which a tragedian would have been hampered.

The better part of the tragic plots as the author has produced them by his analytical methods appears lacking in substance and dramatic material. This meagerness in dramatic action gives the plays an archaic complexion, and with one exception they are ascribed to Aeschylus. One reason why the plots are so thin is that Stoessl has been obliged to discard many elements as unfit for tragedy. Take for example his treatment of the Phineus episode. The story is of a blind old man plagued by starvation, until rescued by the Boreads (II, 178-499). Appropriately enough, Apollonius' narrative includes three meals. Meal number one is set before Phineus alone purely as a bait for the Harpies, while meals number two and three are full-scale dinners, given on successive nights for the emaciated Phineus and the Argonauts after the Harpies have been chased away once and for all; the Argonauts provide the meat for the first, and Phineus for the second. Now tragedy has not much use for dinners, and Stoessl

is at pains to rid his tragedy of numbers two and three. He objects to the chronology of number three (unity of time is his other obsession) and cancels it outright (pp. 91, 93). Number two, he contends, is only a continuation of number one, and he allows it to fade away; at best, it is to be mentioned in a short report (pp. 82, 92, 93). He does not indicate what is to become of the delightful picture in the *Argonautica* of Phineus enjoying "as if he were dreaming" (306) his first real mutton after years of starvation when he had to subsist on unappetizing scraps of food befouled by the monsters. Apollonius further tells (301-2) how the Argonauts cleansed the filthy skin of Phineus between meals number one and two, i. e. after the Harpies, visiting the sufferer for the last time, have left their stench upon him. For his Aeschylean tragedy, Stoessl arranges for Phineus to be given a new dress in lieu of the scrubbing (p. 81). This dress Phineus is supposed to have put on before sitting down to the one remaining meal (number one), i. e. before the Harpies swoop down and spoil the fresh clothes.

If Stoessl's theory is precarious and his methods in part dubious, their application in practice is also unsatisfactory. The quest for defects in a literary work is not conducive to a sympathetic and patient elucidation of its problems, and Stoessl's investigation is not carried on with absolute accuracy, precision, and clarity. Misunderstandings of the text which could easily have been avoided are to be found e. g. on pp. 30-1 (I, 648-9 have always been taken differently; cf. also the close parallels II, 390 and III, 1096); p. 41 (*θυμοφθόρος ἄρνη* in I, 803 means "mind-perverting infatuation," not "life-destroying misfortune"); p. 137 (the *κε* in IV, 1049 is overlooked). On p. 79, n. 23 Stoessl says that Apollonius probably borrowed a certain detail from Aeschylus' *Phineus*; he does not indicate, however, what he thinks of the scholium on II, 296-7 which states that the poet had it from Antimachus (= frag. 60 Wyss).

It is not possible here to pass in review all chapters of the book. The first, "Die Abenteuer in Kyzikos," successfully analyzes the narrative style of a passage largely based on a learned source and shows how Apollonius cramped himself in presenting the episode because his interest was divided between the actual story and the numerous aetia he wanted to mention and explain. The antiquarian details have visibly interfered with the artistic development of the plot, hampering its progress and stifling the display of sentiment. The five other chapters try to reconstruct tragic sources, seven plays altogether. We shall discuss only one specimen.

Chap. 2, "Lemnos" (pp. 26-52), deals with the landing of the Argonauts in Lemnos and the alliances they formed with the lone women there who had exterminated all the male inhabitants of their island (Apollonius, I, 601 ff.). Stoessl starts with the contention that the chronology of the voyage to Lemnos is out of order, and suggests that the confusion has resulted because Apollonius switched from one source to another. The criticism, however, is founded on the inaccurate explanation of one line.² According to Apollonius,

² Line 605 does not say that the Argo "passed" Mount Athos at dawn but rather that at that time its 6,000 foot pillar "was rising above the horizon for the sailors," which implies that they had to sail on for a good number of hours before they reached it. Stoessl took the inexact interpretation from Mooney.

toward darkness, with the sun sinking, the wind dropped (605-8); so the Argonauts took to the oars and reached the coast of Lemnos rowing. On approaching the shore, they found it occupied by an army of women and sent the herald Aethalides "from the ship," *scilicet* ashore. Aethalides pleaded with Hypsipyle, the leader of the women, that the day was on the wane and persuaded³ her to "admit" his shipmates, i. e. to allow them to put in for the night. "But not even at dawn did they loose the ship's hawsers to the blowing of Boreas" (640-52). The poet implies that the Argonauts spent the night, as usual, near their vessel, and that they intended to leave the next morning but a ferocious Boreas prevented them from sailing on to Samothrace (cf. 915 ff.). The chronology of this story is sound. Its only flaw is that the period of dusk and nightfall is perhaps slightly stretched.⁴ The substance of this narrative is also satisfactory as far as the Argonauts are concerned.

With reference to the Lemnian women, however, all is not well, and Stoessl is right in laying his finger on some defects of the narrative, although he does not carry all the points he is trying to make. We are told by Apollonius how the women, in dread fear of an invasion by Thracian marauders, kept an anxious watch on the approaches to their island and thus discovered the Argo while she was nearing their shores. Immediately Queen Hypsipyle led all her armed night (*ἡ πασσαυδία*, 634) to the beach (630-9). There she met Aethalides and allowed the Argonauts to spend the night on shore. When, however, they did not depart at dawn the following morning, Hypsipyle summoned an assembly—evidently also on the following morning—to deliberate about the next step. The assembly decided to invite the Argonauts to enter their city and live with the women, and so they did.—One thing is strange in this sequence of events. Apollonius paints in vivid colors the frantic rush to the shore of the Lemnian army; and, according to epic conventions, such a picture would portend some imminent action on the part of the women. The poet, however, suddenly drops the subject and leaves it to the reader to infer that the Lemnians, when they found out that there was nothing to fear from the Argonauts, disbanded and went home for the night.

Stoessl, however, develops a different and more elaborate theory to fill in the blank and round out the story. What he understands Apollonius to indicate is as follows. The Argonauts made the shore, not at dusk, but at dawn;⁵ landed unmolested, and immediately proceeded towards the city of Myrine. On their way, however, they were blocked by an armed detachment of Lemnians. The herald Aethalides asked Hypsipyle to "admit" the Argonauts, *scilicet* to the city, and was told they should wait until an assembly was called and had decided on their request. In the meantime, both the Argonauts and the Lemnian army remained camping opposite each other. The assembly was summoned and voted in favor of inviting

³ For the meaning of *μελιξατο* (650), "persuaded," cf. IV, 1210.

⁴ This holds for the Lemnians (see *infra*) as well as for the Argonauts. The distance covered by the women, however, need not have been great, since Myrine is situated on a cliff which overlooks the harbor.

⁵ How he combines this assumption with lines 651-2 he fails to make clear, in his note 4, p. 27.

the strangers, etc.⁶—After having thus explained and amplified the version of Apollonius, Stoessl removes from the story certain details which are likely to have been originated by the writer of the epic. When this is done, a perfect tragic scenario seems to result (p. 49). The scene of the play is laid at the spot where the Argonauts encounter the Lemnian women, and two choruses represent the conflicting groups (as in Aeschylus' *Suppliques*) who meet as opponents, await in suspense the decision of the assembly, and eventually leave together as friends. Stoessl feels confident that he has discovered the outline of Aeschylus' tragedy *Hypsipyle* rather than any other play on the subject.

Of the plot of Aeschylus' *Hypsipyle* we know no more than what a scholium on Apollonius (I, 769-73) reveals. It reads thus in L: Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ὑψιπύλῃ ἐν ὅπλοις φησὶν αὐτὰς (the Lemnians) ἐπελθούσας χειμαζομένους ἀπείργειν, μέχρι λαβεῖν ὄρκον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάσαι (ἀποβάντας, Keil) μνησσεσθαι αὐταῖς. Stoessl evidently takes it for granted that the scholium epitomizes the whole play instead of referring to some part of it, which is an unwarranted assumption; and he declares, to our surprise, that the scholium "to a considerable degree supports" his own reconstruction (p. 52). The word ἀποβάντας in the scholium is taken by him to indicate that at the end the Argonauts march off to the city, together with the women, from the spot where they had been camping. Thus the ἀπόβασις turns into the exodus of the double chorus from the scene. In its context, however, ἀποβῆναι is certainly "disembark" and this is confirmed by the fuller form in which the MS P renders the scholium. According to Brunck's edition (Leipzig, 1813; II, p. 62), P reads: Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις (i. e. ἐν τῇ Ὑψιπύλῃ ἐν ὅπλοις) ἐπελθεῖν φησιν αὐτὰς τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις χειμαζομένοις καὶ μὴ εἰς προσχεῖν τῇ νήσῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὄρκον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτῶν ἅμα τε ἀποβῆναι τῆς νεὸς καὶ συγγενέσθαι αὐταῖς· καὶ οὕτως ἀποβῆναι εἶσαι. Thus we learn that in Aeschylus' play the Argo was being tossed about off Lemnos by a storm, and the women prevented the seafarers from putting to shore until they swore to become their lovers immediately upon landing. Having taken the oath, they were allowed to disembark. The scholium then goes on to state that in Sophocles' tragedy *Lemniae* the women even fought a pitched battle with the Argonauts. The version of Sophocles is probably reflected in Statius, *Thebaid*, V, 335 ff., where is described how the Argo was contending with a sudden tempest while the Lemnians, standing on the battlements of the harbor fortifications, shot and threw missiles at her inmates, until peace was concluded and the gale subsided at the same time.

It follows that in Aeschylus' play the compact between the two parties was concluded from ship to shore, while the Argonauts were caught between the raging sea and the enemy on land. This leaves no room for negotiations to be conducted while the Argonauts are camping opposite a group of Lemnians, and Stoessl's Aeschylean scenario collapses.

Some useful results, however, can be salvaged from the wreckage. Stoessl was right in pointing out the fragmentary nature of one part of Apollonius' narrative, and he was probably right again when

⁶ We need not discuss the rest of the story; it stands or falls with the first part.

he connected its vagueness with the version of the story as Aeschylus—or perhaps rather Sophocles—had it. Apollonius has reduced to scant significance, and reported with excessive brevity, some incidents which in the tragedies had been essential constituents of the plot: the rush to the beach of the women in arms, their hostile opposition to the landing of the Argonauts, and the negotiations from ship to shore. For the tempest which in the tragedies forced the Argonauts to buy at a price the permission to land, Apollonius substituted the calm and the approach of night which made it desirable for the weary oarsmen to disembark (607-8 and 650-1): this is characteristic of his toning-down of that part of the plot.⁷ In his own version, the assembly is made the pivotal piece. There, with the issue openly explained and discussed, the course of events takes its decisive turn. This shift made the events on the beach pointless, and we wonder no longer why they now lead nowhere but rather why Apollonius has not discarded them altogether. The probable answer is that he used them to illustrate, through some semblance of dramatic action, the state of mind in which the women were in the aftermath of their stupendous crime. Stoessl suggests that the violent emotions of the women, ranging from desperate defiance to deadly fright, had been amply and clearly demonstrated in the underlying tragedy, while Apollonius condensed the whole sequence into a few lines saying that the women dashed to the beach “like Thyiads” and yet were “silent with fear” (636-9). “Schweigende Thyiaden?” Stoessl exclaims (p. 30). This is one case where the incongruity and brevity of Apollonius’ narrative do point the way to a source.

Quellenforschung works no miracles. We cannot draw many safe inferences about lost tragedies from the *Argonautica*, but we can with its methods learn to understand a trifle better the poem itself.

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FRANCESCO SBORDONE. Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica. Saggio Intro-
duttivo, Edizione Critica del Testo e Commento. Naples, Luigi
Loffredo, 1940.—Pp. lxxviii + 226. L. 80.

Numerous modern authors are already honored with “definitive” editions, but I do not recall having seen this word applied to an annotated edition of a classical writer. It is a tribute to the vitality of classical scholarship that we never look upon the work of any editor as final. Many Greek and Roman authors have been dead for more than two millennia, yet we still expect new interpretations of them to greet us periodically. The last critical edition of Horapollo, that of Carolus Leemans, was published in Amsterdam in 1835. This unusually long interim is doubtless due in part to the necessity of awaiting the epiphany of an editor sufficiently enterprising to delve into things Egyptian as well as the classics. The remarkable advance in Egyptology during the last hundred years provided a great opportunity for Professor Sbordone, who brought to his task courage,

⁷ Cf. A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge, 1917), II, p. 52.

patience, care, and diligence, all of which must have been needed in abundance.

We are informed (p. lii) that the manuscripts which preserve Horapollon *in extenso* are neither numerous nor ancient. None of the twelve with which our editor is familiar goes back beyond the fourteenth century. Of these he found only three that could be used to advantage (p. lxvi). One of them, V (Venice), was employed by Aldus in the first printed edition of Horapollon (1505).

The present edition contains 216 pages of Greek text, apparatus criticus, and annotations. On the average there are four lines of text (exclusive of headings) to a page, which is an indication of the fullness of the notes. The body of the book is in clear, legible type, with a generous, almost extravagant, amount of space devoted to quotations in Greek.¹

In the 189 sections of his work Horapollon is able to touch upon numerous aspects of Egyptian life, thought, customs, and beliefs. We are told how the Egyptians signified world, eternity, month, year, star, soul, marriage, guard, pleasure, and a host of other things, both abstract and concrete. Insects, birds, animals, plants, and what not parade before the reader. Our editor has consulted both secondary and source material and has identified numerous ideograms, many of which he reproduces. Occasionally he calls Horapollon "fantastic." There can be no question of the great value of the Egyptian side of this volume, but I shall have to leave a critical appraisal of it to reviews in journals of Egyptology.²

The *Hieroglyphics* is a most curious work, and now that we have it in an inviting edition every student of the classics should allow himself the luxury of a trip through it. A few of the ideograms may be noticed here.

The flood of the Nile was sometimes indicated by a lion because the Nile rose highest when the sun was in Leo. Owing to this circumstance, according to Horapollon (I, 21), the overseers of religious structures adorned the mouths of sacred springs with carved lions' heads. One recalls that water gushed from a stone lion's mouth at Pompeii and that cornices of buildings are still decorated with such heads.

The ideogram for one dwelling safely within a city is a man raising an eaglestone (II, 49). Horapollon says that the eagle placed it in its nest as a means of protection. Geologists have identified the common eaglestones of the Greek and Romans as concretions.³ If the identification holds good for this usage the symbolism of something within something is strikingly apt.

The Egyptians designated by a human figure with the head of an ass a man who had never been abroad (I, 23). Years ago I found in a Greek source a comment that a man who had never seen Athens was an ass, but that he who saw it and left was doubly an ass.⁴

¹ There is an occasional error in the Greek.

² A laudation of the volume (rather than a review of it), by Aristide Calderini, may be found in *Aegyptus*, XX (1940), pp. 94-5.

³ F. D. Adams, *The Birth and Development of the Geological Sciences* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 36.

⁴ In spite of long search I am unable to find this passage again.

This work by Horapollon makes one wonder how widespread in the ancient world were a number of commonplace beliefs and superstitions recorded in Greek and Latin literature. In it occur many familiar ideas, such as those about spontaneous generation (I, 10, 11; II, 24, 44, 47), sex determination (II, 43), the lack of bile in doves (I, 5), the resurrection of the phoenix (I, 34; II, 57), the longevity of the deer (II, 21) and the crow (II, 89), the swan song (II, 39), licking young bears into shape (II, 83), and the influence of the moon (I, 49). Philip, the Greek translator of Horapollon, certainly found in his original much that was anything but strange to him. Did he allow any Greek ideas to color his translation?

One who is unacquainted with the *Hieroglyphics* may well ask how so much popular lore finds its way into this work. Two or three examples will suffice. The superstition that wasps were spontaneously generated from carcasses of horses made a dead horse an apt sign for "wasp" (II, 44). It was a rustic belief that a bull going toward the right after mating signified that the calf would be male; toward the left, female. Hence a woman who had given birth to a child was represented by a bull turning to the right or left according as the child was male or female (II, 43). The long life attributed to the phoenix and its supposed power of renewing itself naturally prompted the selection of this bird as an ideogram to indicate the long cycle of some heavenly bodies (II, 57). It may be noted incidentally that the phoenix became the symbol of the Resurrection among the Christians.⁵

Some other familiar items have slightly different turns in Horapollon. It is said that the swan sings on growing old (II, 39) rather than just before it dies. The matter of the swan song continues to be of general interest, and I have two or three clippings in which it is maintained that the swan does sing on being mortally wounded. The dove, which is supposed to be without bile (I, 57), was used to represent the occasional human being who was thought to be without this secretion (II, 48).

The ideogram for a man who does not receive injury from fire is a salamander, for this animal puts out flames (II, 62). Sbordone gives some interesting parallels, but St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXI, 4, used the analogy of the salamander *living* in fire to convince the pagans that the souls of the damned could survive in Hell. It is difficult to see how an Italian could refrain from repeating in this connection a story told by Benvenuto Cellini at the beginning of his *Memoirs*. When Cellini was a boy five years of age his father happened to see a salamander disporting itself in the intense heat of a fire. That his son might not fail to remember this singular spectacle the father boxed his ears.

The notes on the renewal of youth by the sloughing of skin (p. 5) could have been even more enlightening.⁶ If we may believe a tale recounted by Aelian, VI, 51, the serpent called *dipsas* acquired its ability to slough its skin and old age by driving a hard bargain with

⁵ See, for example, Augustine, *De Anima et Eius Origine*, IV, 33 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XLIV, col. 513).

⁶ See E. S. McCartney, "Longevity and Rejuvenation in Greek and Roman Folklore," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, V (1926), pp. 61-4.

an ass to which a remedy for old age had been entrusted. In our own country a squaw addressed the following words to a woman who had witnessed the funeral of a Mohave youth: "Indians don't die. They shed their skins like snakes and we burn up the old skins so that they can't be used again."⁷

In commenting on the *νυκτιόραξ*, which was a sign of sudden death because, as Horapollo explains (II, 25), it attacks young ravens by night with the speed of death itself, Sbordone says (p. 150): "Nel dichiarare che il corvo è simbolo della morte, Horap. aderisce senza dubbio alla credenza italica del malaugurio recata dalla *νυκτερίς* (Eliano X, 37)." The bat is not mentioned by Aelian in X, 37, but in I, 37 he tells of measures which the stork took to keep bats from its nest. I do not see the point of Sbordone's comment. Why should Horapollo be concerned here about an Italic belief in regard to the *corvo*, which is not the bird in question, and why should such an Italic belief be derived from a story of the bat as told by Aelian? The world over, birds do in their own right many things that are signs of death.

Sbordone seems to have found his scores of folklore parallels and references independently of the literature of the subject. An article of my own, "Spontaneous Generation and Kindred Notions in Antiquity," *T. A. P. A.*, LI (1920), pp. 101-15, would have provided parallels to things mentioned on pages 19-20, 26, 157, 163, and 165. Two books that would have proved helpful are *A Glossary of Greek Birds* by D'Arcy W. Thompson, especially the second edition, and *Die antike Tierwelt* by Otto Keller. The references that Sbordone does give are numerous, however, and to the point, so that even the specialist will discover in them a wealth of valuable material. I am grateful to him for making it readily accessible.

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WILLIAM DOUGLAS CHAMBERLAIN. *An Exegetical Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York, Macmillan and Co., 1941. Pp. xxi + 233.

The author of this grammar is Professor of New Testament Language and Literature at the Louisville (Kentucky) Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Designed to aid the interpreter of the New Testament, the material of the book is arranged under the following topics: Introductory Remarks on a Correct Procedure in Exegesis, the Parts of Speech and Their Function, Clauses, and Sentences. The book closes with a list of the principal parts of some of the more important verbs used in the N. T. and an index to the many quotations from the N. T. made throughout the grammar. It is undoubtedly a useful book and Professor Chamberlain is to be congratulated for condensing and arranging the essential material of several larger works upon which he frankly confesses to have depended.

⁷ Honoré Willis Morrow, "The Strangest Adventure a Woman Ever Had," *The American Magazine* (January, 1939), p. 82.

The following corrigenda and observations are offered so that when the book is issued in a second edition its faults may be remedied.

Page 2, line 38. Instead of "des Neue Testaments" read "des Neuen Testaments."

12, 8. πράγμα is wrongly accented.

12, 22. βάθος is not second declension.

13, 4. εἰδωλος should have a neuter termination.

15, 13. The unequivocal statement, "In the New Testament, γνωρίζω should always be given the causative force, even in Phil. 1: 22," ought to be modified with reference to the passage in Philipians, for no less scholars than J. B. Lightfoot, J. H. Thayer, and W. Bauer take the opposite view.

24, footnote. Regarding the feminine nouns of the second declension ending in -ος, the author might have mentioned that there are some forty different nouns of this type in the N. T.

26, 17. Does the author really want to say, "There are no vocative forms in the plural"?

52, 31. For ἰδίος read ἴδιος.

56, 12. For τό εἰ read τὸ εἰ.

65, bottom. The uncontracted forms of the aorist passive subjunctive should be inclosed in parentheses.

79, 28. For φαινῆσεται read φανήσεται.

80, 21 f. Neither the severely literal translation of the future perfect tense in Matthew 16, 19 and 18, 18, nor the claim that almost all expositors have erred in these passages is justifiable in the face of H. J. Cadbury's article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVIII (1939), pp. 251-4.

82, 28. προσενέγκη is incorrectly written without the iota subscript.

88, footnote. The last sentence should be qualified by the addition of "active singular."

106, 11. "Nominative" should certainly be "accusative."

111, 1. Would it not be better to call the construction of adverb and ἔγω "idiomatic" rather than "peculiar"?

116, 25. Chamberlain attributes to Dionysius [he means, and should have said, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (ca. A. D. 247)] the statement that the solecism in Revelation 1, 4 ἀπὸ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος was used "to express the unchangeableness of God." Dionysius may or may not have said this, but there is no evidence at all upon which to base such an assertion. As a matter of fact, Chamberlain not only misread A. T. Robertson's reference to Dionysius¹ but also neglected to check the reference made there to Eusebius' *Historia Eccles.*, VII, 25.

125, 35. Is "metaphorical" used accurately?

131, 6 f. The author quotes A. T. Robertson to the effect that in Euripides' *Alcestis* ὑπέρ is used seven times for the substitutionary death of Alcestis in behalf of her husband. Chamberlain should have verified his sources, for ὑπέρ occurs (in all senses) only four times in the whole play.

147, 26. Read ὑποζώννυμι instead of ὑποζόννυμι.

155, 8. Read ὁ for ὀ.

¹ A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 5th ed. (New York, 1931), p. 135.

- 156, 1. Read εἶπεν for εἰπείν.
 161, 1. Read μὴν instead of μέν.
 174, 26. The author quotes Acts 8, 32 but mistranslates τοῦ κείροντος, being influenced, undoubtedly, by Isaiah 53, 7.
 182, footnote 11.² Add "telic."
 190, 12. Read ἀγγελός instead of ἀγγελός.
 196, 1. The footnote to which "Beelzebub"² refers is on the preceding page.
 201, 4. The word "climacteric" makes nonsense here; the author doubtless wanted to use "climactic."
 212, 18. For "Welhausen" read "Wellhausen."
 213, 27 f. With Chamberlain's statement about ἰδοῦ in the Apocalypse of John there should be read, *per contra*, E. J. Goodspeed's remarks in *New Chapters in New Testament Study* (New York, 1937), p. 133.
 218, 10. The citation should read "Rev. 2:5" instead of "Rev. 2:25." It would be helpful, likewise, if the reader were informed that the form under discussion, πέπτωκες, occurs only in codex Sinaiticus.
 219, 6. It is hard to understand why the future of χαίρω is not cited here in the list of principal parts, for it occurs not a few times in the N. T.

A comparison of Chamberlain's book with other modern grammars of N. T. Greek will be apropos.³ The position of two other grammars which, like Chamberlain's, were inspired by and largely based upon A. T. Robertson's monster (as Deissmann called it) grammar will probably not be jeopardized by the present book. The volume by H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey,⁴ longer by more than one hundred pages, is considerably superior as a scholarly piece of literature. The joint work of Robertson and his most gifted student⁵ may be characterized as a condensation of Robertson's *magnum opus* with such modifications as were necessary to make it suitable for the intermediate student. The authors of these two grammars, as well as Chamberlain, were trained under the late Professor Robertson. The latter's lifework, referred to in note 1 *supra*, is an enormous volume that includes a discussion of practically everything that can be brought within the scope of such a grammar.

Moving outside the coterie of Robertson and his disciples, two British scholars of first rank, J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, have written what is undoubtedly one of the best of recent N. T. reference grammars.⁶ The former could write with delightful felicity and, among grammatical treatises, his *Prolegomena* both stimulate and fascinate the reader. The German translation of this

² Thayer's *Lexicon*.

³ Elementary grammars are excluded from this comparison.

⁴ *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1927).

⁵ A. T. Robertson and W. H. Davis, *A New Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1931).

⁶ *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, I, *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, 1908); II, *Accidence and Word-Formation, with an Appendix on Semitisms in the N. T.* (Edinburgh, 1929). Vol. III on syntax has not yet (1943) appeared.

volume increases its worth by incorporating additional material in footnotes.⁷

Among continental grammars, Ludwig Radermacher's treatise⁸ is noted chiefly for its lucid and helpful discussion of the relation of N. T. syntax to that of the non-literary *κοινή*. R. M. Abel⁹ includes in his N. T. grammar frequent comparisons with the accident and syntax of the Septuagint as well as of the non-literary papyri. The best descriptive grammar of the N. T. is Albert Debrunner's revision of Friedrich Blass' work.¹⁰ It includes occasional references to the grammar of the Apostolic Fathers. Giuseppe Bonaccorsi's *Primi Saggi di Filologia Neotestamentaria*¹¹ is a fairly comprehensive treatment, the chief merit of which is an excellent bibliography. It will no doubt supplant the less adequate volume by Giuseppe Sacco.¹²

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R. C. GOLDSCHMIDT. *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940. Pp. 203.

Paulinus devotes to the churches at Nola *Epist.* 32, 10-17 (addressed to Sulpicius Severus), *Carm.* 27, 345-647 (celebrating the visit of Bishop Nicetas), and all of *Carm.* 28 (describing the baptism). Here are not the most inspired creations of Paulinus' talent, but the contents are of great interest to students of early Christian art. Dr. Goldschmidt had both an archaeological and a philological aim in publishing, as a "thesis," the texts, a rendering in English, and a commentary.

Not satisfied with von Hartel's text because of the inaccuracies this contains, Goldschmidt decided to offer a text of his own and to that end had recourse to a number of the better MSS. A random examination of readings has indicated that he improves upon Hartel in a number of places.

But Goldschmidt was ill-advised to choose English, a tongue foreign to him, as the medium for the translation and the Notes. The book abounds in "barbarisms," misspellings, and misprints, which it would be unkind to list.

Although the Notes sometimes contain irrelevant information, they for the most part help to explain a not always lucid text, and especially provide interesting observations on Paulinus' Latinity,

⁷ Supervised by Albert Thumb in Hirt and Streithberg's *Indogermanische Bibliothek*. Its German title is *Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg, 1911).

⁸ *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 2te Aufl. (Tübingen, 1925).

⁹ *Grammaire du Grec Biblique* (Paris, 1927).

¹⁰ *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 6te Aufl. (Göttingen, 1931).

¹¹ Torino, 1933.

¹² *La Koiné del Nuovo Testamento e la Trasmissione del Sacro Testo* (Roma, 1928).

supplementing what we find in Michael Philipp's *Zum Sprachgebrauch des Paulinus von Nola* (Erlangen, 1904). Several obscurities of the poet's text still remain unexplained, and, since Goldschmidt has himself had no opportunity to make studies at Nola, several obscurities of an archaeological nature, not cleared up by Chierici's report (1939) of the excavations at Cimitile, also remain.

Included is a brief biography of Paulinus. A study of the chronology of *Carm.* 27 and 28 brings Goldschmidt to the traditional conclusion—that they were composed in A. D. 403 and 404, respectively; the letter he assigns, without certitude, to the first half of the year 403.

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HERBERT NEWELL COUCH. *Classical Civilization; Greece*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxix + 577; 153 figures; 1 map. \$3.50.

Scores of pedestrian books based on secondary sources have been appearing about the Greeks and Romans in recent years, but few of them have any real fundamental acquaintance with the recent results of archaeological, historical, numismatic, and other classical researches, as I stated in the *Classical Weekly* (XXXII [1939], p. 273). The volume under review is no exception, though written by a well-known classical scholar of good training and wide travel in classical lands and with field experience in excavations at Olynthus. But he has not made use of his own training. Even on the literary side no knowledge is shown of new poems of Archilochus and Hipponax (classified under Pessimistic Poetry), of Sappho, Pindar, etc. The book has developed from a syllabus used in courses on classical civilization for students who know little or no Greek. It begins with a chapter on the Physical Geography of Greece and then considers its People, The Minoan-Mycenaean Culture, The Homeric Poems, The Settlement of Greece (where the migrations caused by the Dorian invasion and the organization of colonies are confused), Social Discontent in Athens, Sculpture in the Archaic Age, The Poetry of a Transitional Society, The Birth of Scientific Enquiry, From Cleisthenes to the End of the Persian Wars, Herodotus, Athens during the Early Fifth Century, Greek Tragedy, Architecture, Sculpture, Greek Arts and Crafts, The Late Fifth Century, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Aristophanes, Transitional Philosophy, The Struggle for Leadership in the Fourth Century, The Sculpture of the Fourth Century, Literature in the Fourth Century, The Humanistic Philosophers, From Alexander the Great to the Founding of Constantinople, Literature under Alexandrian Influence, Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Sculpture, The Close of Greek Letters.

The book attempts to cover the whole field of Greek culture, but it is especially weak on religion, philosophy, archaeology, anthropology, economics, constitutional antiquities, and the social sciences. There is nothing about the mosaics, bronzes, lamps, or even the houses at Olynthus, and architecture is inadequately treated. There is no synthesis but a haphazard heaping up of much well-known material.

Even in the facts of Greek history there are many slips such as the idea that the pre-Cleisthenean four tribes were based on wealth (p. 175), that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were "put to death by the angry throng" (p. 281). The sculptured group of these liberators in Naples (p. 282) has not had the shaven Scopasian head on the Aristogeiton for years (but the cast of a bearded head). Moreover this is not the best copy (see that in the Mussolini Museum in Rome, *A. J. A.*, XLIV [1940], pp. 379; 380; 395, fig. 26; 396, fig. 28), and it is not certain that Alexander restored the original to Athens. Couch himself quotes Pausanias (p. 529) to the effect that Antiochus sent them back. The Mourning Athena (frontispiece) dates before the "middle of the fifth century" (on p. 311 Couch says "the year 458 is possibly a little early for the artistic qualities of the work"). The map of Greece is unsatisfactory with places none too well located and with such wrong spellings as Helicarnassus. The simplified plan of the Palace of Minos is an inaccurate caricature of the real plan. Schliemann (p. 39) did not assemble as much of a fortune in America as in Germany and Russia. Where does the story originate that he married the Greek girl who could recite the most of Homer from memory? It is hardly true that "he found the walls of ancient peoples but not the city of the *Iliad*," even though he thought that the second and not the sixth or seventh city was the Homeric site. Nothing is said of Schliemann's Russian wife or of the recent information about Schliemann in America; and there is nothing about the recent excavations at Troy and no satisfactory treatment of Homer. The table on p. 42 is inaccurate. Middle Minoan begins about 2100 B. C., possibly 2200, but surely not 2300 B. C. The inner lintel of the Treasury of Atreus weighs about 120 tons, not ten (p. 67), and the height of the tomb was more than forty-eight feet, not forty-three. No use is made of Wace's recent excavations at Mycenae. For new light on the "Treasury" see now *J. H. S.*, LXI (1941), pp. 14-16. On the Vaphio cups there is only one bull (not bulls) caught in a net, and there is no picture of cattle grazing. In connection with the Hera of Samos (p. 123) there is no use made of Buschor's discovery of Geneleos' school of Samian sculptors. The base of the "calf-bearer" (p. 127) is omitted, and it is not certain that it was dedicated by Rhombos. An article in *Rev. Arch.*, XIII (1939), p. 282, interprets the inscription as [*Ho δαίνα hekar*]ὸν βῶς ἀνέθεκεν ἡο Πάλο . . . , or, if a proper name, it might be Kombos or Strombos. The three-headed monster (p. 130, fig. 38) is not Typhon, and no knowledge is shown of the work of Wiegand, Heberdey, Schrader, Lechat, and Broneer on these early poros pediments. Heracitus does not actually say *πάντα ρεῖ*, "Everything is flowing," even though Plato uses the phrase. I doubt whether the plane tree at Cos (which I have also seen) is one under which Hippocrates taught (p. 171). A Demareteion in Boston is reproduced on p. 193, but there is no reference to Fig. 44 in the text (a common fault throughout the book) and no citation of any publication such as *Bull. Boston Mus. of Fine Arts*, XXXIII (1935), p. 51. The "Theseum" (p. 260), which should be called the Temple of Hephaestus, is said to have two steps and to be a "distinct exception." Couch is unfamiliar with recent investigations, and Dinsmoor's monograph (*Hesperia*, Supplement V) appeared too late to be used by him. It has three steps, the lower of Piraeic poros. On the same page is

an ugly and awkward drawing giving too much batter to the walls and columns. Almost all of the drawings in the book are inartistic and not entirely accurate. That of the Greek theater (p. 274) is especially bad. The thymele is not always in the center of the orchestra, as it proved by theaters at Thoricus and elsewhere. The word *orthostates* (p. 261) should not be italicized if English. If italicized, it should be *orthostatai* or *orthostatae*. The amateur illustration of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth is antiquated by Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), p. 191, fig. 1, and especially p. 199, fig. 9. The Greeks themselves did not use the term Caryatids of human beings as supporting columns (p. 270) but of dancing figures. Oropus is especially important for a study of the theater (p. 277). The Zeus from the sea near Cape Artemisium is dated in the early fifth century though Couch's colleague would date it after 455 B. C. (*A. J. A.*, XLI [1942], p. 76). The Delphi charioteer (p. 286) should be dated 477 B. C. (*J. H. S.*, LIII [1933], pp. 101 f.). Some still think that the temple at Aegina is that of Athena, not Aphaea (pp. 134, 287, 503), and it is hardly true (p. 286) that the school at Aegina was competent in dealing with the nude male figure and not with the draped female. No knowledge is shown of recent articles and books on Olympia. Paeonius is probably from Chalcidian and not Thracian Mende (p. 290). The Discobolus shown on p. 291, which seems to be the "correct copy" mentioned on p. 290, does show the head looking back toward the discus, but the head does not belong to this Castel Porziano copy and the illustration is made from a combined cast. No reference is made to the Lancelotti copy, now in Munich, which does have the head looking back. The bronze heifer was on the Acropolis and could hardly have deceived living cattle in the fields. Not only "a poem in the collection known as the Greek Anthology" but several tell of a statue of Ladas, but the information which Couch gives about him comes from other sources such as Pausanias, II, 19, 7; III, 21, 1, where it is said that "being taken ill, I suppose, immediately after the victory, he was on his way home but died here [Sparta] and his grave is above the high road." Couch says, "He died on his way home to Argos." Moreover he reads a wrong text (*θυμόν*) in translating "breathing forth thy panting soul, O Ladas." The text as reconstructed by Studniczka (*Ber. Sächs. Ges.*, 1900, pp. 329-50) should be *θυνόν, ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ σκάμματι θεῖς ὄνυχα*. *θυνός* is the *δρόμος* and *σκάμμα* the loosened earth. The Athena Promachos did not stand at the western end of the Acropolis, nor could its helmet be seen as the sailor "rounded the promontory of Cape Sunium" (p. 294). Pausanias, who is often misquoted, only says "as you sail up from Sunium" (*ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν*). The Greeks never made any such mistake as is attributed to them by Couch, since the statue could not be seen till one had passed Hymettus. Where the statue stood and how it could be seen from the sea are well demonstrated by Stevens, *Hesperia*, V (1936), pp. 491-9. Nor will the reader get a correct idea of the Athena Parthenos from the miserable reversed illustration on p. 295 with the column at the statue's left instead of right. The Cyrene head of Zeus is to be preferred to that in Boston to acquire some idea of Phidias. The pictures of the Parthenon in articles by Stevens and Hill should have been reproduced instead of that on p. 298. Some youths are mounted

on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and the south frieze does not "have the same as on the north side" (p. 299), and there were no "fifty colossal figures in the pediment," which are not so "widely scattered through various museums" (pp. 301, 306). Melian vases (p. 319) are generally considered to be Delian, and Cyrenaic vases Laconian. Execias (p. 323) was "very successful with the cylix"; but what about the amphora? The important frieze of the François vase, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the only one going completely around both sides of the vase, is not mentioned. The red-figured technique (p. 324) was usually, not "occasionally" adopted in the late sixth century. It had largely succeeded the black-figured long before "the middle of the fifth century." It began before 525 B. C. and held the field almost exclusively by 500 B. C. Hieron and Brygus (p. 324) were potters, not painters. Macon painted many, if not most, of Hieron's vases. The pyxis with the Judgment of Paris, dated in the early fifth century (pp. 327, 329) is by the Penthesileia Painter and cannot date before 465 B. C. On p. 349 is an illustration (with no detailed explanation) of three gems and a ring to which there is no reference in the text and which only the expert would know came from the *Bull. Metr. Museum*, XVII (1922), p. 194, fig. 3. Potidaea should be located on the Pallene peninsula rather than the Chalcidic peninsula (p. 351). Thucydides (I, 22) wanted his work to be a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ* and not an *ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν*, a prize composition which is heard and forgotten, rather than "a plaything of the moment" (p. 363). Sophocles died in 405, not 406 B. C., and even then Athenian tragedy had not come to an end, as is said (p. 373). Tragedy and comedy were born about the same time, and it is not accurate to say that comedy "did not flower until about a century later" than 534 B. C., the time of Thespis, who is wrongly (p. 213) credited with the development of the prologue. It was officially recognized as early as 486 B. C. To the statuette of Socrates (p. 392) there is no reference in the text, and nothing is said about its date, whether it is a Greek original of 300 B. C., an Antonine Roman copy (*A. J. A.*, XXX [1927], pp. 281 ff.), or a modern forgery (*ibid.*, p. 136). Is fig. 126 (p. 415) an original Greek relief, a Roman copy, or a forgery (*A. J. A.*, XXXVI [1932], pp. 276 ff.)? Some would date Cephisodotus at the end of the fifth century, but in any case there is a better copy of the Eirene and Plutus in the Metropolitan Museum. Pausanias, who is much more than a topographer and certainly a belletristic historian and authority on hymn-literature and mythology and who is wrongly said to have written "for the practical purpose of guiding" those who were traveling, does not definitely say that he saw the Hermes of Praxiteles now at Olympia. Some, such as Antonsson, think a Pan is represented, and some think that the statue is a Roman copy, as Couch acknowledges on p. 420. It should be pointed out that the Hermes is not the only original of great Greek sculptors. The Victory of Paeonius and some of the Parthenon sculptures are originals. In discussing Lysippus there is no mention of the Delphi Agias. It is wrongly said (pp. 434, 435) with regard to the Sarcophagus of the Mourners and the Alexander Sarcophagus that "these distinctive examples are named from the historical exploits of Alexander." All this group of sarcophagi was found at Sidon, and only the "Alexander Sarcophagus"

portrays Alexander's exploits. It is a pleasure to see that the bust in Boston (p. 497) is still called Menander and not Vergil, though the Baltimore head is a better copy. The Apollo Belvedere (p. 501) is not an original and may be a copy of a work of Leochares and so earlier than the Hellenistic period and not of "definitely Hellenistic qualities." Negroes (p. 504) were introduced into art long before Hellenistic times, and the statue of the Dying Gaul in Rome is a copy and was probably not made at Pergamum, even though the original was. The Aphrodite of Melos (p. 506) dates later than the third century, probably about 180-160 B. C., the date of the inscriptions found with it. The so-called "Venus Genetrix" is illustrated by a statue in the Louvre (p. 513), and there is no reference to any of the copies in America,—in Chicago, New York, Boston, Toronto, Washington (this last as late as the time of Commodus). They are probably copies not of a work of Alcamenes but of Callimachus. The view of the Laocoon (p. 579) is dark and has the wrong restoration of the hands. The bibliography is unsatisfactory and does not include such better books than those cited as Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*; Seltman, *Greek Coins*; Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*; and volumes in the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*. The worst fault is that the illustrations are often those of amateurs or of casts instead of originals, have nothing to do with the text, and are badly reproduced, some such as the Mycenaean gem, fig. 26 (also fig. 76) being reversed. Miss Van Ingen's picture (p. 3) does not show the islands that encircle Delos but only Rheneia. Figs. 4, 40, and many others are put in to adorn the text but point no moral and are not even mentioned in the text.

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RUSSEL M. GEER. *Classical Civilization: Rome*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxiii + 414; 32 figures; 1 map. \$3.00.

Though this is meant to be a popular book for those who know little or no Latin, Professor Geer shows a good knowledge of Rome, even if he has not a detailed acquaintance with specialized articles. He is acquainted, however, with the important literature, but I hate to see the articles in Harper's Dictionary called "authoritative" (p. 389); and McDaniel, *Roman Private Life*, Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Van Buren, *Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations*, Miss Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, should be cited as standard works of reference. The introduction discusses our debt to Rome and the geography of Italy. Then follow chapters on The Beginnings of Rome, Rome under the Kings, External History to 275 B. C., Internal History to 275 B. C., The Third Century: Rome and Carthage, The Constitution, Latin Literature, Roman Expansion, Rome and Italy to 133 B. C., First Phase of the Revolution: The Gracchi, Second Phase: Marius and Sulla, Third Phase: Pompey and Caesar, Literature in the Late

Republic, Social and Economic Life in the Late Republic, Religion to the End of the Republic, Augustus, Augustan Literature, The Empire in the First and Second Centuries after Christ, Literature in the First and Second Centuries after Christ, The Empire in the Third Century and after the Severi, Philosophy and Religion in the Empire, Roman Law, Science and Engineering, Roman Art, Transmission of Roman Influence, Roman Private Life. Misprints are rare ("Vaspasian" on p. 338) though two occur on one page (318), "build" for "built," and "Maison Carée" for "Maison Carrée." The illustrations are badly selected and badly reproduced. There are none in the first three hundred pages except a few crude maps. There are no illustrations of any of the fora except an indistinct general view of the Via del Impero. Views of Trajan's column and of the reconstructed Ara Pacis and of some other great Roman statues or buildings such as the Colosseum and the Baths of Caracalla, and of Pompeii and Ostia, or of paintings would have been desirable. But this is a careful and concise book which will appeal to the general reader as well as to those interested in the classics.

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INEZ SCOTT RYBERG. *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C.* London, Christophers; Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. 247; 1 map; 54 plates. (*Studies and Documents* ed. by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, XIII.)

By the time this belated review appears, Mrs. Ryberg's book will have already become an indispensable tool of research and an effective source of knowledge for all scholars interested in the cultural history of early Rome. The book has rightly been dedicated to the late Tenney Frank whose basic inspiration the author acknowledges in the preface, and whose magnificent contribution on the architectural remains of the Roman Republic she now supplements by this penetrating survey of the archaeological evidence from tombs, deposits, and sporadic finds.

The modest form of this comprehensive work allows individual students to own copies of the book. It is the result of a painstaking study of all the former, often sadly ambiguous, excavation reports and of the original material inheritance of early Rome still available in museums and their storerooms. It thus not only coördinates and supersedes the earlier reports, but also adds considerably to the material knowledge available so far. To illustrate this point, I may mention that nearly two-thirds of the more than 350 single objects which are so fully and carefully reported on the plates, under 107 figure numbers, are items hitherto entirely unpublished, while a good many of the rest appear here in new and better reproductions. The indefatigable patience with which Mrs. Ryberg has collected, examined, and directed every bit of evidence which she was able to obtain deserves the highest praise. How great the technical difficulties in

assembling the material have been, as a result of well-known circumstances in Rome, is illustrated by the author's sad statement (p. 209, note 2) that she was not allowed to measure the objects in the Forum and Palatine Museums—where the director, since the death of Boni, has shown utter lack of coöperation with the tasks of international scholarly research. Though in conscientiously submitting this evidence to the reader and in arguing about its value the author has never lost sight of the major objectives which justify the excruciating effort of collection and analysis, in the very nature of things the book could not become very pleasant reading. Here and there, in addition, repetitions might have been avoided and descriptions of all aspects of the objects for their own sake (e. g., Attic potsherds, pp. 40 f.; Calenian ceramics, pp. 118 f.) might have been relegated to the Index to the Plates (pp. 209-22), which contains other evidence such as dimensions and present location.

In a brief introduction the author explains her task of investigating the cultural picture of Early Rome, the foreign relationships it indicates, and how this picture compares with the literary sources (pp. 1-4). The first chapter (pp. 5-50) discusses "The Etruscan Period, VII-VI Centuries B. C.," and thus expands and deepens the results of her former study in *M. A. A. R.*, VII (1929), pp. 7-118. Analysis of the pottery of this period found in Rome reveals a very small percentage of Corinthian and Attic importation, a considerable importation of South Etruscan ceramics, and the very great importance of import from the Faliscan centers. Mrs. Ryberg also attempts to distinguish local Roman products which imitate and adapt Etruscan and Faliscan models. The author is well aware, in this case and later on (pp. 15, 22, 100, 102), that this distinction is somewhat precarious, particularly if it is based primarily on the frequency and poor quality of the objects. Such poor quality does not preclude wide-spread exportation. Mrs. Ryberg's careful statements and unique experience lead me, by and large, however, to accept her attributions. The number and character of objects of metal (pp. 33 f.), glass paste, ivory, and amber (pp. 39 f.), are very modest. On the basis of this evidence it is clear that local manufacture was restricted to very common objects, at best, and that the main foreign cultural relations came from and via the Faliscan territory. Already in this chapter—and frankly stated at the end (pp. 99 f.)—appears a difficulty resulting from the limitations of the sites which yielded the material. These sites, especially the Esquiline necropolis, do not contain noble, or even modestly wealthy, tombs (see, also, p. 5). The absence of gold and silver fibulae as well as of Attic potsherds in these tombs is clear evidence that they represent a lower stratum, though a modest chamber tomb (p. 49) does occur,—while a quantity of Attic sherds turned up in a votive deposit. Not only may the Roman kings and other nobles have had tombs as rich as those of Palestrina; it is quite possible that the Esquiline necropolis represents, even in this earliest period, a limited and low level of Roman culture. I, therefore, doubt the justification of the conclusion (p. 50) that: "The ideals of frugality and simplicity . . . were a real part of his (*scil.* the Roman's) inheritance from the *maiores*"—as far as the Roman aristocracy and bourgeoisie are concerned.

Chap. II "The Decline of Rome in the V Century B. C." (pp. 51-

81) deals with the most controversial issue of the book. As the author frankly states at the beginning: "Not a single tomb in the Esquiline necropolis can be dated between the end of the sixth and the middle of the fourth century B.C." She nevertheless argues that the necropolis was used during this period, and its continuous use afterwards is a general argument in favor of such a theory. One might argue as well that the later reuse of a burial area which had been extensively used and temporarily abandoned might have been conditioned by the shifting distribution of population in a rapidly growing town. Mrs. Ryberg's thesis is that while the continuous use of the necropolis persisted during the fifth and early fourth centuries, its material displays a static preservation of the cultural forms of the archaic period—which she regards as one historical aspect of Rome during the time of its wars of expansion. She also argues that, in two votive deposits from the Quirinal (pp. 64 f.), some objects of this period (including the Duenos vase) were found in conjunction with material of the kind which she attributes to the fifth and early fourth centuries, and that even in sporadic finds objects of undoubtedly progressive character are extremely rare (pp. 68 f.). Even if one is tempted to accept her conclusions so far as the Esquiline necropolis is concerned—though I cherish some doubts about them—the question again arises whether or not these finds actually indicate the general cultural horizon of Rome. To this period rather than to that of predominant Etruscan influence (p. 49) belongs the decree of the Twelve Tables limiting luxury in burials; and during this period the members of the upper Roman bourgeoisie certainly lived in atrium houses at least as conspicuous as the earliest houses of Pompeii. Their tombs are not preserved. What was *their* cultural level?

The next three chapters are of particularly great value in view of the hitherto complete neglect of the archaeological evidence of minor finds for the cultural development of the Roman Republic during the later fourth and third centuries B.C. The author has proceeded by conveniently dividing her discussion into three sections, dealing respectively with the later necropolis of the Esquiline in general (pp. 82-99) and with the individual aspects of industrial activity and commercial relations in the later fourth (pp. 100-15) and in the third (pp. 116-53) century. The first of these chapters includes an excellent survey of the character of the finds from the Esquiline necropolis as well as a comparison of their general level with that of such sites as Ardea, Praeneste, and those of the Faliscan and southern Etruscan region. There is no doubt about their general connection and similarity and, too, about the relatively very poor level of the finds from the Roman necropolis. "Roman burials are much poorer in bronze than those at Praeneste, poorer in red-figured pottery as well as in bronze than the tombs of Faliscan territory and Etruria, poorer in glazed and painted pottery than graves at Cumae. To assume that the necropolis in Rome includes only burials of the humblest population is to beg the question and ignore what evidence is available." Mrs. Ryberg then continues to stress the relative and gradual improvement of the cultural aspect during the third century, an improvement mostly parallel to the intensified relationship to Southern Italy, and she traces this process in detail

in the two succeeding chapters, emphasizing the symptoms of higher manufacture in Rome itself. But, is the assumption that the Esquiline necropolis, in this as in earlier periods, represents only the most popular aspect of Rome, its very lowest stratum, really begging the question? Again, red-figured wares occur more frequently outside than inside the necropolis (p. 94) and the same is true of Gnathia ceramics. The finest bronze piece found in Praeneste, the famous Ficoroni cista (p. 113) was made in Rome. Are we sure that the "Praenestine" mirrors were not manufactured there, too, at least to some extent? Is it not possible that the comparison with other sites misleads us inasmuch as they were more homogeneous and bourgeois in character with a prevailing, quite well-to-do, middle class, while, from the late fourth century on, Rome was metropolitan in character and marked by sharply divided cultural levels?

In the third century, with the absorption of South Italian, chiefly Campanian, inspiration, parallel to the decline of Faliscan and Etruscan ceramics, the author recognizes the formation of a new Central Italian culture, of which Rome becomes an active exponent. On the other hand, even in the third and second centuries B. C. (pp. 145 f.) she acknowledges the dependence of Roman art on Etruscan models until both these spheres are finally merged in Roman art of the late Republic. In her penetrating analysis of the famous Esquiline fresco with historical scenes (pl. 35) she not only convincingly establishes its date in the third century B. C. (contrary to my own former dating), but, also, points out its analogies to the latest phase of Etruscan wall painting. She does not, however, discuss the literary evidence for the conspicuous importance of painting in the Roman Republic, particularly of triumphal painting. In my opinion, it may well be that the latest phase of Etruscan wall painting, which is so clearly distinguished from its earlier tradition, as well as other features of late Etruscan art belong, again, to a new Central Italian art in which Rome had a leading part. The representation of a crowd in the Tomba del Tifone (p. 149) is not only analogous to the fresco from Rome but curiously anticipates later Roman historical relief scenes. These and other analogies may well point to Roman influences on Etruscan art rather than to the opposite trends we readily assume, given the mass of preserved monuments from Etruscan sites and the scantiness of Roman examples—a scantiness which is primarily caused by the later devastating effect of metropolitan Rome on its own monuments.

Two more chapters are appended which deal with special groups of terracotta monuments found in relative abundance in Rome. Chap. VI is concerned with Roman examples of the well-known terracotta *arulae*. Here the author had an easier task in view of the earlier study by Mrs. van Buren (*M. A. A. R.*, II [1918]) and of advice from Miss E. Jastrow who is preparing a long-desired *corpus* of such monuments. In this case, the regionally limited character of the types found in Rome and the discovery of a mould prove local manufacture, though the inspiration evidently came from Southern Italy. The very existence, from the archaic age on, of this relatively high and attractive production seems to modify somewhat the conclusions drawn by Mrs. Ryberg in the previous chapters. On the other hand, it confirms the relatively static character of Roman art during the fifth and

early fourth centuries. The iconography of the reliefs, lucidly explained by the author, is of very great interest. While in the archaic and, one might say, subarchaic monuments general funeral symbolism (Sirenes, Sphinxes) prevails, the monuments of the late fourth and third centuries show a definite inroad of Bacchic (and Magna Mater?, p. 171) religious ideas. I should consider the winged "Europa" type (see W. Technau, *Jahrb.*, LII [1937], pp. 76 f.) and the "Nereid" with a torch on a dolphin also as indicative of this circle. The interesting fact is that while the literary tradition about the events leading up to the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* points to extravagant practice of these rites in fashionable circles, Mrs. Ryberg's analysis reveals a popular movement of considerable significance. The continuous influence of Southern Italy, not only on the formal adaptation of types, but also in the sphere of religious ideas is evident, too, in the popularity of the bust of the goddess between tendrils (pp. 173 f.; compare, now, E. Jastrow, *A. J. A.*, XLVI [1942], p. 119).

The last chapter (pp. 176-201) deals not only with the preserved "Terracotta Revetments" but also with other architectural terracottas. Though in this field, too, Mrs. Ryberg could largely draw on the previous studies of Mrs. van Buren, she submits a considerable number of hitherto unpublished pieces, some of which are of remarkably high quality (e. g. figs. 177, 191). Their iconography coincides, in some cases, with that of the *arulae*, a formal as well as religious interdependence which is quite interesting. The author herself observes (p. 181) that even the early pieces reveal a very high level of artistic production and that this fact somewhat corrects the picture gained from the poor finds of the necropolis. A brilliant analysis of the pedimental group from Via di S. Gregorio—in a sense the earliest preserved Roman historical relief—concludes this chapter. Mrs. Ryberg dates the group in the middle of the second century B. C., certainly the earliest possible date.

On pp. 203-8 the main conclusions are summarized. The extensive general index will be helpful to all those who use this book as a permanent source of knowledge and a solid foundation for future research and discussion. Although I have voiced some criticism in respect to general conclusions and differ from the author's judgment in individual dates and points of interpretation which I do not believe of sufficient importance to discuss in this review, this difference does not affect my great admiration for a penetrating and learned analysis as well as a very skillful synthesis of an immense amount of material.

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ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT. *The Roman Use of Anecdotes in Cicero, Livy and the Satirists.* New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1940. Pp. ix + 189. \$2.50.

This is the fourth of Professor Haight's studies in Roman fiction; it is an important and interesting book, and it ought to be widely read.

In the opening chapter, there are a list and a full discussion of the various forms in which anecdotes appear in Latin writers; these forms are the diatribe, the *exemplum*, the apophthegm, the *testimonium*, the fable, the *narratio*. The influential rôle played by the *exemplum* and by the *narratio* in the education of Roman youth is emphasized.

Subsequent chapters deal respectively with Cicero, Livy, Horace, Phaedrus, Martial, Persius, and Juvenal. The author presents samples of the brief stories found in the works of these men and deals sensibly and, in the main, clearly with their attitude toward the use of the anecdote as a form of literary art.

In Chapter IX, "Retrospect," Miss Haight sets down some general conclusions, of which two may well be quoted: "... the essence of the Latin genius for story-telling lay not in the long novel, but in the short story, for in the last analysis the *Satyricon* appears thoroughly episodic and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is composed of a tandem of stories held in line by the thin plot of the transformation of a man into an ass and his adventures." "... the anecdote is a symbol of the Latin psyche, alert to sense impressions, interested in the concrete experience and the individual person, capable of understanding all the world through the little primrose in the crannied wall" (pp. 177-8).

It is painful to report that the volume is marred throughout by inconsistencies in format, by infelicities of style (including mixed tenses), and by careless punctuation. There are, also, several errors in grammar and at least three grotesque mistranslations.

The book has an excellent index and is attractively printed and bound.

HUBERT MCNEILL POTEAT.

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, On Agriculture. With a Recension of the Text and an English Translation by HARRISON BOYD ASH. Vol. I (Res Rustica I-IV). Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1941. Pp. xxix + 461. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

Columella's book cannot be called exciting even in the sense in which the *Georgics* are exciting. The part contained in this volume treats of the farm in general, cereals and vegetables, and the vineyard, and goes into such detail that only the expert could be interested in following the argument point by point. Yet it should be very profitable reading for the average classicist, because from it he can get a sound notion of the knowledge and competence of the ancient in a technical matter, and anyone who has the slightest interest in farming should enjoy the book as a description of ancient farming, even though the technicalities will sometimes bore him.

Ash is an old hand at this subject, having completed the Loeb edition of Cato and Varro after Hooper's death. He has also done a number of articles. As far as the reviewer, who is a very amateurish sort of farmer, can judge, he has taken great pains to master the

difficulties of the subject matter and of the lexicography involved. Columella's style is not unpleasing or very difficult to translate, yet it is no mean feat to translate any piece of Latin prose so that it runs along page after page in smooth and idiomatic English and will stand careful checking in detail.

The text for Books I-II is that of Lundström, the recognized leader in the field, who unfortunately has still not produced a complete text. In Book III Ash relies on his own work and Schneider's edition of 1794. His choice of readings is very reasonable. Let us hope that the second and third volumes will appear in due course. A complete modern edition is long overdue. Perhaps just a few more footnotes can be allowed to orient the layman in differences in climate and certain of the arcana of agriculture which the city chap might not understand from the translation.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY. *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*. Prepared for the Press by J. G. C. ANDERSON. Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 305.

Ramsay's vast activity as scholar and explorer spanned two worlds. His technique as an epigrapher was that of the Heroic Age, of the collectors and compilers like Boeckh and Waddington. He had no patience for the methodical, detailed analysis and for the "architectural" reconstruction of texts based on a wealth of parallel material which the Moderns have developed into a special discipline. On the other hand, he and his co-workers of the seventies and eighties of the last century brought to their task an essentially modern point of view. In all of his writings, and not least in this posthumous work, Ramsay constantly stressed the continuity of history. While the Anatolia of his studies was that of the first Christian centuries, it was equally that of the Phrygians, Lydians, Greeks, Galatians, Cappadocians, and Lycaonians, with their varied background, and it extended down through the Byzantines and the Turks to the land and the peasants of his own travels. Language, coins, contemporary and later writers, the unwritten records of archaeology, and the mountains and lakes, valleys and plains of the central plateau were all equally valuable witnesses to the multisecular life of the people and the regions that he loved. Perhaps not quite equal. "The vagueness is due to the vagueness of our knowledge, and if one goes over the localities mile by mile, the vagueness ceases."

Publication of a posthumous and still more of an unfinished book is a little hazardous. The writer is exposed to the public before he is ready for it. He may be permanently credited with things—slips, misstatements, and the like—which he did not intend, and which a final revision would have corrected. The book is a valuable contribution to a certain degree exposed to these dangers. Ramsay was, in the first instance, supremely fortunate in his editor. Professor Anderson was his close friend and colleague for many years, and his familiarity with the problems of Roman Asia Minor placed him in a sure position to know what to allow and

what to suppress.* This task he has accomplished with tact and discretion. Only a few Addenda and an occasional note in square brackets show his hand. Two-thirds of the volume was left in page proof at Ramsay's death. The remainder, which is assembled in Part II, was likewise in print, but neither complete nor finally arranged. This is not the volume which Ramsay would have published, but it includes nothing which he would not have published had he lived to see it through to completion.

In effect, this is a volume of inscriptions. All but ten of the forty-nine sections consist of, or are built around, the publication of texts, some new, most of them previously known, and all but a very few seen by Ramsay himself. His bibliographical references are, like his spelling of Turkish names, somewhat arbitrary. He would have been amused by a recent controversy which has debated whether in publishing an inscription all of the previous editions, with the variant readings of the editors, must be listed, or only the most important and the latest. I suspect that he, like others of his great countrymen, regarded consistency as something trivial if not a weakness. There are other recurring irregularities, instances of repetition and of inconcinnity, which seem to have been "intentional on the author's part," as Anderson remarks of the orthography. Possibly they were inserted as touchstones to expose the meticulous and the pedantic among his readers. Admirable as this may be, it does make it difficult for a reviewer remote from libraries to determine the exact amount of new in this epigraphical harvest. Almost fifty texts out of the three hundred are not expressly referred to earlier publications, four of them Latin (or five, if no. 10 is published and not merely described). In one case, the author himself is in doubt (no. 215). Most of these are important only as testimonia, but a few are of interest. No. 144 is the dedication of a statue of Marcus by the Orcisteni, no. 160 (A, p. 220) that of a centurion by the people of Apamea and the *consistentes Romani*. No. 246 is a gladiatorial epitaph, a "Samnite" of Smyrna, *secunda rude*, "second class," a term now explained by Louis Robert in his *Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec*, a brilliant study published just prior to the German occupation of Paris. No. 247A, from Ayasoluk, mentions a great lady, *συγγενὴς συνκλητικῶν*, who is restored somewhat doubtfully as having been *εἰς* "Ἐφέσο[ν] θησ] ἀνραρχίς, an obscure and unique title which might connect her with the Artemis temple or with the imperial cult.

The volume is miscellaneous. Ramsay's mind was so occupied with varied Anatolian problems that it led him into excursions, not especially pertinent to his announced subject. Topography and the identification of sites had always interested him. Section 35 is devoted to Isaura and the district Isaurica; the term Isauria was introduced in 138 and meant Cilicia Tracheia. Section 31 is a description of the site of Lystra, with an appeal for excavations. Section 8 explains the omission of Cotyaeum in Hierocles; it is mentioned under the name Debalinia, King's Land. The prefix *De*, *κλήρος*, occurs similarly in Demakella (Land of Makelas, priest of Cybele) near Caesarea of Cappadocia, and Demousia in Pamphylia is the Land of Mousis. Here as elsewhere in his etymologies Ramsay is assertive rather than explanatory. Did he think of *Δη* in *Δημήτηρ*?

Sections 9, 10, and 11 deal with localities in the upper Maeander valley, Peltae and the Hyrgaleis, Dionysopolis, and Lounda-Okoklia. The last two place-names, known the one from inscriptions, the other from coins, he would equate. Lounda acquired the name Okoklia (from *κοχλίας*, snail), from the shape of the hill on which it lay. In Section 20, Vindia (*J. R. S.*, XIV [1924], p. 25) is identified as the Bindaion Ktema of the *Notitiae Episcoporum*, and located at Kirili Kassaba, at the north-east end of Lake Karalis. Section 37 identifies Panemou Teichos with the Palaion Beudos of Ptolemy and locates it at Duwer in Pamphylia, and Section 38 places the later Valentia at the modern Ilias (Elles) in Apamean territory. This is of a certain interest, for no. 242 from this site mentions three archons. It is a dedication by the *boule* and the *demos* of an unnamed city. Ramsay argues, somewhat circularly, that the site is that of a village (the antecedent of the 4th century Valentia), that the *boule* must accordingly be that of Apamea, but that the three archons must be local; that is to say, that the village contributed three archons to Apamea. This may be so, but it would seem to deserve more explanation. In view of the tendency for stones to travel in Asia Minor, it is easier to suppose that the stone was brought from Apamea, where two of the archons are known.

The remainder of the volume keeps close to the main subject (Section 26 only excepted, which identifies as opium the word *πάπον* or *πάπα*, which occurs in texts from Conia, Lystra, and Hierapolis; this is quite reasonable, for poppy ears occur on coins in the region). This is the examination of the author's thesis that individual citizenship was granted to the great families, which were afterward the mainstay of Roman administration. "In the history of Asia Minor the importance of certain great families is everywhere and always a striking fact . . . Those great families have been, so to say, the unifying chain in the history of all past ages in Asia Minor . . . Those great families adapted themselves to every change in circumstances, floating on the currents of world history." This is not a novel point of view, and Section 1, "The Romanization of Asia Minor," is, I think, only a clear and unusually well-informed expression of what is generally held. The problem is, then, to prove it, and this is difficult, that is to say, if we are not to assume on each occasion that a person belongs to one of these families because he or she has a Roman name. Romans and non-Romans appear in the tituli, with the former holding the more prominent positions, Asiarchs and Imperial functionaries. Granted the Roman policy of extending citizenship, however, this is no more than we should expect, and if this is all that can be proved, the thesis is a statement of the obvious. The question is rather, did these persons acquire citizenship because they belonged to the great families or were they prominent only because of the affluence and the power which had come to them as Roman citizens. In no. 266 (Synnada) was Aurelius Chrysantion of a great family, and his four fellow archons not? Ramsay does not think him either a freedman or a veteran.¹ Was the *ἀρχιεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας* Ti. Claudius Pheseinus of Teos of a greater family than Ariston son of Artemidorus, priest of Pluto and Core and *νεοποῖος*

¹ Is not *Ἀῦρ.* rather to be taken as a plural, making all citizens? The text ought to be later than the Antonine Constitution.

of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (no. 225)? From time to time, Ramsay seems conscious of this difficulty. No. 189 (Lystra) is the epitaph of a *liberta*, Atinnia Cleopatra, and Ramsay comments: "Latinia Cleopatra sprung from kings (of Galatia?) occurs at Ancyra." On Athenais, daughter of Spites (no. 112, Comana), the note is added: "Athenais Philostorgos was the name of two successive queens of Cappadocia," and on Aelius Sabinianus Demosthenes (no. 13, Dorylaeum): "The name Demosthenes was probably favoured in Dorylaion. The Emperor Hadrian observed that a leading citizen bore the Athenian orator's name, and made him *civis* and 'partisan of Sabina.'" All this may be suggestive, but it is not proof. This proof is to be found, the author believes, in the priestly families, although it is not presented as proof, but as confirmation.

First, the family of the priests of Cybele-Demeter and Heracles at Synnada. This illustrates the author's method. He identifies seven members, after the founder, Andragathus, whose name appears on coins of A. D. 18-19. First a son, a Claudian citizen, identifying Κλαυδίον Ἀνδραγάθου, Κλαυδίου Ἀνδραγάθου Φιλοκαίσαρος (time of Claudius), and Ti. [K.] Πίσων(ος) Φιλοκαίσαρος (time of Nero) as Ti. Claudius Piso Andragathus Philokaisar (but, as the whole name never occurs, this may be three men, or two). Then there are two assumed generations, Ti. Claudius Piso Philokaisar, born *ca.* 51, and Ti. Claudius Piso Tertullus ("little third Roman"), born about 81. Then Ti. Claudius Peison Tertullinus (Ramsay is fond of repeating that *-inus* or *-anus* indicates filiality; so Rufinus would be Rufus' son; this may be, but I do not know that he has any certain case of it), whose name is restored as Asiarch in a very fragmentary inscription (no. 243). He is identified with a Claudius Aurelius Sanctus Tertullinus, whose son, Titus Aurelius Claudius Attalus Sanctus, appears as Claudius Attalus, *prytanis* and *logistes*, on coins before and after A. D. 160. The two additional members of the family are women, Claudia Basilo and Claudia Septimia Nicarete, whose testimonia do not indicate clearly their relationship.

All of this seems a little hypothetical, still more the family of the priests of Dionysus and Ariagne, whose most prominent member was M. Aurelius Sanctus, perhaps the cousin of Sanctus Tertullinus. I should find even more difficulty with Apollodotus son of Diodorus, of the Hyrgaleis. He appears in no. 49 as *strategos* of his city, making a dedication to Pius "with his father," μετὰ τοῦ πατρός. He adds that he struck coins, and preserved coins bear him out. His name is then restored in an exceedingly fragmentary text, no. 50: Δ[ιδ]δ[ωρος ὁ] πατ[ὴρ] κ[αὶ] Ἀπολλό[δοτ]ος υἱὸς ἱερεὺς ἐξ[ε] ἱερέων. That makes him a priest. In no. 51 he appears with numerous other persons making a dedication to Zeus Mossyneus, but he bears the title ἀγορανόμος. Ramsay comments: "The term ἀγορανόμος proves that a market, which was held along with every great religious festival from the earliest times of Aegean history and played an important part in the development of civilization (as E. Curtius best described), was under municipal regulation in imperial time." That makes Apollodotus, this time, a civil functionary. No. 53 was originally restored as follows: Πηγείν[ος] Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ι]ονυσοπολ[ί]της, but that did not account for the break in the stone, which should have been in the middle. Therefore the following restoration was chosen

(this is an epitaph): T. Αἴλιος Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ιοδώρου] Ὀργαλεὺς καὶ Διονυσιο[πολ]ίτης, and Ramsay concludes: "He, a leading man of a great priestly family, actively aiding the imperial policy, appears in many inscriptions, while the Commons that were led by him are not recorded. Such a man was wanted for civitas, as young, energetic, and wealthy; his father was not civis; yet priestly families had generally got civitas by this time. The reason for the lateness in conferring civitas is indicated in the inscriptions. Diodorus was of the old native style, divine in origin, called in Dionysopolis 'Asklepiad,' descended from Asclepios, whereas Apollodotos was progressive, philo-roman, philo-demos."

I cite these instances, not so much that I believe Ramsay to be wrong, as that his assurance is deceptive. You do not realize over what a slender bridge you have been taken until you try to reconstruct it for yourself. On the contrary, I feel that he is probably right, at least in principle and in spirit. His theory of the Roman nomenclature is sound and workable. It is developed in Section 2, "Names of New Romans," extended in Section 4, "Recapitulation," and illustrated in Section 36, "Specimen List of Eastern Cives." In the case of an individual grant of citizenship, whatever the occasion (the situation of veterans was different, of course), the praenomen and nomen of the Emperor were taken, the cognomen of the governor. This is well illustrated in his Specimen List and is useful in two ways. It becomes possible to trace the history of a family and to fix a little more exactly the careers of certain proconsuls and *legati*. As, furthermore, there is reason to think that grants of citizenship were made on special occasions, the organization of a province (as Cappadocia in 72), the filling of a priesthood, the accession of a new Emperor, or on a holiday, a *τακτὴ ἡμέρα*, it is possible, at least conjecturally, to fix a certain chronology. The discussion in Section 3, "Careers of New Cives," is among the most interesting in the volume. Granted that much is hypothetical, we progress rather by reading too much rather than too little into a text. It is interesting that Ramsay's insight led him, without much positive evidence, to results very similar to those of W. F. Snyder in *Yale Classical Studies* VII, based on a meticulous and thorough collection of dated dedications under the Empire.

This review has already exceeded proper limits, and I have not begun to exhaust the interest of the volume. In Section 5, the author digresses from his main topic to deal with Family Sacra and Adoption; the material is similar to that assembled by Calder in the *Anatolian Studies* Buckler, the problem of the *θεττοί*. In Section 7, he comes down to a later period, to identify Augustales of the Late Empire as *scribarii* connected with the courts. In Section 13, he gives a considerable corpus of the inscriptions of Comana. Sections 14 and 42 deal with imperial *liberti*, concerned with salt and marble, respectively. Sections 22 and 27 affirm the historicity of Acta Martyrum: the *Peregrino* consul of the Acta of St. Timothy was C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, a "foreign consul," and the Proculus of *J. R. S.*, II (1912), p. 99, no. 167, who was procurator of Cappadocia and Cilicia in 67, is identical with the Octavius of the Acta of St. Longinus. (Ramsay publishes, no. 29, the Quadratus Bassus inscription from Pergamum and discusses the identifications involved; he

distinguishes Trajan's general from his fellow Pergamene, C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Voltinia Quadratus, cos. II in 105.) Finally, in Section 48, he wonders whether the ΠΑΙΕΙΝ of *B. C. H.*, 1883, p. 325 may not be for Παῖεν (αἰός), and whether this "great consul of the Romans," celebrated in heroic verse, may not have been the Jurist.

It is impossible to read the volume and not to emerge, as an epigrapher will, with a multitude of notes, points of agreement and disagreement, questions, objections, and approval. These I suppress. All who are concerned with Asia Minor in imperial times will read for themselves, all who are concerned with the Empire should do so also. And in reading, not only will they be stimulated and informed, they will be impressed again with the knowledge and the imagination, the vigorous personality and the wide humanity of one of the greatest scholars of our time.

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ERRATUM

On p. 336, seventh line from the bottom, read *ισοτελείς*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

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